



realized by the Indians themselves the new policy will succeed, and it is in the belief that they will realize it that Parliament has determined on this great experiment. The time for arguing on the fundamentals of the question has gone. Political and administrative facts have now to take the place of arguments. We are no longer concerned with evidence as to whether or not the Brahmins and the intelligenzia in general are likely to subject the people to an oppressive oligarchy. The men who have the gift of leadership will have to show in practice that they are not out for the benefit of their own class, but for the good of the Commonwealth. What has been proved on evidence before the Joint Committee will now have to be indefensibly proved by unselfish, honest, and capable administration by the new men who will be called to power. They know that they have been distrusted and condemned in advance, although Parliament has rejected the condemnation. They know that it will lie with them to prove that the more generous and truthful view which the British Parliament has so emphatically taken is the true one. They know, too, that while informed English opinion as a whole believes that the experiment embodied in the Act is wise and prudent, there is a school of publicists at home who will seize upon every failure, every indiscretion, every exhibition of a lack of political sense, as a proof of the inaptitude of Indians for self-government. The Act, as a great measure of constitutional government, is a triumph of the accommodating, practical spirit which has actuated the moderate school of Indian politicians. These men can to-day confront the extreme school with an accomplished fact. It will no longer be said that moderation does not pay in Indian politics. The contradiction of this is written large on the history of this great act of legislation. Nothing would more certainly tend to arrest the fuller evolution of self-government in India than the policy of factions who trust to agitation as a means to the capture of larger liberties rather than to steady and practical endeavours to make the



### *Some Notes on the New Act*

best use of the opportunities now open to Indian politicians. It is not by any means a case for the application of the old Whig maxim "Rest and be thankful." The call is not to rest, but to work—to work for the fullest utilization of the advantages which have been freely and confidently placed in the hands of the Indian people

# THE NEW GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT AND ITS CRITICS

BY SIR J D REES, K C I E , C V O , M P

THE only practicable method, as it seems to me, of dealing with the Government of India Act is to consider whether or not it carries out the announcement made in Parliament in 1917, and whether it does not go far enough, or goes too far, in that direction. I am often asked whether I approve of the Act, and how approval of the Act is consistent with opinions previously expressed in favour of the present method of government in India, and against its abolition. The answer seems to me to be very simple. Conditions in India have changed during and since the war—at least as much as in Europe—and one cannot fail to feel that the old order has been destroyed, and that the change has all been in the direction of the elevation of those who were previously in a more or less dependent, industrial, or other state, or in a more or less menial capacity. Nor is the change less great as regards the altered position of States forming parts of great empires, protectorates, dependencies, Crown colonies, etc. Many of these have acquired the position of practical independence before the war, others have almost reached it during the war, those who have done neither are impatiently awaiting their own emancipation or enfranchisement. Of what practical use is it to judge matters by pre-war standards? All the autocratic thrones of Europe are in the dust the Habsburgs, Romanoffs, and Hohenzollerns are gone. Persia is governed by a limited Parliament, China is a republic. Of what avail is it to suggest that an autocratic bureau-

cracy can remain intact, especially at a time when the leaders of the British nation are protesting that they fought the war to make the world free for democracy, and when we have been teaching the Indians in our schools for a century that there is nothing like political liberty and democratic government

I do not believe myself that the majority of the Indian Civil Servants will be found to maintain that a suitable advance in democracy can be avoided. It is not a question of what an individual desires, but of what the circumstances demand, and whether the Act fits into them. I think it does. Unfortunately, at some stage in the proceedings an amateur student appeared upon the scene with all the technological and other equipment of a student of constitutions, and it is to him, so far as I can make out, that the dreadful word "diarchy" is due.

There is really nothing in the least new or extraordinary about the division of functions between different ministers. It is done everywhere. The only thing that is new is making Indians ministers, and those who cry out against diarchy are really objecting to the transfer of functions to Indian ministers, and not to so obvious a proceeding as the division of portfolios between different members of the same Government. Of course, it is quite new in India that the ministers should be responsible to the Legislature and the Legislature to an electorate. But Parliament had already accepted these general lines in the declaration of 1917.

Objections are taken to the electorate in two quarters: one that it is too large, and empowers people who are too illiterate to exercise the franchise, another who say it is too small, and represents chiefly the landed interests. Those who make the latter objection do not know that most of the landlords in India are quite small folk—the vast majority, indeed, correspond to the working men of the United Kingdom. Those who object that the electorate is too small fail to realize the fact that there was never in

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the history of the world so large an electorate created at one and the same time I cannot myself share the objection raised to the present policy on the ground that it is likely to place power in the hands of an oligarchy, and I should suppose that oligarchy was a necessary and inevitable stage on the road from autocracy to self-government. It is a stage which in the United Kingdom lasted for a very long period, and a period during which Britain became great.

Again, the Brahmins are the natural leaders of the Hindus. Hinduism and Brahminism signify the same thing, and if it be objected that you might as well say that the peers were the natural leaders of the English people I would reply that the latter have been governed by the great governing families, and that they, who were mostly peers, have been, until quite recent times, the real leaders and governors of the British people.

The extraordinary importance and impartiality of the reforms to which the Act gives expression is evidenced, among other things, by the fact that the measure is equally obnoxious to extremists on both sides, and the only opposition in the House of Commons proceeded from the reactionary and the revolutionary elements. In the debate in the House of Lords, where reasonable opposition to the Act might have been most expected, very little was experienced. I do not think that any peer really roundly opposed the Act except Lord Sydenham, who has placed himself at the head of the malcontents. During the proceedings in Committee I devoted myself, amongst other things, to defending in particular the Brahmins and upper classes against misrepresentation of their true position as I understand it, and I do not myself believe the reservation of seats for non-Brahmins was necessary.

The Committee thought that it was best to retain the power of affirmative legislation for the local and central legislative councils without concealing or camouflaging the fact. Grave objections will be taken, it is said, when the

Governors act under the powers provided by the Act, but the Committee expressly stated that they regarded these powers as part of the ordinary equipment of the Governors, to be used when required, and not to be regarded as exceptional in character. The Council of State has now frankly been made a second chamber, and as this change is coupled with another whereby the members will be directly elected by a separate constituency from that which elects the provincial Legislative Councils, it seems to me that the existence of the former body is likely to be very beneficial, and surely if any Government in the world deserves and requires a second chamber it would be that of India, which deals with so vast an area, so stupendous a population, and so many and so different thrones, dominations, principedoms, virtues, powers

Criticism has been directed against the deputations that came over here, but it is a fact that such deputations as came to England in connection with this Act gave evidence of very great value, and many individuals of considerable eminence and distinction in India made their statements before the Committee. The acceptance by the Committee of the evidence of Mr Tilak has aroused comment, but he tendered evidence, and it seems to me that the Committee was right to take it. All the proceedings had to conform to British parliamentary standards and British political practice. The fact may be deplored that Irish agitators are released for political purposes, and are consulted as regards reforms, but can a wholly different standard be adopted as regards Mr Tilak and India? It is of no use now to say that different standards are applicable to India, and that everything must be measured by another rule. That is exactly what they will not have in India, and if I understand anything of the feelings of Parliament in this matter it is that that argument will no longer be accepted. A good deal passed muster in the first decade of this century when Lord Morley was Secretary of State for India, only because he was the most distinguished

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Radical of his day Acts of the like nature will probably never be approved by Parliament again I refer at the moment to deportations under certain circumstances, and to the conduct of local governors and military authorities in putting down riots and rebellions which will, no doubt, in future be very severely searched Upon this score I should prefer to say nothing, as the Amritsar case is before a tribunal appointed to consider the questions arising from the suppression of the riots in that city last year

On the whole, I think the Act is a very good Act, and many of those who at first blamed it now bless it I hope and believe that it will allay political strife and discontent in India, and from all the information I receive from public and private sources there is much discontent and dissatisfaction to be removed

# THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA BILL

By "DEWAN"

## I THE PROPOSALS

INDIA is once again at the crossroads. During all her long, eventful history, in which many crises have arisen and died away, many systems of government have been followed, many shocks have disturbed the whole fabric of society, and many imperceptible changes have hardened into concrete and permanent forms, no time has been so big with import as the present. For the first time in history is an attempt to be made to establish the beginnings of an all-Indian Government, which is eventually destined—as its authors hope—to include Hindus, Mahomedans, Sikhs, and the many other divergent racial subdivisions which constitute the peoples of India, in one undivided Government from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas. The consequences of the attempt we cannot yet foresee, but of its magnitude there is no doubt. The future of the Indian Empire is in the melting-pot.

It were useless to discuss whether a new basis of government were necessary. The matter is all but accomplished, and must be accepted accordingly. At all events none can say after reading the Report presented to both Houses of Parliament that the scheme has not been carefully thought out. For the historical Preface we have nothing but admiration. The subject has been treated and considered with the widest reference to precedent conditions, and the events leading up to the present state of affairs and to modern aspects of Indian political thought have been carefully focused. Part I. of the Report is both

clear and illuminating, and no one should study the proposals which follow without first reading it

The Morley-Minto Reforms have not proved altogether a failure, they and their application have given rise to much criticism, though little, it must be admitted, of a constructive nature, and they have been the means of bringing clearly forward what the various types of reformers ask for. Unfortunately, perhaps, in India there is no "public opinion," as the term is understood in Europe, and the so-called Indian opinion is chiefly that of sections of the people who talk most loudly. Thus they have proved that the system of recruitment of the Legislative Council has not been a happy one, and the Report shows how greatly the legal element among the people attained political ascendancy. Although measures to combat this tendency are to be undertaken, there is yet a great danger of the preponderance of legislators of the legal profession retaining their seats either in the Provincial or in the Indian Councils in the future. The political education of the electors will doubtless compel a remedy in time, but the process is bound to be slow. Whatever may be the eventual composition of the Councils, we must always expect to encounter a number of irreconcilables—some dangerous, but most merely wordy. The inclusion of the Congress League Scheme in the Report, and the necessary criticism made in considering its proposals, has the effect of showing how very little the authors know of the fundamental principles of good government according to modern ideas. It is not unlikely that a considerable number of members of the Congress League will find a seat in one or other of the proposed councils, and there is little doubt that the kindly official criticism of their scheme as made in the Report will have the effect of showing them on what lines their ideas have to be corrected or guided. It must not be forgotten that much of the political clamour of recent years has been the result of indulgence of, in many instances, an irresponsible press, and when a part is



given we must expect a continued and insistent demand for more That is the Indian way

The new proposals are admittedly only to cover the period of transition between the present form of government and a still farther advanced scheme of what is known as "responsible" government, and we cannot help wondering how long the period of transition will last Doubtless that will depend upon the time taken to educate the people as a whole in politics, and it will take time for them to realize the value of the vote, and how best to use it collectively for their own good This again will be considerably dependent on the efforts made to foster female education Not that Indian women will be ready to take a part in the franchise for many years to come, but their eventual influence should be considerable, and it is probable that one result of the forthcoming reforms will be to advance the cause of the education of women, about which so much has been talked of late years, and so little, comparatively, has been done

The main idea of the new proposals is that the welfare of the individual is to be the care of local bodies and Provincial Governments, and the State is to be the care of the Government of India As regards the changes affecting municipalities and other purely local organizations there is little to say The greater freedom allowed them of recent years has not been universally a success, and with the granting to them of still further immunity from direct official control we must expect to find them in many cases even less efficient in the performance of their duties However, there is no reason why this should prove more than inconvenient Mistakes will not be of a dangerous nature, and perhaps the experience of partial failure will be productive of profitable experience for those who seek to enter a larger political life through them Far more important are the changes which are to affect the Provincial Governments Theirs will be the principal task in giving effect to the new proposals, and for some years at least the

life of a Governor of a Province is likely to be analogous to that of the policeman in a once well-known song His responsibilities will be enormously increased, and only the *best men are likely to be equal to the task* The Government of India will not be affected to a like degree, and we may for all intents and purposes pass by the decisions made as regards parliamentary control and the Secretary of State Important as they are, they are affected merely in principle, and what they do or do not do will have very little effect on the Indian people, either individually or collectively We are not at all sure that the taking of a greater interest in Indian affairs by Parliament will be of value unless it is also intelligent Irresponsible questions are likely to do far more harm than good, and it is unfortunately not possible to ensure for every Member an Indian education in India, without which it will be impossible for him to take an intelligent interest in matters either of internal movement or of individual concern

The primary condition of government is finance, and this aspect is the first discussed in the Report The financial changes appear to be all for the good, and Provincial Governments are to be given a free hand in dealing with their income and expenditure The old scheme is to go "by the board," and Indian revenue is to be allocated as follows —

Provincial Governments will control the income under the heads of (1) stamps (judicial), (2) excise, (3) land revenue, (4) possible loans (made through the Government of India so as to prevent competition in the open market), and (5) possible new taxes

The Government of India, who will be primarily responsible for defence, will receive (1) stamps (general), (2) income tax, (3) fixed contributions from each Province, based on a percentage of difference between gross provincial revenue and expenditure, (4) possible interest on loans to Provincial Governments

It is to be presumed that this division has been made

after consulting the necessary figures, showing what each source of revenue ordinarily yields, and what the average financial requirements of the Government of India are likely to be. The Provincial Governments, while taking land revenue, are also to be responsible for irrigation and famine relief, and in the latter case it is laid down that they will hold a portion of their resources, based on the average famine liabilities, in reserve, which should be added to annually, but not drawn upon except for famine purposes. Apparently provincial budgets will have to be sent to the Government of India for information, but the control of expenditure will remain entirely at the discretion of the Provincial Governments. The scheme appears to be preferable to the more complicated method at present followed, and it is likely to lessen considerably the burden of work in connection with finance at the headquarters of the Government of India. If there were no other reason, this would be sufficient to commend the change.

It has already been noticed that the principal changes will affect the Provincial Governments. They are to be entirely reconstituted. As before, they will consist of two parts—viz., Executive and Legislative. The executive governments will be composed as follows

- 1 Executive Council, consisting of the Governor, one English official, and one Indian (nominated by the Governor)

- 2 Ministers, consisting of one or two, chosen from the Legislative Council, and appointed during the duration of the latter

- 3 Additional members, consisting of one, or two, English officials, without portfolio

For all practical purposes those composing the third category may be for the present left out of account, for their functions will be merely advisory. The Executive Council and the Ministers will divide the work of Government between them, and to this end the various items which it comprises will be divided under two heads, (a) Reserved

subjects being dealt with by the Governor-in-Council, and also the ex-officio members of the Legislative Council, and (b) transferred subjects, which will be under the control of the Ministers and the Governor. It will be seen that the Governor is likely to have very little spare time.

He would be rash who would say that the scheme for executive government is doomed to failure. Its success or otherwise will largely depend upon the personality of the Governor, but in any case it is fundamentally weak. It is difficult, however, to see what other course could be adopted to cover the transition period. The task of governing has to be taught somehow, and the granting of some measure of responsibility to Indian administrators is a necessary corollary. With the right men at the helm it has every chance of success, and it is gratifying to learn from a recent announcement in the press that a small measure of modification is being made by the Joint Select Committee on the Bill, whereby the Governor's personal responsibility is to be in some measure relaxed by associating with him the advice of his official Council. An indifferent scheme of government is better than none at all, and in view of the fact that an advance of some sort had to be made to meet the clamour for a greater share by Indians in the administration of the country, the proposals appear to be the only possible. Much speculation naturally centres on the question as to what are to compose the "transferred subjects". Of these, secondary education is likely to be by far the most important. One thing is certain, and that is that once the scheme is brought into force the English members of the services in India will support Government wholeheartedly in endeavouring to make it successful. The positions of the Additional Members without portfolio is not likely to be greatly envied. They will draw only their substantive pay, and their work is likely to be chiefly in the nature of a "watching brief". The disabilities which they will suffer from with regard to having no vote will be considerable, and it is to be expected that there will be few desirous of

assuming the somewhat empty honour attached to the office. It would appear to have been a better policy to have enlisted the heads of departments of Government as advisors—at least for a time

The legislative side of the Government is that in which the electorate will have the greater interest. The Legislative Council will come into being as the result of direct election on a broad franchise, with such communal and special representation as may be necessary. Communal representation will apply only to the Mahomedan and Sikh sections of the people, and special nomination will be made only in one or two cases—commercial communities, Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians, and the Lingayats being presumably so represented

The Council will thus be made up of five classes

- 1 Elected members
- 2 Communal members
- 3 Nominated members
- 4 Members of the Executive Council
- 5 Official members.

(4) and (5) will not vote on transferred subjects. The Governor is to have power to dissolve the Legislative Council, and this will doubtless be a sufficient check to the introduction of controversial discussion or acrimonious debate

There is one class of legislation which is specially provided for, that of Certified Bills, which will doubtless require careful handling. Should the Governor think it necessary that “a Bill dealing with a reserved subject is essential either for the discharge of his responsibility for the peace or tranquillity of the province, or of any part thereof, or for the discharge of his responsibility for reserved subjects,” he will have power to introduce it, “certified” accordingly. The Bill and certificate will then be published in the Gazette. It will be introduced and read in the Legislative Council, and, after discussion on its general principles,

will be referred to a Grand Committee, which will comprise from 40 to 50 per cent of the Legislative Council, chosen partly by ballot and partly by election—not more than two-thirds of the nominated members to be officials. The Legislative Council may require the Governor to refer the Bill to the Government of India, whose decision will be final. The process is very cumbersome, and the position of a Governor whose Bill is not supported by the Government of India would leave him no option but to resign! There is in this too much of the savour of parliamentary practice, which will never suit Indian conditions. It is bound to cause delay, and perhaps when the Bill is eventually passed the urgent need which occasioned its introduction may have gone. In fact, the measure is framed too much to meet diversity of opinion rather than agreement.

The new measure affecting directly the Government of India are changes rather in form. In augmentation of the present Council of the Governor-General will be created a Council of State, which will have life for five years. It is to consist of fifty members, exclusive of the Viceroy, of which twenty-one will be elected from the Provinces—two each from Bombay, Madras, Bengal, United Provinces, Punjab, and Behar and Orissa, and one each from Burma, Central Provinces, and Assam. The Mahomedans, Landed Classes, and Chambers of Commerce, will each be represented by two members. The nominated members will include twenty-five officials and four non-officials. The provincial members will be non-official, and will be elected from the Legislative Councils of their respective Provinces. The other side of the Government of India is to be termed the Legislative Assembly. Its life will be for three years and its President will be nominated by the Viceroy. It will consist of about one hundred members, of whom sixty-eight will be elected from the Provinces, eleven will be non-official and special nominations, and the remainder will comprise nominated officials, including the Viceroy's Executive Council.

The arrangements for legislation are far less complicated than in the case of the Provincial Governments, and the procedure regarding Bills is much more simple. The Governor-General will have power to dissolve either or both bodies, and the safeguards of his position appear to be adequate. We are told that "in the multitude of councillors there is wisdom," and the new arrangements will have ample scope for demonstrating the truth or otherwise of this dictum.

There remains one more important subject in the new proposals to be dealt with, and that is their application to the Native States. The war has shown—if such demonstration were necessary—how much the welfare of the States and of the English connection in India are interdependent. It would be idle to suppose that all the political agitation in British India has left the States unaffected. British policy with regard to them has been clearly enunciated over and over again, and the progress in development is constant, even if in some cases it may be slow. The proposal to inaugurate a Council of Princes is one which will find much favour with the Princes themselves. Lord Chelmsford has only recently announced the Government's intention to create such a chamber, as a permanent measure. It is too early yet to see how the announcement has been received by those most concerned, and it may be looked upon as the first measure of the new proposals to be carried into effect, although the idea is one which has been talked about for many years. Its doings will only concern itself and its order, and there can be no greater mistake than to consider it as being a House of Lords with no executive power, as one newspaper recently designated it. To the House of Lords it bears little or no analogy, and any measure which it may adopt will end at the boundaries of the State or States concerned. That it will operate for good there can be no doubt, for it will be a means of more direct "liaison" between the British Government and the Native Rulers than has hitherto been the case, while

fostering the Imperial idea, and maintaining the principle that the British Government and the Ruling Princes and Chiefs are mutually concerned in the welfare of the Indian Empire and in the *status quo*. The proposal in the Report that all States possessing full internal powers are to have direct relations with the Government of India will commend itself to the rulers of the States concerned, and it is to be hoped that the measures for bringing this and the remaining proposals regarding the Native States into effect will soon be accomplished.

Time alone can prove the value of the introduction of a greater number of Indians into the services, and of the granting of commissions to Indians in the Army, both of which are discussed by the authors of the Report. It will be some years before results in this direction can be judged. We have set our hand to the plough and cannot now turn back. The sooner all the proposals contained in the Report are made effective the better, and it is to be hoped that much time will not elapse before the subject is considered in Parliament. It is a year and a half since Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu signed the proposals, and nearly as long since the Report was published. Since then much has happened, and the restoration of peace-time conditions throughout the Empire makes it desirable that further delay should be reduced to a minimum. All valuable evidence must by now have been collected, and it would appear to be very inadvisable that the country should be further flooded by deputations from India, who come to urge their particular views before, in many cases, sections of the people in England who are not capable of forming reasoned judgments upon them. A Labour Conference in the Albert Hall upon such a subject as the extension of the franchise to Indian women—as recently was the case—would be humorous if it were not so productive of discontent. Perhaps the best remedy would be a propaganda campaign throughout the country by the India Office, but the next best course is to limit the activities of those who seek



to gain their ends by distortion and misrepresentation of facts

How true to-day are the words of Warren Hastings, written so long ago as 1777, when he says "The dominion exercised by the British Empire in India is fraught with many racial and incurable defects, besides those to which all human institutions are liable, arising from the distance of its scene of operations, the impossibility of furnishing it at all times with those aids which it requires from home, and the difficulty of reconciling its primary exigencies with those which in all States ought to take place of every other concern, the interests of the people who are subjected to its authority All that the wisest institutions can effect in such a system can only be to improve the advantages of a temporary possession, and to protract that decay which sooner or later must end it"

## II THE BILL

Since the foregoing was written, the Parliamentary Joint Committee has laid before the Houses of Parliament the Government of India Bill, which is based on the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, and we are now able to see in what form the Bill will become law when it has passed the necessary readings We conclude a study of it with a mind full of misgivings If the proposals appeared to concede much, the Joint Committee have gone even farther, and the feeling cannot be avoided that the "margin of safety" has been much decreased as a result Seemingly the visits of various "advanced" deputations, and the literary outpourings of others, have been weighed in the balance against the advice of experienced officials, and have turned the scale in their favour Far too little is said about franchise and election, and there is evidence throughout the Bill of our former inveterate tendency to placate our enemies at the expense of our friends It is very evident that the Joint Committee have not been felt

bound by the "proposals," and have gone considerably beyond their authors' original intentions

The Committee have dealt first with the Provincial Governments, as being that part of the Government of India chiefly affected. The present Lieutenant-Governorships of the United Provinces, Punjab, Behar and Orissa, Central Provinces, and Assam, are to be raised in status and will take place as Governorships by the side of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. So far, so good. We wonder if it is too much to hope that in future some of the Governorships will be given to Indian officials, who have rarely held them hitherto, especially of late years. Indeed it is doubtful whether suitable men could be got from home in sufficient quantity to accept them, and it is obvious that only the best men, with some first-hand knowledge of Indian conditions, will be able to hold them.

It is gratifying to see that the former scheme providing for Members of Council without portfolio is not to be adhered to, and, instead, the Governor's Executive Council will remain as at present constituted, while arrangements will be made for the introduction of not more than two persons with special knowledge of any particular measure before the Legislative Council, at which their presence will be necessary, who will be nominated members of that Council so long as the measure is before it. But it is somewhat difficult to understand why a Governor should not be a member of his own Legislative Council, unless it be because, after four years' time, the Council is to elect its own President. It is impossible to avoid comparing future Provincial Governments with the spectacle, so often seen in India, of two mules drawing a cart, and each of them pushing outwards!

The sizes of the Legislative Councils are detailed in a schedule, and the principle is laid down that at least 70 per cent. of the members are to be elected, and not more than 20 per cent. are to be officials. Any ruler or subject of a Native State may be nominated to a seat on the Councils, but

it is unlikely that any ruler, anyhow, will hanker after the honour, which would be laying himself open to all sorts of attacks, permissible under the right of free speech. Officials are debarred from election, which seems to be a pity.

"Essential" legislation has been greatly simplified in the Bill, and instead of the proposed system of Grand Committees the Governor is to have the power of proceeding by ordinance when necessary.

Considerable alteration has been made in the proposals regarding the Government of India. The Council of State is to be composed of sixty, instead of fifty, members, of whom not more than twenty are to be officials, in place of twenty-five as proposed. The composition of the Legislative Assembly is also increased from 100 to 140 members, and of these forty are to be nominated and twenty-six only are to be officials. There will be power to increase the numbers constituting the Assembly, but five-sevenths at least of the total numbers have to be elected, and of the remainder at least one-third are to be non-officials. The elected members are to be by direct election, and not indirectly through the Provincial Legislative Councils.

The Viceroy's Executive Council is to be as now constituted, but with a minimum of three non-official Indians. There is also one legal member, and the Viceroy's "majority" does not appear to be at all sufficient. Members of the Executive Council may only be members of one of the two "houses." We fail to see why this curtailment of privilege is made. There is very little fear of a member dominating either "house", possibly the idea of a man having a perverse influence in both was too much for the Joint Committee. The President of the Legislative Assembly is to be selected by the Governor-General for four years, and after that time he will hold office by election of the Assembly. Finally, a native ruler or subject may become a member of either "house." It is unlikely that many such subjects will secure a majority of electors' votes in British India,

and a ruler will probably be contented with his seat or representation in the Council of Princes

As was foreshadowed, education is to be one of the "transferred" subjects of provincial administration, and it is observed that Chiefs' colleges are to be included. If this refers to the seminaries at Indore, Rajkot, and Ajmer, there is likely to be much opposition on the part of the Ruling Princes and Chiefs, for the benefit of whose sons and families the colleges are maintained. Medical administration becomes "transferred," and so do public health and sanitation. Agriculture, also, is to become the sport of the electors, although it is likely that the agriculturist would far rather have things as they are. But the "ryot," the backbone of India, is unfortunately too ignorant to agitate against the clamour of which the Bill is a result, and only when it is too late will he realize the change that will have come upon him.

The Native States have not found a place in the Bill, and it would have been unnecessary to have placed the proposals regarding them before the Houses of Parliament, since the Viceroy and the Secretary of State have power to carry them out without further reference. Whether the Ruling Princes and Chiefs will like the new order of things remains to be seen. Although not forming part of British India, so called, they cannot help but be profoundly interested in the methods and systems of government in Provinces adjacent to their States, and the internal welfare of India as a whole certainly affects them in no small degree. That the new scheme will increase and strengthen their ties with the British Government and their attachment to the Throne there can be no doubt, and as before in the past so again in the future we shall find them justifying Lord Chelmsford's description of them in 1916 as "the pillars of the Empire."

It is very desirable that the new Bill should soon be discussed in Parliament, but undue haste in rushing it through the various stages until it becomes law is much to be deprecated. Before it is finally passed into law, some

## *The Government of India Bill*

opportunity should be afforded for the consideration of opinion from India upon it. Not that there is much likelihood of any important change being effected. The work of Mr. Montagu-cum-Joint Committee-cum-Indian Politicians is bound to come into being more or less in the form in which it is now presented, and in the words of an Indian poet, who flourished nearly 300 years ago,

“ If these three be of one mind,  
Even the most powerful can avail nothing ”

(MUKTESHWAR)

## SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA

By SIR GUILFORD L. MOLESWORTH, K C I E

INDIA presents the strange spectacle of a country, formerly rich, prosperous, and, in a manner, highly civilized, of which the native industries are now decadent, having been crushed out under the stress of modern civilization and progress

Of India's population of 300,000,000 souls, about 60 per cent are supported by agriculture. This leaves a large residue available for industrial purposes, but the arts and crafts for which India has been so justly celebrated, whether metallurgical or textile, whether cutlery, glass, pottery, silks, or other industries, are either dead or dying.

Throughout may be found old slag heaps, testifying to the former prosperity of native iron and steel industries, the splendid native iron being superseded by cheap, worthless metal of foreign manufacture. Everywhere may be seen evidence of flourishing industries of the past—in the huge 40 ton brass gun of Bijapur, in the great iron column at the Kutub, in the magnificent inlaid marble of the Taj, in the beautiful carving and fretwork of the tombs, mosques, and other innumerable buildings. It may also be seen in the glassware, pottery, shawls, carpets, and silks, in the treasures of many of the Rajahs, and also in the ruins of indigo factories. India has untold wealth—wonderful natural resources, mineral, agricultural, and industrial, but they are to a great extent dormant. It has coal of an excellent quality. The coal-fields, so far as they have been explored, extend over an area of 35,000 square miles, and are estimated to contain 20,000,000,000 tons of coal. In some cases the supply of iron ore is on a scale of unparalleled

magnitude, whole hills and ranges being of the purest variety. It has chrome iron capable of making the finest "Damascus blades," manganiferous ore, and splendid hematites in profusion, it has gold, silver, antimony, manganese, copper, tin, plumbago, mica, lime, kaolin, gypsum, asbestos, precious stones, soft wheat equal to the finest Australian, hard wheat equal to the finest Kabanka, it has food grains of all kinds, oil seeds, tobacco, tea, coffee, cocoa, sugar, lac, spices, dyes, cotton, jute, hemp, flax, coir, fibres of every description—in fact, produce too numerous to mention. There are in India millions of potential horse-power available, in the form of water flowing from the mountain ranges, capable of being converted into electrical energy, and conveyed with slight loss to centres, even to great distances, where it can be utilised for industrial purposes.

The inhabitants of India are frugal, thrifty, industrious, capable of great physical exertion, docile, easily taught, capable in work requiring delicate manipulation. Labour is absurdly cheap, and the soil, for the most part, wonderfully productive.

There is plenty of capital in India. The amount of wealth now hoarded was estimated by Lord Curzon to be about £550,000,000, but neither this nor British capital will flow to a market in which operations are paralyzed, and struggling industries are swamped by unrestricted foreign competition. British capital has, for the most part, been attracted for railways or other Government works by guarantees, and some of the manufactures, such as cotton and jute, have flourished under British capital, but it has been uphill work, and the development of these industries falls far short of the magnificent potentialities of the Empire, and is quite incommensurate with the advantages that have been gained by the policy of the Government of India in the extension of railway and irrigation works, which has enabled the State to relieve some of the weight of taxation that burdens the agriculturists.

The Government of India has done its utmost to develop

the industries of India, but its efforts have been circumscribed by the intervention of the India Office under the dictation of the Secretary of State. Protection of the industries of India against the unrestricted import of bounty-fed produce is absolutely necessary for their development.

In 1910 the Planters' Association of South India passed a resolution recommending an Imperial preferential duty on coffee, tea, rubber, cinchona, cocoa, cotton, and wheat. The native members of the Viceroy's Legislative Council have been persistent in their demands for protection. The Hon. Mr. Dadabhoy said

"There is a general feeling in favour of protection in this country. A judicious tariff is demanded by intelligent public opinion in the interest of undeveloped industries."

Many other members expressed themselves in a similar strain, and the Secretary to the Government of India admitted that, "if they had a free hand, they might be tempted to undertake a reform of the Indian tariff", but Lord Curzon said

"In fiscal matters the Government of India has to take the views of the Secretary of State whether it agrees with them or not, and those views are more likely to be guided and shaped in England than by purely Indian considerations. In drawing up the despatch about the fiscal future of India, we said to ourselves 'What guarantee shall we have, if any new system were proposed, that India should have free speech in the discussion of the subject?'"

The Secretary of State, however, not only refused to grant protection, but even added further obstacles to the development of Indian industry by employing an iniquitous excise duty as an electioneering sop to various English constituencies. Indian cotton was penalized by an excise duty, as the Under-Secretary of State has admitted, "*really for the advantage of Lancashire*". Tobacco was penalized to conciliate the cigarette-making constituency of Bristol. Lord Lawrence's successful railway policy was reversed to conciliate English speculators. Sugar was penalized to gain the support of the Cocoa Press and the jam and



confectionery interest, on the eve of a bye-election There had been no previous debate on the subject in the House of Commons, and it was by the arbitrary act of Mr Asquith that this deadly blow was struck at India's industry In the debate on the Sugar Duties Bill Lord Curzon said

“It is in the interest of India, and India alone, that this legislation has been proposed by us This decline in the Indian industry, in which two millions of people are employed, and in which the annual loss has been estimated at £20,000,000 sterling, is due to the unrestricted competition of a bounty-fed article Now this is a state of affairs which neither the Government, nor I, as the head of the Government, can consistently accept ”

There exists a general feeling that India should have some voice in shaping her own policy, especially her industrial policy, and that her interests should not be sacrificed to the exigencies of a narrow political party of the mother-country Of late years she has awakened to the need of working out her own salvation by reconstructing her lost indigenous industries and developing new sources of trade

Mr Tata has made a new departure by successfully organizing iron manufacture, on an extended scale, with the aid of British capital , and a most important movement has taken place in the Industrial Conference held in Benares in 1905 This movement, if carried on with the energy and intelligence which has already characterized it, will mark an epoch in the history of India's progress towards self-government

Under the presidency of Mr Dutt, twenty-two papers were contributed by educated native gentlemen, and fourteen by influential Englishmen well versed in Indian matters. These papers teem with valuable suggestions and recommendations, and the Government of India welcomed “the awakening of interest in the important questions which was evident in the discussion at the Industrial Conference at Benares.”

Space will not admit of anything like a full description

of the details of these suggestions, but the more important of them may be briefly summed up as follows

1 To forward the "Swadeshi" movement, which aims at the employment of indigenous, in preference to foreign, manufactures

2 To establish co-operative grain banks, urban banks on the co-operative principle, or co-operative credit societies

3 To improve the agricultural status by the regulation of the land revenue, by relieving the indebtedness of the ryots, by making advances for the purchase of seed, and by the establishment of State experimental farms

4 To develop India's resources from within, pursuing the policy indicated by Lord Curzon, in the creation of a Board of Agriculture, a Board of Scientific Advice, a Commercial and Industrial Bureau

5 To institute a chemical and physical laboratory, industrial schools, technical guilds, scholarships, and apprenticeships for workshop training

6 To relieve the dead weight of taxation by raising revenue from moderate import duties, which will also prevent the swamping of Indian industries by unlimited foreign competition

7 To foster international and inter-colonial trade by the exchange of mutual concessions and preferential treatment of the colonies and mother-country

8 To establish State industries for the utilization of native produce, and to obtain the best expert assistance in working such industries

9 To give greater facilities for obtaining concessions, and for the acquirement of mining and other industrial rights

10 To pursue that policy of railway extension and irrigation works which has been eminently successful in increasing State revenues, and to promote trade by the adoption of the lowest practicable railway rates

11 To govern India in the interest of India alone, and to resist the interference of the Home Government in any

attempt to sacrifice Indian interests to the exigences of English party politics

There was a general feeling at the conference that, in its fiscal policy, the Government of India had not a free hand, that the interference of the India Office had forced upon it, against its wishes and advice, measures highly detrimental, and calculated to strangle Indian trade and industries, that such measures were controlled by Lancashire rather than by India, that Indian industries were discouraged, that the export of Indian manufactures had been depressed by prohibitive duties, and the import of English manufactures into India facilitated by the imposition of almost nominal duties, that excise duties were imposed on the mill produce of India to secure the vote of Lancashire, and that this burden had been imposed in opposition to the advice of the majority of the members of the Viceroy's Council

All these opinions point to the need of self-government by the Government of India

It is necessary, however, in order to prevent misconception, to explain that the so-called democracy which is now being forced on India is not self-government in any sense, but the reverse of it, as past experience has shown

Twenty-three years ago Lecky sounded a warning against the danger of democracy for India. After pointing out that in the opinion of the best judges a system that would bring to the forefront the natives of Bengal to the detriment of the old governing races of India, and of the strong warlike populations of the North, would be the sure precursor of disaster, he said

"The great danger that menaces India is to be found neither at Calcutta nor at St Petersburg, but at Westminster. It is to be found in the introduction into India of modes and maxims of government borrowed from modern European democracies, and utterly unsuited to an Oriental people. It is to be found in acts of injustice perpetrated by Parliament in obedience to party motives and to the pressure of local interests. Still graver in its probable

effects was the policy which forbade India, in a time of deep financial distress, to raise a revenue by import duties on English cotton, in accordance with the almost unanimous desire of her administrators and her educated public opinion. If the opinions of English administrators in India or of Indian administrators at home had been taken, such duties would have been imposed, but votes might have been lost, an agitation might have been raised in England, and both parties feared to run the risk " ("Democracy and Liberty," vol 1, p 207 )

The following lessons of history may also be quoted

"Of all tyrannies the worst is the rule by the people" (Aristotle)

"Invariably in civil contests it was found at Athens the worst and most abandoned public characters obtained the ascendancy" (Thucydides)

"The *Egestas cupida novarum rerum* was the most prolific source of the evils which first undermined and lastly overthrew the foundations of Roman liberty" (Sallust)

Livy has described "the vacillation and tyranny of popular assemblies, and the cruel tyranny which the triumph of democracy brought on the Roman Commonwealth "

"Democracy is not the government of the few by the many, but the many by the few. The few who are thus raised to power are the most dangerous and worthless of the community" (Pitt)

"A tendency to democracy does not mean a tendency to parliamentary government or even a tendency to greater liberty. On the contrary, strong arguments may be adduced, both from history and from the nature of things, to show that democracy may often prove the direct opposite of liberty. In ancient Rome the old aristocratic government was gradually transformed into democracy, and it passed speedily into an imperial despotism. In France a corresponding change has more than once taken place" (Lecky)

The only practical form of self-government can be by the agency of the Governor-General in Council, or, in other words, by the Government of India with a free hand, relieved from the baneful interference of the India Office

To carry out such a policy the Government of India

should be invested with a *written Constitution*, based on principles of good government, justice, freedom, liberty and purity, somewhat similar to those which exist in the United States, in Canada, in Australia, and in the Cape Colony, but modified so as to be suitable to the special conditions of the natives of India. Under such a Constitution the liberty and rights of the people are safeguarded, and the power of both the Upper and Lower Chambers is restricted under the protection of a Supreme Court of Judicature, which has the right of authoritatively interpreting the written Constitution and declaring null and void any Act contrary to the spirit of it that may have been passed by either of the Chambers. The aim of such a Constitution would be to divide and restrict power, to check the appetite for organic change, to preserve freedom of contract, to guard against the tyranny of the majority, and to ensure a spirit of sober and sensible freedom.

Under such a Constitution, the Upper Chamber should consist of the Governor-General in Council, as at present constituted, and the Lower Chamber composed of a workable number of delegates—say, not exceeding fifty—of Europeans and Indians in equal number, representing the various provinces of the Indian Empire.

The Government of India has, in the past, fully proved its fitness to govern India, and the Indian official stands out in favourable contrast to the average British Member of Parliament, who, as a rule, is absolutely deficient in every qualification for sensible or sound administration.

Mill has rightly said

“The British Government of India is not only the purest in intention, but one of the most beneficial in act ever known.”

Personally I may say

My long and intimate connection with the Government of India, extending over eighteen years, enables me to confirm in the strongest manner possible the opinion expressed by Mill

## *Self-Government for India*

Lord Curzon has paid a just tribute to the Indian Covenanted Civilians, attributing to them

“A sense of responsibility and devotion to duty, a love of the country and sympathy with its people, developed to a degree that is without parallel in the history of any other country”

Arminius Vambéry, the celebrated traveller, in a letter to an influential native in Bengal, wrote

“I am not an Englishman, and I do not ignore the shortcomings of English rule in India, but I have seen much of the world both in Europe and Asia, and studied the matter carefully, and I can assure you that England is far in advance of the rest of Europe on point of justice, liberality, and fair-dealing with all entrusted to her care.”

A Government formed on such lines and with such materials would be the most perfect Government in the world

## SOME THOUGHTS ABOUT THE "DRAIN" IN INDIA

By W H MORELAND

OUR Indian visitors have not been idle, and during the last few months select audiences in the metropolis, and still more in the provinces, have been told a great deal about India's condition and aspirations. I have not, unfortunately, been able to hear any of the speeches, but I have read a number of friendly reports, and I have been very much struck by the amount of attention paid to economic questions. I am far from blaming the speakers, who doubtless chose the topics to appeal to their audience, but I have sometimes wished that a Tagore had been among them to expound to the workaday West the spiritual lessons which India has to teach, and her historic contempt for such trifles as food and clothes. However, I am concerned with what was said, not with what remained unspoken, economic topics were the staple of many of the speeches, and among these topics the Drain inevitably took a prominent place. I have not noticed that its nature and its operation were clearly explained, but there again the composition of the audience was probably decisive, and the picture was characterized by vivid colour with strong light and shade rather than by any meticulous attention to detail. What effect it produced on the audiences I do not know, but the series of reports sent me back to some half-forgotten blue-books, just to see how it came about that India has survived this "outpouring of her life-blood", there are masses of figures bearing on the question, and they are accessible to everyone for a very few shillings, but their detailed study is a little tedious, and perhaps it will save

other people some trouble if I put down as shortly as possible the broad results, and add a few suggestions which have occurred to me

In order to get at the facts regarding the Drain, one must go back to the years before the war, the burden of current complaints is that the Drain has become a normal feature of the position under British rule, and the last five years have been very far from normal. The few figures I shall give are averages based on the three years from April, 1910, to March, 1913, a period when things were running their ordinary course, when trade was not restricted or controlled, and when fifteen rupees were equivalent to the pound sterling, the quantities to be considered are so large that it suffices to talk in millions of pounds (£m), and lesser sums can be neglected without affecting the course of the argument. In order to see whether a Drain exists, we look first of all at the statistics of trade, which show what useful things a country has sent out and what other useful things she has received in their place, and we find that at the period stated India *sold* in the course of a year things worth £m 152, and *bought* things worth £m 99, so that she stood to receive £m 53 on balance, if she got good value in other ways for this sum, then there was no Drain, and if there was a Drain, its amount will be indicated by the deficiency in good value which she received. Quite a large number of items go to make up the balance-sheet of India's transactions with the rest of the world, which shows what value was received for her exports, but two of them are so much larger than the others that for plain people they make the whole matter clear, and leaving the smaller items on both sides out of account, we may say that against the £m 53 of surplus exports, India received over £m 28 in gold and silver, while nearly £m 26 were paid into her account with the Secretary of State, and spent by him on her behalf. The question, then, is whether she got good value under each of these heads.



Taking the gold and silver first, there is no doubt that from a commercial point of view the transaction was fair, that is to say, the market value of the coins and bullion is correctly shown. Nevertheless, I entirely deny that India got "good value" under this head, and I class from £m 20 upwards of this gold and silver as a Drain on her material resources. The quantity of these metals which is put to useful purposes in India is very small, the bulk of both lies useless, or at most ministers to the vanity of the people, yet in order to obtain them, India has given useful things like grain and oilseeds, or cotton and jute, some of which she could have used for herself, while the rest could have been exchanged for things which would have helped to increase the real income of the people. India is a poor country, but she clings to this old economic vice, she literally gives bread for stones, and poor she will remain until she acquires thriftier habits, and learns to invest her surplus products in more remunerative ways. It may, of course, be argued that India has a right to remain poor if she chooses, though this line does not seem to have been taken in England, but there is another side to the question, for these stocks of gold and silver are the principal incentives to crime, and the country would have far fewer thieves, and consequently far fewer policemen, if the people would change their habits in this respect. Almost every week I read some story in the Indian papers which brings out this aspect of the question. Now it is a frail old lady, burnt with hot irons until she gives up her cherished store of jewellery. Now it is a strong man hacked to pieces in defence of what he values more than life, or, most piteous tragedy of all, some innocent child strangled for the sake of the paltry ornaments worn to gratify his mother's thoughtless vanity. There, indeed, you have a Drain of India's life-blood.

Perhaps it may be said that the quantity of gold and silver imported on balance is not great enough to make a material difference. The annual sum works out at

is 9½d per head of the population, the burden of Indian taxation (in the strict sense) was at the same period 2s od per head, and I have seen many assertions that taxation is so heavy as to cripple the energies of the country. If 2s od is crushing, 9½d is not light. Again, the absorption of gold alone totalled £m 191 in the forty years ending in 1913, and in that year the total of India's oft-denounced sterling debt was £m 183, if India had chosen to pay her sterling debts instead of buying useless gold, she could have cleared them off in this period without taking silver into consideration. Tried by such tests as these, this Drain of useful things given for the precious metals stands out as a serious economic evil, its continuance undoubtedly means that the country is much poorer than it need be, while the results in social life are all bad, and some of them are hideous.

Next let us see whether India got better value for the £m 26 which was paid yearly into her account in London. The details published regarding the expenditure of this sum are so full as to be wearying, but eliminating cross-entries, and keeping to the important items, we find that over £m 1 was spent on stores for India, about £m 15 on railways and canals, and about £m 10 on defence and administration. There is no doubt that India got full value for the stores, one can wish it had been possible to buy more of them in the country, but of the value there can be no question. The money spent on railways and canals went partly in buying out private owners, partly in paying interest on capital, and partly in providing new equipment. I know some Indians have argued that the railways have done harm, but these gentlemen must now be classed as back-numbers, the peasants are getting votes, and, when they take charge, they will insist on more canals and more railways to an extent which I fear may sometimes embarrass their elected representatives. Meanwhile, India has acquired property in canals and railways, which already yields several

millions a year after interest and all other charges have been paid, and which will presently make her the envy of the civilized world. As regards the cost of defence and administration, it is possible to point to an item here, and another there, which might conceivably be somewhat reduced, but against these must be set the broad fact that nothing is charged for the world-wide services of the Navy, what value should be set on that item I have no very precise idea, but it is certainly far above the total of all disputable charges actually made, and I am quite sure that if the account were submitted to a jury of international financiers, drawn say from France, Brazil, and Japan, the verdict would be that India gets her national existence ridiculously cheap.

Such, then, are the facts. India gets exceedingly good value for the money spent abroad, but she loses heavily by the import of gold and silver on which her people insist, and a financier might be tempted to ask why Indian critics concentrate on the first item, and have nothing whatever to say about the second. The answer I should give to this question is that the money spent abroad does in fact represent a sentimental, though not a material, Drain, in a word, it hurts. It involves a drain on India's newly-found self-respect, an immense national asset, though its value cannot be shown in the country's balance-sheet. Young India is not really interested in knowing whether she gets good value or not, confident of her own efficiency, she objects to the existence of these payments as a whole. Now just because this national self-respect is a new growth, and not as yet firmly rooted in the past, it overlooks certain material factors, the hard truth is that India makes payments to foreigners to secure her national existence solely by reason of her secular national inefficiency. I call this a hard truth, because I have noticed that Indians are inclined to pass it by, and glory in the political and administrative system of the distant past. That system had many admirable features, but it was vitiated by one fatal flaw—it

failed to provide security for the national existence, and for a thousand years, at any rate, India lay open by land and sea. Everyone knows, or should know, what happened on land from Muhammad *bin* Kasim to Mahmud of Ghazni, from Mahmud to Babur, from Babur to Nadir Shah, anyone who chose might come into India, to slay and loot and burn, and India's neighbours still hold to the tradition, as we saw last spring. It was not a question of greater force, Babur won his Empire with probably less than 8,000 men, at a time when India counted her troops by lakhs. It was national inefficiency, nothing more nor less. The story of the coast is less generally known, but there is abundant evidence that throughout this period every harbour, from Lahari Bandar on the Indus round to distant Chittagong, could be seized, or sacked, or burnt, by any sea-rover who came along. Such things do not happen now, and these annual payments indicate the reason why.

These facts are unpalatable, but they are relevant and important. Their lesson is simply that India must make herself efficient in order to maintain her self-respect, and at the present time her business-management falls very far short of efficiency. The Drain of bread for stones must be stopped before she can fully make good, and her people must learn to invest their surplus in productive work. This doctrine is of course not new, but the point I wish to urge on Indian leaders just now is that the two Drains, the material and the sentimental, are very closely interconnected, every reduction in the import of useless gold and silver can operate to reduce the volume of payments made abroad, and a united and sustained movement would very soon bring these payments down to an inconsiderable sum. Let me offer the outline of a programme for action, which will make this point clear.

1. Support the rupee loans, so that there may never again be any question of borrowing abroad for railways, canals, or other needs. It used to be thought that India

could find only three or four crores yearly for such purposes, that idea has been disproved by recent experience, and with the help of a strong political lead, such as has not yet been forthcoming, India could go ahead in a way that has been impossible in the past without incurring liabilities for paying interest abroad

2 Teach the people to choose their investments more wisely than they are doing now, so that capital may flow freely into essential industries in the hands of men who can be trusted. Steel rails can now be made in India, and that fact alone reduces payments made abroad, but much more steel is, or will soon be, wanted. Make your own rails, build your own wagons, go on presently to locomotives, build ships, make chemicals, find money to provide all the imported goods which India can profitably produce, and so reduce the volume of foreign payments which you dislike so much

3 If there is money left after providing for these needs, buy up your foreign debt, as Japan has lately done. Import the sterling loans instead of gold or silver, and get the interest paid in the country, they are cheap just now and exchange is high, so that the £m 28 spent annually on useless metals would bring the whole foreign debt home in a very few years

4 In order to finance these new activities, get the people to diminish their demand for gold and silver, and to bring out what is now lying idle. I know this will be hard, for the habit of absorption is of old standing, but it is the leaders' privilege to lead, and at the present juncture there is no work better worth doing than to reduce steadily the volume of the material Drain, and thereby diminish the Drain on the national self-respect

Finally let me recall an almost forgotten incident of Indian history. When a certain Portuguese Governor found himself urgently in need of a loan for capital-development, and appealed to the citizens of Goa, it was the ladies who took the lead, and while they sent their husbands to

*Some Thoughts about the "Drain" in India*

subscribe according to their means, they hastened to devote their jewellery to the same purpose, taking the bracelets from their arms, the necklaces from their necks, even the rings from their fingers, till the sum needed was more than made up For myself, I entirely refuse to believe that, if the need be once made clear, the patriotism of Indian ladies will fall below the standard set at Goa in the sixteenth century

## AGRARIAN INDEBTEDNESS

BY H A ROSE, I C S (RET)

THE topic of agrarian indebtedness has exercised administrators from the times of Solon and the Gracchi to that of Sir Denzil Ibbetson in our own day. In various parts of India the condition of the peasantry and their revolts against economic oppression have compelled the Government of India to pass special Acts, such as the Agriculturists' Relief Act for the Deccan and the Alienation of Land Act for the Punjab. In the latter province things were very bad in 1886, when Mr S S Thorburn wrote his "Musalmans and Money-Lenders in the Punjab" (Blackwood). Mr Thorburn was accused of much overstatement, but a re-perusal of his work now will convince anyone acquainted with the facts that so far from exaggerating the evil he underrated it, and his only error was in treating the question as one between the Moslem cultivators and their creditors, whereas it is one between the capitalist lender, who is occasionally himself an agriculturist, and the embarrassed cultivator, whether he be owner, occupancy tenant, or merely a tenant without fixity of tenure, and whether he be Musalman, Hindu, or Sikh. Mr Thorburn's work, however, contains so much material of value that it can still be read with profit. It has never been superseded, and it should be studied by all who wish to try and realize how electoral powers are likely to be used in India, and what the position of the Indian proletariat would be if the money-lending classes secured an alliance with the lawyers, combining with them against the peasantry. Since the war began there have been risings of a more or less serious character in the Punjab

That of the south-west of the province in 1914 was essentially an agrarian *jacquerie*, a revolt of the Musulman peasants and workers directed not against British rule but against the Hindu money-lender. The recent movements seem to have had something of the same character, to judge from their objectives and localities.

How did matters drift into this pass? We may cite Thorburn "Having annexed the Punjab we over-assessed it on the basis of its old Sikh exactions." This was promptly remedied. We then proceeded (in a very characteristic way) to do two things at once, and conduct a "regular settlement" of each district. That term always puzzles English readers, as well it may do. The object of such a settlement was partly fiscal, but chiefly the preparation of what is called the record of rights—*i.e.*, tenures of every description were investigated, determined, and recorded, says Thorburn. Now it may be possible to conduct a great fiscal survey and a judicial *enquête* simultaneously, but unless the two objectives are each kept clearly in view, the result is like to be disastrous to both. Thorburn exposed the failure of the judicial settlement. He also pointed out the economic result of the "settlements," which was to "largely appreciate the market value of land and the credit of those whose titles to marketable interests had been established." Finally he condemned the fiscal error of excessive rigidity in assessments, attributing peasant indebtedness largely to it, but observing that "no disastrous consequences would have ensued had we not also at the same time converted collective into individual ownership of land *plus* the right to alienate it at pleasure." A combined fiscal and judicial operation, with a double objective, had led to a new economic problem. That problem was never studied systematically or scientifically. Fiscal emollients have been applied, as by substituting fluctuating for fixed assessments. Economically, the clumsy, though inevitable, remedy of restricting alienation of agricultural land has been applied. But the Punjab



peasantry remains in debt. It has not only failed to recover from the indebtedness (surely not heavy) incurred in our early over-assessments, but has sunk deeper into the quicksands of insolvency. We must go back to our "settlements" again in the search for a cause.

As is not unusual in English, the term "settlement" was apparently chosen because that operation left everything it touched unsettled. This is no disparagement of the earliest settlement officers. The adjudication by them of millions of disputes as to title was a fine achievement, but the judicial quality of their work was never recognized. A Settlement Collector used no doubt to be invested with formal judicial powers, and exercise them to a limited extent. But he decided a vastly greater number of disputes about land informally in preparing his record of rights. Unfortunately, we refused to make that record proof of title. Even when "sanctioned" by Government (or in better English confirmed by it) it only got a presumption of correctness, and so could always be questioned in a regular civil court. This gave the ball of litigation a good start. The Settlement Officers also compiled district codes of custom and village memoranda on usages—compilations often admirably done and even when brief or incomplete based on an intimate knowledge of what the people really did and really wanted in the whole gamut of their affairs, from marriage and inheritance down to rights in water and the village trees. To these codes nothing was given, not even a presumption of correctness, and they have been an object of consistent hostility to the legal profession. The cost of their compilation was wasted. The most fruitful labours of the Settlement Collector were sterilized, as nothing he had done was final. Even in his fiscal functions the demand fixed by him was always, in theory at least, elastic, and now that it

\* Officialdom has always been strangely reluctant to acknowledge that the work of a settlement was far more judicial than fiscal, or to recognize the great qualities displayed as practical, though unavowed and non-technical, *judges* by the earlier Settlement Collectors.

is so largely fluctuating, his "settlement" can only be described as unsettling. Our policy may be described as one of alternating currents. For about one year in three\* a district goes through the crisis of a "settlement," which fixes its revenue demand in a certain sense, and wakes a good many sleeping dogs when the record of rights is revised in the quasi-judicial *enquête* as to titles, boundaries, etc. For the remaining two-thirds of its existence it is left severely alone, to settle its disputes by litigation. Every settlement discloses more agrarian debt, more expropriation of the peasantry, and greater need for economic reconstruction.

The work of the Settlement Officer, depreciated as it has been in the past by timorous refusals to give it finality, forms an admirable basis for such reconstruction. By making the individual holder full proprietor of his land we gave him a free gift of capital. But that capital was not in a liquid form. He ought, of course, to have saved money, but he had excuses for not having done so. If he had kept out of debt during Sikh rule he had seldom saved under it. Our over-assessments after annexation did not facilitate thrift. Probably then a general resort to borrowed capital was inevitable, and perhaps a necessary complement to our gift. But whence was it to be obtained? The answer is, from the money-lender and no one else. We made no attempt to carry on the settlement's work to its logical economical conclusion and organize the supply of capital to the newly created owner. Within limits, up to the value of his holding, homestead, and stock, he had magnificent security to offer. Organized capital would have lent him money at 6 per cent or possibly less, on the security of his land, at any rate. The money-lender lent it him at rates which we dare not state, but which have been often described †

\* The last Settlement Officer of Jhelum informed me that this was the figure for that district.

† *E.g.* Thorburn, *op cit*, p 169 ff, where various authorities are quoted

We now come to a most difficult task, that of endeavouring to discover and indicate the causes of agrarian indebtedness and insolvency. Three schools of official opinion exist. One, a little out of date, regards the money-lender as an evil, the second opines that the law must take its course, favours *laissez-faire* and the elimination of the unfit, while the third, the largest and most judicious, thinks there is a great deal to be said on both sides and, *more Britannico*, deprecates drastic action, disbelieves unpleasant facts, and postpones effective action till the last moment has gone by. This last school accounts for the meandering course of economic policy pursued in the past. Economic laws are absolute and seemingly inexorable in their working, but this truism exponents of "wait and see" will not recognize or admit.

In economic law a man with good security to offer ought to be able to borrow money on that security at low interest, especially if he will mortgage or pawn that security. But our courts have entirely failed to recognize this axiom or to give effect to it. Hence it is common to find secured debts bearing high interest—at a rate equal to that charged on unsecured debts. Many decisions entitle the courts to go into the terms of a bond and cut down unconscionable interest, but not one is known to the present writer which differentiates between secured and unsecured debts. The money-lender is equally indiscriminating, and who shall blame him for his lack of economic learning? As long as he can get high interest on *both* kinds of advance he would be a fool to reduce it on such as are well secured. The most enlightened money-lenders, however, seem, to do them justice, quite innocent of the distinction\*. The cultivator has no inkling of it.

But security may be general and not particular. A land-owner may incur unsecured debts and his creditor may

\* This was certainly the case in the part in which the present writer last served—a fertile agricultural district with much indebtedness. The money-lenders as a body did not know what a "secured" debt was.

think his money safe because he can bring all his property to sale. Indeed in early days our courts sold land to realize decreed debts freely (and probably much too freely), so various enactments were passed to "protect" the embarrassed land-owner. But economic laws being inexorable, this action struck a severe blow at agricultural credit in general. The law had not forbidden lending. It had never warned the lender that he could not lend with any safety except on a mortgage. Then when he *had* lent, much too freely no doubt and at usurious rates, the executive authorities intervened and often refused to allow his debtor's land to be sold. It is submitted that in this matter executive action was not guided by any economic principles whatsoever. If it had been it would have enunciated some such rules as these: "The courts decree interest as on unsecured debts against owners of land. They may be bound to do so, but we are guardians of equity and if, by allowing land to be sold to satisfy such decrees we virtually do what the lender neglected to do for himself—*z e*, insist on his getting security—if, then, we turn his unsecured debt into a secured one, we must, as an equitable set-off, reduce his usurious rate to a fair economic rate. And in some cases we may go farther and look into the origin of the debt, its history, necessity, and its terms as to compound interest. But having cut down the interest and ascertained what is fairly due to the creditor we must see that he gets it—and allow the sale of sufficient land to meet his debt as we have assessed it." But too often sale was peremptorily disallowed *in toto*, and thenceforward the money-lender had a grievance. He lost both principal and interest. By a law of economic human nature he raised his rates or kept them up against his agricultural *clientèle* in the lump.

But the Legislature did not stop at protecting land from seizure in execution of money decrees. It also exempted artisans' tools, the peasants' stock, and so on—and very rightly so. Thenceforward the lender knew that he could

not look to plough-cattle, for instance, as any sort of security for his advances—or rather he should have known it. But now the courts come in. It is, we are told, their duty to administer the law—but with an important qualification: the litigant who invokes any protective provision of law must appear in court and plead it. Very quickly the money-lender seized on his advantage. He will attach a debtor's plough-cattle, timing the operation just when they were most wanted for ploughing. The cultivator's only remedy is to go to the court—which may mean a trudge of fifty miles or more—and claim their release. That claim has to be heard, and by the time it is decided (in his favour) the time for ploughing has passed, and the cattle, whose condition does not seem to improve during the spell of enforced rest, are returned to him.

What remedies have been tried or can be suggested for a long-admitted evil which affects all agricultural India in a greater or less degree? We have the Co-operative Credit movement, admirable in intention and hopeful in a limited field. Yet surely its very name is unfortunate if it implies that it is solely destined to expand agricultural credit and not diminish agrarian insolvency. All credit, co-operative or individual, must in the last resort be based on security †. The borrower's integrity is no doubt an

\* It has been held that a court must not, *proprio motu*, refuse to attach a cultivator's plough-cattle, even though it knows that they are exempted from attachment. It must effect the attachment, and let the cultivator apply for their release. Judicial "principles," it is to be feared, are not unlike amateur strategy in that they are inclined to ignore such humdrum considerations as time, distance, and the breakdown of human nature under temptation. It is a fallacy to imagine that formal, tangible security is always the most effective. A Government servant may not be able to hypothecate his salary as security, but it is against the rules to get heavily into debt. Hence, as in cases in the writer's experience, the threat of a complaint to the head of an office may be *more* profitable to an usurer than a legally secured debt. The lender, of course, finds his real security, not in the law, but in the Government rules regarding indebtedness and bankruptcy among its *employés*.

† Co-operative Societies in India seem to have discovered this, and to be obtaining mortgages of land as collateral security for advances. The

asset, but when a debtor is insolvent it is not one that can be realized. Insolvency, agrarian as much as commercial, must be dealt with by the courts of bankruptcy. A far wider problem is to prevent its increase and to insure its arrest, a large measure of legal reform, both in procedure and substantive equity, is necessary. And this must be accompanied by a widespread education of the judiciary, the money-lender, and the land-owner, in economic law. The courts have to realize that law is, in Della Croce's phrase, "a function of economics." The money-lender has to realize that the cultivator is a goose who lays golden eggs and that, on a long view, it is a mistake to kill him. Our schools might well teach the elementary rule that lending on good security at low interest is more profitable than making prodigal advances at usurious rates without it. The landholder ought to be taught, with the three R's, that while it is legitimate to finance his trade on borrowed capital, it is courting disaster to raise money at usurious rates for such unproductive purposes as fireworks at weddings. But no legal reform in India can ever be really effective until she has her own Supreme Court in India to standardize judicial policy and raise the *rationes decidendi* to a higher plane. The greatest peril to which the masses in India will be exposed under the new *régime* will be a combine between the money-lender and the less scrupulous type of pleader. Have any steps been taken to protect the great body of small peasant proprietors, and those who are dependent upon him, against this danger? It does not seem so. The peril

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Report of Sir Edward Maclagan's Committee on Co operation in India (1915—but only issued in 1919) contains some admirable observations on this point. See paragraphs 65-69, especially paragraph 66. Paragraph 69 exposes some of the complications which arise when alienation of land is restricted. The money lender gets round such restrictions and loads his rates of interest to cover the risks and expense of so doing. But Co-operative Banks cannot evade the law. It seems obvious, then, that mortgages of agricultural land to such banks should be made legal, and as cheap and simple as possible.

is a very real one, as experience shows. If the Indian peasantry falls into economic servitude, loses its title in the soil it has clung to through so many political vicissitudes, what a field for Bolshevik propaganda it will present! As a corrective of legalism, a check on politico-economic log-rolling, and a counterweight to the influence of the usurers, a Court, placed as high above all extraneous currents as is humanly possible, is essential if the new model is to succeed. The Charter of such a Court should make it the Supreme tribunal in every sense. It should vest it with powers to make the judiciary administer the law and prevent oppression under legal forms. It should be able to instil it with courage and initiative. Its Charter should entitle it to work with the Legislature, by freeing it from the shackles of literal interpretation. It should not be compelled to take its law from the advocate, because he can cite precedent upon precedent, without regard to reason and the well-being of the people, any more than it should be constrained to delegate its function of finding on the facts to the professional witness. Centuries ago an acute jurist observed that the witnesses in a cause were the real judges of all questions of fact—a somewhat dangerous position, unless testimony is invariably truthful. That may have been the law in medieval Europe, but the time has gone by for law to exist as a thing apart from the broader currents of national life. A Supreme Court should be commissioned by its Charter as the Keeper of the King-Emperor's conscience. Without some such guardian we may live to see India convulsed by a disastrous struggle between her indebted millions and the monied classes we have done so much to create. If it is true of European countries that unrest is largely due to economic causes, it is profoundly true of India.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

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### THE STUDY OF THE INDIAN VERNACULARS

BY THE REV A DARBY, M A , B D

IN the paper I am about to read, I propose to state, as clearly as I can, the conclusions which a considerable and somewhat peculiar experience of India has led me to form, regarding the desirability of a better knowledge of the vernaculars on the part of those who are called to work in that country

To an audience of this kind it is unnecessary to labour the point that the supreme need of the present time in India is the cultivation of more sympathetic relations with its people, but it is, I think, still necessary to affirm, repeatedly and emphatically, that such relations can be established only through such a knowledge of the languages as will render possible first hand and free intercourse with the great mass of the people which knows nothing of English

English has become so generally the language of the offices, and so many find employment which calls for the use of no other, that there is considerable plausibility in the assertion sometimes made, that a knowledge of the vernaculars can be dispensed with. Before going on to our main subject we must dispose of this contention

Our reputation and influence in India most emphatically do not depend upon the quality of our official output, nor is the intercourse of an official with his subordinates of a kind to call out much mutual regard. In spite of much



talk about democracy, the vast majority of the population is still at that stage where the personal note is essential, and it is because we are looked upon as little more than officials administering a soulless system that our best work is unappreciated. It is the senior officials who find English sufficient for their needs, and these are far outnumbered by those of junior grade, whose work necessarily brings them into contact with men of every class of Hindu society, most of whom know no tongue but that in which they were born. It is from the impressions created by these latter that the popular estimate is formed.

The ordinary uneducated Hindu is a very tractable and patient person, but the one thing he does greatly appreciate is the opportunity to present his cause or trouble to the official who has to deal with it, and because the Indian official is much better able to meet the people in this way, he has a distinct advantage over the Englishman, to set off against a possible inferiority in some other direction. One has but to watch the anxious face of a rayat employing an interpreter to speak for him, to see what harm is done because he cannot be sure that his appeal has reached the official ear in the form he thinks it ought to do. The exercise of a little courtesy and sympathy in such a case means the creation of a feeling which spreads quickly through a whole village, and colours the sentiment of a large number. It may be said that the official cannot and ought not to waste his time in listening to the small matters humble petitioners wish to bring to his notice, but this opinion seems to me to be hopelessly wrong. If the official is so much occupied with departmental routine and the filling of Government files and pigeon-holes that he cannot keep in close touch with those whose destinies he so largely controls, if he really cannot find the time to hear the little complaints which, although they seem trivial to himself, are of primary importance to those who present them, then departmental work must be reduced

and time must be found. We can better afford to fail somewhat in departmental efficiency than to omit anything which will give us a place in the hearts of the people. The day when we can dispense with the personal relation most emphatically has not yet come, and we are being rudely awakened from the pleasant dream that single-hearted and conscientious efforts to do our best for the country must produce a grateful appreciation upon which we should be able to rely in time of stress, and be our security against the misrepresentations of the unkindly disposed. It is ignorance of our true spirit which makes the masses so ready to accept the false constructions put upon our actions, and it is our own fault that they see but one side of the matter.

Many things combine to make the old, more cordial relations difficult to maintain in these days when there is peculiar need that they should be maintained, and one of the chief of these is the general low standard of linguistic attainments. It is generally admitted that the acquirements of missionaries in this direction are superior to those of any other class of foreigners in India, and it would be difficult to find a missionary of experience who did not admit that his attainments were inadequate. We wonder sometimes why we do not win our due meed of gratitude for what we do or try to do, we should not so wonder if we realized that our imperfect knowledge of the vernaculars is a perpetual source of irritation and misunderstanding. Englishmen express their wants in terms which convey no intelligible meaning to their hearers, and then are angry because they are not properly understood by those who have to trust to their wits to discover what it is that the sahib is trying to say, and this goes on among a people who have little to learn from anybody regarding what good manners and courtesy demand. No official efficiency can counterbalance the evil thus caused, and it is this which has led to the verdict being given against us, in spite of the good we have done. The fact that this verdict is

readily reversed in favour of those who are understood and can approach the people in a sympathetic manner, is sufficient proof of the truth of what I say. If we want to understand India, we must be cautious of forming our opinions from what the English-speaking portion of the community tell us, if we wish Indians to believe that we have their welfare at heart we must prove it by taking the trouble to learn to talk to them. It may be laid down as axiomatic that every foreigner in India should aim at the highest possible attainments in the vernacular of those among whom he works, and that no efforts should be spared by those who have the direction of affairs to give this aim the *first* place in the general policy. No officer is truly efficient who cannot, if he wishes, dispense with translators and interpreters, and who cannot, when called upon, address a public audience in the vernacular. At present one who can do this is looked upon as something of a prodigy. We are approaching a time when personal influence must largely take the place of Government orders, and when the foreigner who is out of sympathy with the aspirations of the people will find India uncongenial. Judgments of the capacity of an Indian founded on what he can do through the medium of English are very unfair to him, for he is one man in English and another in the vernacular. Never having realized how high must be the attainments of those who claim to be truly efficient in a foreign tongue, we do not realize what we have done in trying to impart a sound education in the secondary schools through the medium of English, we cannot expect education to be satisfactory when the time and energies of students are mainly taken up with memorizing the expression in which their studies are clothed. One outcome of the present nationalist movement is a desire to return to the vernaculars as the media of instruction, and this is a perfectly legitimate desire, holding out promise of much good. Those who take up educational work in the future will be called upon to give themselves to the study of the vernaculars much

more seriously, and it seems to me to be quite evident that to dispense with the services of Englishmen in the schools would be a grave mistake, for it is in the schools and colleges that the best opportunity for the cultivation of sympathy between the two peoples is found, and we have lessons still to teach which the Indian needs to learn. It should hardly be necessary to say that those who cannot speak the language of their pupils will not have much influence over them.

Another aspect of the subject may be touched upon. Our great asset in India is the belief that the Englishman, according to his lights, is a just man, but against this has to be set off the prevalent suspicion that the subordinates in an office, especially when the chief is ignorant of the language and not likely to have access to first-hand information, are capable of giving things a turn to suit themselves, hence arises the impression that a lubricant administered here and there may expedite matters. I do not myself think that this suspicion has so much real ground as is often supposed, but I am sure it exists, and it obviously suits the convenience of some that it should exist. Its main support lies in the common impression that the official's knowledge of the vernacular is not reliable. In the time that is coming, there is bound to be trouble in the offices owing to the doubts other castes entertain of Brahmin honesty of purpose. It is well known how difficult it is for a non-Brahmin to gain or retain a place in many offices, and the dissatisfaction thence arising will increase as other castes press for a share of the spoils of office, as they are sure to do. I speak as I do, not because I wish to criticize the much-maligned Brahmin or to add to the heavy burden of unpopularity he has to bear, but because the suspicion is a fact to be dealt with, and the Brahmins are as well aware of it as anybody. Proficiency in the vernaculars would not, of course, entirely do away with this, but it is the best corrective available, for it arouses the fear that the official will learn more than is expedient of what goes on behind

the scenes If he moves freely among the people he will hear much that no one will dare to tell him in his office

It may seem that I have given undue prominence to this part of my subject, but it is becoming more and more evident to me that failure in the direction indicated has been productive of more harm than is at all recognized, and that if Englishmen in India had made it their first duty to attain proficiency in the use of what, after all, is the real instrument of government, the political movement of our time would not have assumed its present disagreeable form Many unpleasant phenomena which are attributed to other causes are really due to this We have failed to commend ourselves to the hearts of Indians, because we have not kept steadily before us the need of encouraging to the utmost everything that would promote sympathetic personal intercourse, and chief among these things is knowledge of the vernaculars The tardy nature of our repentance detracts from its value, but better late than never We must ask the Indians to forgive us on the ground of our ignorance

What sort of a record have we in this matter? It is not my wish to criticize those to whom the onerous task of governing India is committed, but this paper would have no justification if everything were for the best in this the best of all possible worlds We have governed India for well over a hundred years India is a country of many languages, and living intercourse with its people depends upon capacity to meet them on their own ground. True statesmanship would have recognized the gravity of this fact from the first, and have provided for it What sort of provision has been made to ensure proficiency in the handling of the indispensable instrument of government? There is no institution in India where students can find the tuition they require, nothing has been done to train teachers, and the old complaint, that the so-called pandits are inefficient teachers, is as true as ever Men landing in the country are supposed to get up the languages in their spare time, and the greater part of the remuneration they

receive finds its way into the pockets of the teachers. The examinations are taken after such a short period of study that outsiders conclude either that the examinations are very easy or that the new-comers are geniuses to a man. The opinion widely prevails that the study of grammar—the science of the most universal of all arts, and without a sound knowledge of which real proficiency is impossible—is for pedants only, and all discussions of method is thereby vitiated. No organized attempt to provide the requisite books has been made, with the consequence that this work has been carried out by private enterprise on no regular principles, and the students have had to do their best with books which are defective in many ways, and do not give him what he requires.

Whatever may have been the shortcomings of the past, the time has come when the provision of a complete series of suitable books should be taken in hand. Materials for this work are now available. The labours of Sir George Grierson and his assistants have made a general survey and comparison of the languages possible, a committee, over which Professor Sonnenschein presides, is engaged in reducing grammatical terminology to order, phonetics has become an exact science, educational methods and the psychology of the intellect are understood as they never were before. All this should be given practical application and made available for popular use. When the right books are provided we shall be surprised to see how much the labour of students can be lightened by the employment of sound methods of teaching and study.

A further factor in the problem has to be considered. The greater vernaculars belong to one or another of two main groups—the Aryan and the Dravidian—and a knowledge of one member of a family greatly assists to the mastery of a second. The majority of those who work in India find themselves called upon to learn more than one language, and the affinity of the languages should be utilized

as far as possible to facilitate the passage from one language to another

The prominent features of the books I contemplate would be the following. The terminology employed in them should be the same throughout, and one order should be preserved. They should combine a carefully thought-out method with the grammar, and this method should be devised with a view to producing the best ultimate result, and not the superficial facility which deceives all but those who know what the attainments must be before the student can be considered proficient. They should provide abundant and sensible exercises on every grammatical form, the scope of the books should be restricted to the essential and the practical, they should aim to impart such a knowledge as will enable the student to express every thought in an intelligible manner, but the view of the wood should not be obscured by the thick trees of scholastic detail which the advanced student can work out for himself if he desires to do so.

If the requisite unity is to be attained, the compilation of such a series must be controlled by one mind, and that an English mind, because an Englishman best knows the wants and scholastic antecedents of Englishmen, and can best tell where the linguistic shoe is likely to pinch. The only way in which one order can be preserved is by following the educational maxim of proceeding from the known to the unknown, and making English sentence structure the basis. The controlling mind must be that of one who has a knowledge of the languages covered by the series, but it is, of course, impossible for one man to be familiar with the vocabularies of so many languages, and in no case is it safe for a foreigner to dispense with the help of native experts, however proficient he may be. Competent assistants for every language must therefore be engaged, but the controlling mind should have such a knowledge of the structure and grammar of *all* the languages treated, and of the characters employed in writing them, as to be able to check

the work throughout, and to ensure an accurate presentment. He must also be prepared to familiarize himself with all that has been done by scholars in various branches of study adjacent to his special task, and to embody it in the books. He must also be capable of expressing his facts in a way to be easily and clearly understood, and the work should not be considered complete until the books are actually in the hands of the book-sellers. One need not hesitate to say that it would be well worth while for the Government to bear the whole cost of publication, and to present copies to all *bona-fide* students.

This last remark may arouse someone to question my sobriety of judgment. I ask him to refrain for a few minutes. The reform which would be of more profit to India than any other imaginable would be the adoption for use throughout the country of a single alphabet based on the Romanic. The economic, administrative, and educational value of such a reform can hardly be over-estimated. The present state of public feeling renders the introduction of such an alphabet far more difficult than it would have been fifty years ago, but its introduction is so highly desirable that no effort to effect it should be spared, and ways and means have to be discovered for giving the people of India an opportunity of judging of its merits. The books advocated would naturally employ one system of transliteration throughout, and the use of these books would familiarize all new-comers with it. Any expense incurred in this direction would therefore be amply justified, to say nothing of the great increase in interest which would result from a common understanding of the nature of the native languages.

Now in the matter of a universal alphabet there is presented to us a choice from among several possible systems. What is wanted is an alphabet which is as simple as possible consistently with the ideal of a distinct and easily recognizable symbol for every sound. It must lend itself to the requirements of the printer's art, be adaptable to typewriters and type-casting machines, be easy to learn, and such that



an equivalent script, both cursive and manuscript, and displaying the essential qualities of rapidity and legibility, may be formed from it. I do not hesitate to say that these requirements cannot be met by any system which involves the free use of diacritical points. While a particular system is employed by scholars only, it does not matter much what it is, so long as it is intelligible and consistent, but if an alphabet is to come into general use, only the best is good enough. The system which at present enjoys some sort of official approval is neither so well known or widely used that its rejection need excite regret. The only wise method to employ in fashioning the alphabet of which we are in search, is that which was followed by the Brahmins in Southern India, when they found that the Dravidians had not sufficient signs to symbolize the Aryan sounds. They freely fashioned others of a character similar to those already existing, and their example is the one to follow. The system so strenuously advocated by the Rev J Knowles follows this method, and is undoubtedly the best yet devised, although it seems to need modification in a few points. The books I advocate would adopt this or some other fashioned on similar lines.

Since the question of a universal alphabet is one which has aroused considerable interest, it will not be out of place to mention other possible ways in which a start can be made. It is necessary to make it quite clear that there is no intention to force upon Indians something unpalatable, but to make it possible for them to see for themselves the benefits which would accrue from its adoption. The great obstacle to be overcome is not absence of understanding of its advantages, but the religious and patriotic sentiment which attaches itself to the Devanagari and Arabic alphabets. This sentiment no doubt stands in the way of progress, but it must be respected while its destruction involves the happiness of the majority. It is in the primary schools that the reform is most needed, for it would be of immense advantage if children could be taught to read and

write by means of the simple and easy Romanic character, leaving the vernacular character till a later stage. The complicated vernacular characters are very difficult and the drudgery entailed in learning them is calculated to damp the ardour of the keenest child, and to deaden its mental faculties from the start. A beginning could easily be made in Christian schools, but in order that this may be possible, the Government must be ready with its sanction. Class books for the early standards must be provided, but this is a very simple matter, and in many areas the number of pupils in Christian schools is sufficient to make the provision of such books a business proposition. Other literature in the same character would naturally follow, for it is pretty certain that when once acquired, its superiority to the native character would ensure its continued use. Again, considering the ease with which it can be learned, inducements to voluntary study might well be forthcoming, even in Government schools. It would be of great advantage if its use for official documents and for office work could be made compulsory, but the Government is the one body that dare not make a move of this kind without encountering abundant criticism and misrepresentation. Perhaps it is to commercial houses that we must look for a real beginning. The alphabet I should propose is so easy that, if correspondence were actually written in it, it would be read by anyone who knew English, even although he had never seen it before, and no doubt, if a demand arose, type-writers would soon supply the requisite machines. Again it would possibly be practicable to use the alphabet for the telegraphic service. At present the Roman alphabet is used and the risk of mistake is great, owing to the absence of necessary signs. It should be no great task to devise a code to suit the new alphabet, and in using it the public would discover that they had in their hands an instrument of no small value. The number of those who can speak a language but cannot communicate in writing with their friends in that language is very great. If the alphabet could once be brought into

popular use the difficulty of learning a vernacular would be greatly lessened, because the long labour of learning the native characters would be done away with altogether

Perhaps it will be well to notice, in connection with the production of the series of grammars suggested, one somewhat curious fact. Although the majority of Indians would certainly like to see the Englishman fluent in the vernacular, and the Indian is usually conscious of being at a disadvantage when he has to use English to express himself, yet there undoubtedly exists among a certain section a sort of prejudice against a foreigner attempting to produce such books. It is somewhat difficult to account for this, in part it is due to the great reverence in which Sanskrit is held, a reverence which is a little shocked when methods other than the traditional are employed, in part it is due to the suggestion of self-interest which prefers that the European should not become too independent, and in part to the implied suggestion that Indians do not know their own language. Another cause may be that they are unable to see that it is not necessary that the writer should be able to speak the language freely and correctly in order to be competent to compile a grammar. If this opinion were correct we should never have any suitable books at all. Whatever the causes of the prejudices I mention may be, they must not be seriously considered further than as an obstacle to be overcome. It should be made quite clear that the books are required for foreigners and in no sense intended to supersede the work of native scholars. These can decide for themselves whether they will accept and utilize anything they may find in them.

Having provided the requisite books we may consider how they can best be utilized, and what other measures may be taken to further our aims. At last we have a School of Oriental Study in London and great things may be expected of it, but it cannot take the place of what is needed in India itself—viz, a similar institution where the best methods would be employed and where teachers could

be trained for their work , an institution providing courses of instruction for all who cared to use it, with facilities for conversation with native speakers of the languages studied, and giving such insight into Indian life as would equip a man for his work and save him from many an initial blunder , an institution controlling all language examinations in a regular manner This is obviously a work which can best be done amidst the environment to be studied and understood, and the institution would reach a far larger number than the one in London can be expected to do The higher work should be the business of the Home Institution , the Indian should aim at immediate practical usefulness, although it could no doubt usefully contribute to the work of the senior house

Some sixteen years ago I caused to be printed and circulated a pamphlet advocating the establishment of such an institution The actual result was not great, because the majority of those consulted would not make the sacrifice of the first few months of a man's service, although many acknowledged that this service was not of much value, and frequently resulted in poor attainments in the vernaculars and a lowered efficiency afterwards Since that proposal was put forth, tentative experiments have been made on the lines suggested, and although these have not been so successful as they would have been if they had been more seriously and carefully organized, I can still honestly say that nothing has occurred to shake my conviction of the necessity of such an institution, and much has happened to strengthen that conviction Not only would it help the student over the first drudgery incident to the study of any language , it would put him in the way of doing subsequent work, and probably quicken his interest in things Indian The Indian languages are not difficult and failure to learn them is generally to be traced to lack of interest or to faulty methods of study

What should be the attitude towards this institution ? If it be admitted that high attainments in the vernaculars

are essential to good work, and to the creation of a sympathy with things Indian, the duty of Government, as of other authorities, does not end with the provision of facilities for acquiring such knowledge, it must go on to see that they are utilized to the fullest extent, and everything possible should be done to encourage the use of the institution. Leave for language study is often given, but this leave can be truly profitable only when the necessary facilities for substantial work are provided. Language leave should not be a favour conferred on those who ask for it, but a requirement to be enforced at the beginning of a man's career in India, and regulations should be laid down demanding that the leave given shall be spent in the way prescribed. What every man needs is help and guidance at the start, the help which will enable him quickly to find his feet in the new surroundings, and create in him an interest which will remain with him throughout his life. Far better is it that he should do no work at all for a time than that he should be badly equipped. Instead of submitting themselves to the guidance of those who, because they wish to please their temporary employers, make it their main purpose to steer their pupils as easily as possible through the intricacies of an examination, and to do this by skilful anticipation of what is likely to be asked, students, if they are really to learn the languages, must be put under skilled teachers who aim at ultimate proficiency. It follows that the institution I propose should control the examinations and free them from their present liability to fluctuation. The general level has to be raised and the institution must aim at this rather than at the creation of experts. This latter work is rather the province of the School in London.

It would be well if the incentives to study now provided could be increased to the point where they would overcome the present reluctance to take up the study of language seriously and encourage those whose taste lies that way to exercise it to the full. The roll of those who have found time to do good work in this field is long and contains many

honoured names, but it is to be feared that, for the majority, language study is a hardly grudged labour enforced by a disagreeable regulation

It may also be said that, outside Government circles, there is a strong feeling that, in the allocation of officers, too little attention is given to their particular linguistic attainments. A man usually gives himself to the study of his first language more heartily than to any subsequent one, but the knowledge that, however proficient he may try to become, he will probably be called to learn another in a short time is a distinct discouragement and tends to deaden interest. It is impossible always to keep men in one language area, but it should be possible to do much better than is done. There is much reason to think that the point hardly enters seriously into the deliberations at headquarters, and this cannot be considered satisfactory by those who know how essential to good work of the kind so urgently needed is proficiency in the language.

We would sum up by saying that the whole matter must be considered in the light of the fact that the new India is going to be a more uncomfortable place than it has been hitherto for those who are not prepared to enter into her life and to sympathize with her aspirations. The foreigner will never be anything else than a foreigner if he is not a ready speaker and writer of the vernacular. Side by side with the demand that Indians shall manage their own affairs, there exists a desire that Englishmen shall contribute what they alone can do, but the actual value of their contributions will depend almost entirely upon the spirit in which they are offered, and the evidence they bear with them of a sympathetic grasp of the problems they affect. We are dealing with a people of a peculiar mentality, and in order to help them we must understand them and gain their confidence. The key to the situation is such a knowledge of a vernacular as will enable the possessor to find rich interest in the lives, customs and thought of the people. Where this interest is active the common reproach that the

Englishman is a man of his office and gymkhana only, and has nothing in common with Indians, will no longer be applicable. Where there is a good knowledge of the vernacular, there we may expect to find the sort of interest which will convince India that we want to see her move forward to the time when we shall point to her greatness as the finest thing the Anglo-Saxon race has ever achieved.

I thank you for your patience in listening to what must have seemed somewhat visionary, and trust you will pardon what may have appeared to be harsh. My apology must be that desperate evils require desperate remedies, and the evils arising from the general lack of sympathetic understanding of the Indian people are such that very energetic measures are called for.

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Monday, October 20, 1919, at the Lincolnshire Room, 7, Tothill Street, Westminster, at which a paper was read by the Rev A Darby, M A, B D (Kolhapur State Service, Retired) entitled "The Study of the Indian Vernaculars" In the absence of the Right Hon Lord Lamington, G C M G, G C I E, the chair was taken by Mr William Coldstream, K I H, and the following, amongst others, were present Sir Krishna G Gupta, K C S I, Sir Mancherjee M Bhownaggee, K C I E, Sardar Khan Bahadur Rustom J Vakil, Mr N C Sen, O B E, Mr J B Pennington, Mr Hugh Spencer, C I E, Mr R Grant Brown, Mr C B Rama Rao, M D, the Rev H U Westbrecht Stanton, D D, General Chanier, Lady Katharine Stuart, Mrs Garling Drury, Mr G M Ryan, Mr F J P Richter, Mrs Jackson, Miss Collis, Baroness Barnikoff, Miss F R Scatcherd, Mr F H Brown, Mr B V Jadhav, Mrs Meaden, Mr L C Swift, Mr R C Master, Mr P Phillipowsky, Mr J R Gayer, Mr F C Channing, Mr P V Guiry, Mr W J Pringle, Mr J S Dhunjibhoy, Miss Howsin, Mr J P B Jeejeebhoy, Mr F Grubb, Mr Muthwell, Colonel W H Burke, I M S, Colonel F S Terry, the Rev A Davis, Mr F Pratt, Miss Eleanor Sykes, Miss Walford, Professor Bickerton, Mr M Ramachandra Rau, Mr Duncan Irvine, Mr F Gotla, and Mr Stanley Rice, Hon Secretary

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and gentlemen, I have much pleasure in introducing to you the Rev A Darby, who has been engaged in India in missionary and educational work He has been twenty six years in India, and, having gained his experience in a native state and in different parts of India, he is no doubt very well qualified to speak upon the subject of the lecture (Hear, hear)

The paper was then read

The LECTURER I would just like to say, in conclusion, that this paper is the outcome of an application I made to the East India Association to support me in the work I am trying to do in the way suggested in this paper I have for some years been meditating the production of a series of Grammars which would meet the needs of students, and when I asked Dr Pollen what he could do to help me, he suggested that I should read this paper here and so give publicity to my ideas

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and gentlemen, we must all feel the vast importance of the subject which has been treated in such an interesting manner by the Lecturer Its importance for the British nation can hardly be exaggerated. The training of our officials in the vernaculars of the East has been the subject of much deliberation and many schemes and plans in the last hundred years, and while we must admit that the Indian official as regards his intimate acquaintance with the



people, capacity for gathering information, and so on, is somewhat nearer his subject than the English official, I hope the Lecturer has depreciated somewhat too strongly the general qualifications of the British official in his knowledge of the vernacular (Hear, hear) I can call to mind the names of many Civil officers in the Punjab whose knowledge of the language was wide and intimate I have known of Commissioners, officers of high standing, who were able to talk the Punjab vernacular with the most ignorant villager I am sure the names of some of those in that Province, where I myself served, will be present to the recollection of some whom I see now before me

There is no doubt that facility in the use of the language is of the very utmost importance At the same time it may be exaggerated in a way, that is to say, the knowledge of the language and administrative ability do not always go together A good many of us who have served in India as Civil Servants know that very well A great scholar is not necessarily a good district officer, and a good district officer may be a very poor scholar At the same time it is most necessary that the Civil official, especially in the junior grades, should be very well up in the vernaculars Our Government has always recognized that In the old days there was in Calcutta an institution called the College of Fort William It was passing away when I was a young man in Calcutta more than fifty years ago, and but a shadow of it remained In those days Colonel Nassau Lees was the Secretary to the Board of Examiners The young civilians were taught in their rooms by Indian Pandits and Munshees I remember being examined in Hindi by that good man and good scholar Professor Krishna Mohan Bannerjea That system worked for a long time, and then Government considered that it would be better that there should be a careful study of the Grammar before the young man went out to India, and that after study at home he should be sent straight to his district, where, in immediate contact with the people, he was able to pick up the colloquial very readily, and I am not sure that that, on the whole, is not the best plan, though I think the question requires very careful consideration as to what is now most advisable The great importance of the official being at home in the vernacular cannot be denied An intimate knowledge of the common language is a kind of key to the hearts of the people with whom he may come in contact, and a knowledge of a classical language, Arabic or Sanskrit or Persian, gives a man a higher status and additional influence with the educated classes in the district in which he may be serving Very often an apt quotation from a Hindi or Persian author in conversation will open the heart of a friend in a remarkable manner I have now great pleasure in inviting discussion on the subject of the paper

Mr PENNINGTON said the great difficulty they had in Madras was that there were so many languages, and officials were frequently transferred from one language to another, making it almost impossible to acquire a thorough knowledge of even one vernacular To take his own case, for instance when he went to India he passed an elementary test in three languages—Telugu, Hindustani, and Tamil—and was sent to a Telugu district, in which language he might have become proficient after a residence

there of about three years, but he was then transferred to Tinnevely, where he had considerable difficulty in picking up Tamil. That was the one great drawback in Madras generally, that there were so many different languages.

Mr DUNCAN IRVINE said he thought Mr Pennington rather exaggerated the difficulty of the Madras languages. Personally, he had served in Madras and had never found any difficulty in talking to any of the natives, high or low, that he came across. It might be a little more difficult to talk to the speakers of high Tamil than to the ryot, but as far as his own experience went he was able, as a judge for many years, to examine a witness himself if necessary, or even to charge the jury, in the vernacular, and he did not think his was an exceptional case. He could hardly agree with the suggestion that a man who could address a native audience in the vernacular and who could make himself understood without an interpreter was at all a prodigy. He did not claim to be a prodigy, and he had no difficulty whatever in doing it. (Hear, hear)

The Rev Dr STANTON said he did not want to labour the questions which had been raised about the necessity of learning the language better. As a missionary examiner in Urdu and Punjabi, it had been one of his great difficulties to get men and women to give the necessary time and attention to the language, as against pressing claims of practical work. Even missionaries did not fully realize that without a mastery of the language one cannot get at the minds of its speakers. Further, he had always urged young candidates to live, as far as possible, amongst the people. One obstacle to familiar knowledge of the vernacular was that they were generally living in English households, and so failed to get into an Indian atmosphere.

Regarding the necessity for better language manuals for India, he emphatically supported the plea put forth by the Lecturer. As an examiner in Urdu for the Cambridge Senior Local Standard he had repeatedly suggested, but as yet without effect, the provision of a standard grammar to be used in all the North Indian European schools. At present he found that boys and girls in certain schools failed to understand some of the grammatical terms used in the papers set, owing to the confusion of terminology between different books. This was unfair to the pupil and hampering to the examiner. If such books were to be compiled he would suggest that in addition to an English editor in each case there should certainly be also a qualified Indian (and in some cases, as of Urdu, both a Hindu and a Musalman) associated with him. If the vernacular were to be properly taught they must have qualified teachers acquainted with modern language methods, and for this they must have an adequate system of training.

The question of a common script was most important. The problem of mass education in India was coming rapidly to the front, and unless an easy unified script were provided for primary education much of the elementary instruction would be lost after school years owing to the low standard reached when most of the time had been expended on mere practise of script. The Japanese were thinking of reforming their complicated system of writing, and the Chinese had quite recently adopted an

alphabet of thirty nine letters which expressed all the words of the Chinese language in place of the thousands of ideograms now in use, and this alphabet was being adopted in all the Government schools in China

Finally, with regard to the books proposed, they should have regard to modern methods of language teaching. The modern method was built, not upon the sight of written characters but upon the sound of spoken words and sentences. It aimed at making whatever the learner acquired fully available from the very first for use in intercourse (Hear, hear)

MR GRANT BROWN said he thought the Lecturer had not at all exaggerated either the importance of English officials in India having an intimate and accurate knowledge of the languages of the people among whom they worked, or the shortcomings in this respect of most of the officials of the present day. As the Chairman had said, the ablest administrator was not always the best linguist. Indeed, the ablest men were apt to be drafted into the secretariate, where they not only failed to learn to talk to the people, but acquired very little knowledge of their nature, their feelings and desires, their customs and their prejudices, and this was to him a matter for regret. It was often said that British officials knew less of the native languages than they did. It was quite possible that the statements to this effect were exaggerated, and that in the old days a really intimate knowledge of the people and their languages was confined to a comparatively small number of men whose attainments were remembered, while the indifference of the rest was forgotten. So far as they were true, the chief cause was probably the want of leisure resulting from the great burden of office work now imposed upon officials. The lack of leisure, however, could be counterbalanced by the use of science. Every officer sent to India should, before leaving this country, receive a thorough training in the science of languages, and especially in the science of speech sounds. Such a training would equip him for acquiring any language with comparative ease and accuracy. His own experience was that, after learning the Burmese written language for two years, he was unable on landing in Burma to understand a single sentence spoken by a Burman or to make himself understood by him. That was the experience of others. Indeed, he believed most of his contemporaries never learned to speak anything but a jumble of the written and spoken languages, which differed entirely from each other in the most important part of the vocabulary, the particles. The knowledge he had acquired of the written language was more a hindrance than a help to him, and he had had no ear training and therefore found it very difficult to learn the spoken language by ear.

As regards the proposed series of textbooks of spoken languages he wished to sound a note of warning. The plan of having a uniform framework and terminology might suit the Aryan languages, but it would not work with an analytical language like Burmese, the structure of which was totally different.

Mrs A M T JACKSON said the Chairman rather seemed to suggest that the study of languages was a voluntary thing, but certainly so far as she remembered in Bombay, the study of languages was compulsory amongst young officials. In her own personal experience when travelling about

with her husband, she found it was quite an exception for the officials to employ an interpreter under any circumstances. In fact, it was considered rather discreditable to do so, and young officials had to pass tests in the language of whatever part of the Presidency they were assigned to. They were compelled to pass the examinations before they received promotion.

Dr C B RAMA RAO said that he agreed with what had been said as to the written and spoken languages being very often quite different from one another. One may even acquire a scholarship in a language and yet not be able to take part in a homely conversation. The difficulty which Mr Pennington experienced in Southern India had been referred to. His name had nevertheless become a household word in the Tinnevely district, but he gathered that his accessibility and his sympathy acquired him that fame rather than his knowledge of the vernaculars. The tendency of the Britishers out in India to day was not conducive to popularity, because they preferred their own clubs in their leisure time, and English officers had scarcely time to speak to the people whom they had been sent out to govern. A great deal could be done if some attention was devoted to improving the relations between the Indians and the Englishman in India. He also wished to mention another point, but feared that probably his ideas might be considered too Utopian. While travelling on the steamer there were a large number of Indians on board, but there were several to whom he could not speak in their own vernacular, although an Indian himself, speaking six Indian vernaculars. That was not a desirable state of things, and when historians came to write the achievements of the English people in India he hoped one of the greatest things to their credit would be the bringing together of North and South as one great people by one common language. There were many words in common between the two great vernaculars of India—viz, Urdu and Hindi—and it might be possible to unify these two languages, by a strong committee of the ruling princes and the representatives of the people, so as to avoid confusion and difficulty. Nothing was more desirable than a common script, and he would suggest the best was undoubtedly the (English) Roman characters, as it was well known all the world over (Hear, hear).

Sir KRISHNA GUPTA said the Lecturer had proceeded upon the assumption that there was a great want of sympathy between the Britisher who went to India and the people of India, and that that want of sympathy was mainly due to ignorance of Indian vernaculars, and he had been interested to see speaker after speaker plead guilty to the accusation. If those Britishers in India were inspired by sympathy surely they would find some means of trying to learn the language. For officers there was a sort of compulsory education in the vernaculars, but few of them afterwards kept up their requirements or tried to improve their knowledge of the languages, that may be due to want of sympathy, or to other causes, but on the other hand there were many distinguished English people who had done a great deal for the Indian languages, and Indians were deeply indebted to them for their great work. There was an old saying that you could bring a horse to the water, but you could not make him drink.

There were facilities for learning the languages, but many did not take advantage of them, either because they did not realize the necessity or were too apathetic. If they really wished to improve the knowledge of Indian languages amongst administrators the best way would be to abolish English as the official language. In the old days undoubtedly officers had a better knowledge of the vernaculars, but nowadays it was hardly so necessary to know them. There were several vernaculars spoken by large bodies of the people, and these would continue to exist and improve, but no doubt every educated Indian should be familiar with English as a second language, because they would carry him throughout the world. He wished to emphasize that they would not create sympathy merely by spreading a knowledge of the vernaculars, but sympathy must come from other sources, and if it was not really felt they could not artificially create it.

Lady KATHARINE STUART and Professor BICKERTON also spoke strongly in favour of Esperanto.

The LECTURER in reply said he did not mean to imply that all officials lacked knowledge of the vernaculars, but simply that the general standard in the case of all Europeans was not high enough. With regard to Esperanto he understood there would shortly be a rival to Esperanto in India, and he had no hesitation in saying it would be easier for Indians to learn than Esperanto. So far as examinations were concerned, he knew they were compulsory, and he did not think it necessary to mention it. Sir Krishna Gupta had mentioned the question of sympathy, which entirely depended on understanding and knowledge, and they could not get that without close contact with the people. The proper means of applying sympathy was the ability to talk freely and fluently to a native in his own language. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN said that friends like the Lecturer—Christian missionaries—had often become famous for their knowledge of the languages of India. He thought, with reference to certain remarks made, that a fair proportion of district officers could make a speech in the vernaculars. The discussion had been well kept up, and the meeting was very much obliged to Mr Darby for his interesting paper.

Dr J D ANDERSON writes as follows

I much regret that I was not able to be present at the discussion of the Rev A Darby's valuable and interesting paper. As I have been teaching Bengali in England for many years to men and women alike, to Indians as well as to English people, I may be allowed to make one or two suggestions. I will not waste time and space in commenting on the large part of Mr Darby's paper with which I heartily agree, but will proceed at once to state my doubts and reservations.

1 The Cambridge University Press is printing a series of elementary Manuals of Modern Languages in which has already been included a little Manual of Bengali. The method adopted is to give a skeleton grammar, as concise and elementary as possible, followed by a varied and annotated selection of examples from prose and verse literature, with a copious and full vocabulary. The examples are all transliterated into the

script recommended by the Geneva committee of the Oriental Congress, now used by Orientalists all over the world Teachers can, of course, easily supplement this by using the International Phonetic Association's script for those students who use their eyes to correct the evidence of their ears Mr Knowles's system of transliteration might have been used instead of the Geneva script if scholars generally had adopted it They have, so far, failed to do so

2 I heartily support what Mr Darby says as to the value and potentiality of the London School of Oriental Studies, to whose generosity I am indebted for the publication of a pamphlet on the phonetics of Bengali But Mr Darby might also have mentioned that Indian languages, classical and modern, are studied at Oxford and Cambridge We all wish success to the admirably conducted school in Finsbury Circus But there is room also for Oriental Schools at the older universities, which might make larger use, perhaps, of their considerable population of Indian graduates and undergraduates

3 As to the proposed school in India, I may remind Mr Darby that the Indian Universities are now making a serious and scholarly study of the Prakrits and their offspring, the modern languages of India Why should not Europeans follow courses and take degrees in the new modern language schools in the Indian Universities ?

4 As to the suggestion that the terminology of Indian grammar should be Anglicized and made conformable with that recently suggested by a Committee which reported on uniformity of grammatical terms, we must not forget that Indians were grammarians and phonologists long before Europeans studied these matters Indian *Vyākaranas* repay careful study Their conclusions may not always seem to us to be scientifically correct, but they have a psychological and literary value as showing the Indian's own view of his own forms, syntax and etymology The attempt to apply European terminology to Indian grammatical facts produces a temptation to misunderstand or misdescribe the facts An interesting example is a recent attempt by European grammarians to discover moods in Indian languages Modal sense can be expressed in Indian tongues by various devices But there are no modal inflexions The passive voice in many Indian languages (to say nothing of the non-finite verb) has been misunderstood by many European writers on grammar, owing to an attempt to identify its working with that of the European passive Surely we should, as far as possible, use Indian terminology, or a translation of it

I hope these hasty criticisms will not be interpreted to imply a lack of sympathy with the object which Mr Darby has in view What he desires, all teachers of Indian languages must needs desire But we must not be pedantic or dogmatic about methods After all, students and teachers differ in mentality, and a good teacher will readily change his way of teaching to suit a pupil who prefers a method which he finds easiest for himself As for the Indian alphabets, Indians themselves will readily admit that the chief defect is the convention of the "inherent *a*" which has led to the invention (a trouble at once to the printer and to the reader's eye) of the "compound consonant" The addition of a symbol

for this, at present, unwritten letter would make Indian alphabets better than any in use in Europe *Lakṣmī*, for instance, might then be printed as

it is here given, and not, as Indian convention requires, as  $\overset{k}{L}\underset{m}{ṣ}\overset{i}{i}$  Indian

alphabets are so much more nearly phonetic than ours that, if this trifling change were adopted, and one or two additional symbols (such as one for *w* in most languages) were added, the Indian scripts would hardly need to be transliterated at all

To this, Mr Darby writes

By way of reply to Dr Anderson's sympathetic remarks on my paper, I regret that he was not present at the lecture, but his absence has this compensation that it has given me the opportunity to reply to the points raised more at leisure I must first of all apologize for my failure to make quite clear that I had in mind a much larger unit than that which comprises those only who are able to avail themselves of such facilities as are provided for in England My remarks throughout were coloured by the knowledge that there are many who ought to learn a vernacular but do not, because the requisite facilities are absent, and who require books of a kind which they cannot at present procure Of the need of raising the standard all round I have already spoken sufficiently

Since I was addressing an audience possessing much knowledge of the subject, I did not think it necessary to mention what all might be expected to remember, my time was limited and the clamant note of the tea-bell frustrated my intention to take up points that might arise at a later stage Not one, but many papers would be required to bring out all the factors of the problem which have to be considered and have actually been considered

The essential considerations are that the need of better and more extended study of the vernaculars is pressing so pressing indeed that one wonders if the day for it has not passed, the teachers are seldom good, and for many of the languages the available books are unsuitable Those who have given attention to more than one vernacular must have learned the truth of this statement, and the number of my supporters would largely increase if those who know a vernacular could recall their early labours in a vivid way My point is not destroyed by the existence of some good books, I speak of the situation generally

I am glad to hear of the proposals of the Cambridge University Press, but trust that the description of the methods followed is incomplete, or I am afraid the sales will disappoint the promoters

The Indian Universities are aiming to encourage the study of the vernaculars, a study which is comparatively neglected even in the secondary schools, but the students to be catered for are those who already know the languages for practical purposes better than an Englishman can ever hope to do This study, of course, includes the Prakrits, but this is not what the newcomer to India requires In Bombay at least the courses of study must be gone through in a regular manner and include much else An adult may be asked to spend six months at a language school, to give all his time to one study, he can hardly be asked to take a two years' course

at the University What he actually wants is taught in the Primary Schools

Regarding the section of my paper devoted to the subject of transliteration, I would say that I took up the larger question of a universal alphabet for India because of its prominence at the present time For my own needs what is required is a Romanic alphabet for purposes of utility in the making of books for learners Under present conditions familiarity with the vernacular character is essential, and the vernacular alphabet must form the basis of the work I want a simple system by aid of which the sounds can be taught, and which will assist the student in his first attempts to decipher the complicated native characters It will also be useful for purposes of reference and in other ways, and valuable results can be obtained by its use The actual system adopted is not a matter of serious consequence, but it should not exhibit a number of diacritical points, nor should it be such as to prejudice Indians irrecoverably, as I am afraid the International would do, owing to its heterogeneous appearance I still think the principle adopted by Mr Knowles is the soundest one to follow and the easiest to learn, even if the application may be bettered

So far as a phonetic system is concerned, the Sanskrit is amply good enough, and I merely want an equivalent sign for sign If a study of phonetics is desirable, let it begin with a system which is still very much alive, and which underlies the vernaculars more thoroughly than any can be said to underlie English or French Minor modifications are for specialists, not for the general student

The situation with regard to terminology is somewhat similar I want a fixed system just so far as it will facilitate the work of learning, teaching, and reference, and I should wish it to conform as far as possible to the decisions of experts Circumlocution and explanation are needless labour when well-defined terms are available. The real difficulty here lies in present conceptions of grammar So long as it is treated as a formal science, certain arguments, frequently heard, have weight, when it is treated as a logical explanation of the elements required to express a judgment in the form of a proposition, many of these arguments lose their cogency It is not perhaps so clearly understood as it ought to be that the elements of sentence structure are essential to all human speech, and must be present to the mind of speaker and hearer even if they are not expressed It helps the student if these elements are isolated and made clear, and not hidden away in a mass of cross divisions I cannot here go into the matter, but would refer those who may desire to consider this point to my book "The Mechanism of the Sentence," published by the Oxford University Press, wherein I have tried to show why the Indian languages do not exhibit the moods of English My own impression is that Indians have neglected the study of sentence form in favour of phonetics and etymology, they certainly have failed in some degree to distinguish mood from tense, the adjective of action from the noun of action, the active from the passive, although these distinctions undoubtedly exist and are readily understood by Indians when pointed out We may remind ourselves that we are not catering for Indians but



## *The Study of the Indian Vernaculars*

for Englishmen, who will reach an understanding most readily through what is familiar, if they thereby learn to express themselves aright no harm is done, the point is to get them to do this as quickly and as intelligently as possible

The mentality of the student is, of course, a very important factor in education, but a book must be the exponent of some one system if it is to be a success and a consistent performance and when it is designed for beginners it must not assume a knowledge yet to be gained, and it must lead on by clear and logically consecutive steps. It is for the teacher to supply the necessary adaptation, if he can

I trust Dr. Anderson will forgive me if I say that in his concluding remarks regarding the Indian alphabets he seems to transfer the merits of the Sanskrit phonetic system to the characters employed to convey it. The symbols are conventional and may mean anything, as a comparison of Gurmukhī with Sanskrit will show. It can hardly be contended that they are simple or well defined in many of the languages.

I take this opportunity to thank those who, by their kindly criticisms, have suggested much that is helpful. If I cannot always see eye to eye with them, I trust it will be understood that my critics do not agree among themselves, and that my failure to please is due to my being in search of a relative accuracy, a presentation which is true so far as it goes, but does not pretend to scientific completeness. I am fresh from direct contact with the many factors which necessitate compromise in various directions, and every compromise will arouse criticism if one cannot explain exactly why it is made.

## A GERMAN ON INDIA

BY STANLEY RICE, I C S (RETD)

WE all know now that long before the war Germany had been nourishing a deadly hatred of England, which was born of jealousy and nursed into maturity by every conceivable means. England to the Germans was the robber State, which appropriated all parts of the globe, trampled under foot all the nations and peoples who had the misfortune to fall under her rule. It was the part of the upright, disinterested Germany to deliver the world from the common oppressor, it was the German Siegfried who was to crush the English Fafner. We had gone into India with the Bible in one hand and the opium pipe in the other, by our gross materialism we had extinguished all the glamour of the immemorial East. So self-evident was all this that it was superfluous to ask whether Germany had anything better to offer. That we had introduced peace and order into India, that the people were for the most part content with our rule, that we had developed our colonies in a manner unapproached by other nations—these were nothing to the controversialists to whom facts were negligible and political capital was everything.

I suppose it may be taken as axiomatic that a man will tell the truth when there is no object in lying, and it may therefore be of interest to consider for a few minutes what a German professor has said about India. The lecture, which is entitled "Modern India," was delivered to a scientific society in Berlin called, I think, *Die Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, and it was published only in the

journal of that society. It could not, therefore, have been intended for popular consumption in Germany, still less was it meant to appeal to anyone in England, for it may be doubted whether there are a hundred Englishmen who have ever seen it. The lecturer was Professor Wegener, who toured India in 1911 with the Crown Prince, and afterwards became the war correspondent of the *Cologne Gazette* during the war. He had, of course, exceptional opportunities of seeing things for himself, and he examines the various problems with characteristic German thoroughness, though of course he could only see things, as most travellers do, from a single standpoint—in his case the official.

The first thing that struck this German critic of our Indian Empire was that "England herrscht wirklich"! "England really rules, not only in name, as Holland does in so many parts of her colonial possessions in further India, and not by compromise. Every traveller through India has felt that the English power is active in the most outlying parts of the country." This power is not apparent according, he says, to German notions, it is felt rather than seen, but he seems to imply that it is far more effective than the terrorist methods of Germany in South-West Africa.

For he acknowledges handsomely that England is the past master, and Germany only the disciple in colonization. "Think what you will of the English, no one can deny that they are the most experienced and most successful colonists in the world. We, too, possess tropical colonies, and have to learn as colonial beginners." He is, in fact, greatly impressed with this peculiar faculty of the English. He speaks in another place of the "quite extraordinary genius for administration which is peculiar to the English, as it was formerly to the Romans. Their greatest gift is not their business capacity, in that they have rivals, but they are unrivalled in their instinctive ability for organization and government." And it is worth while remarking

that this capacity is expressed in the composition of the Services, and especially of the Civil Service, for that particular body has of late come in for as much unmerited abuse in certain quarters as in former times it was wont to receive praise perhaps as unmerited. The Civil Service is not composed of the *élite* of England the best men are very able, and the worst do not fall below a fairly high standard. It does its heavy and responsible work loyally and generally efficiently, and if it does not deserve extravagant eulogies, neither can it fairly be described, as a recent writer has described it, as a set of "well-meaning but unsympathetic carpet-baggers," who, "alike in their work or in their pleasure, keep as far aloof from the people they govern as possible." "white young bureaucrats who decline to associate on equal terms" with "men of ancient lineage." The Professor belongs to the former rather than the latter class—the class of those who praise, not of those who blame. In his view, the Civil Service is composed of young men who come out in the freshest physical and intellectual capacity for work, and the work they have to do gives them "the opportunity to develop the unique talent of their race for organization and government." The officers of the Civil Service show the Englishman at his best," and he "recognizes with admiration what a wealth of devotion, of duty solemnly performed, of integrity and love for the people entrusted to them, is rendered by these men cast often into lonely, hot and feverish places."

I am not in the least concerned to defend the Civil or any other Service from attack, or to quote the Professor triumphantly as a witness to the greatness of our administration in India. Perhaps he would have been more interesting had he found more fault, and in that case he would certainly not have been the less worthy our attention, perhaps, too, he was influenced by kindly memories of pleasant hospitalities received. At any rate, viewing the matter as dispassionately as we can, we see here a member

of a nation which not even a casuist could call friendly, reviewing our Indian Empire as a whole, and finding that, as a whole, it is good. Bernhardt, with a political axe to grind, writing from a study in Germany, tells his countrymen that England is the robber State and that "Germany, no less than England, is dowered with the genius for Empire", Wegener, after studying India at first hand, whispers to a small, scientific audience that the English are the greatest colonists in the world, and India is her most magnificent colony, and, lest there should be any doubt that he is confusing fact with principle, he adds, not once but several times, that England has a capacity for organization and government unrivalled by any other nation. We have heard so often of the inestimable benefits of British rule and the excellence of our British administration, or if we turn to the critics of the opposite school, we are presented with such a sombre picture of misgovernment, of indifference, of selfish exploitation of India, of alienation of the Indians, that it cannot be without value to listen with proper detachment to the opinions of a German professor.

He summarizes in two short paragraphs the benefits which England has conferred on India, and the advantages which India has for England—material benefits for the most part—railways, and posts and telegraphs, irrigation, and an ordered system of justice on the one part, a great market for trade, raw materials and a supply of labour on the other. But he considers that the greatest gift which England has had to offer India is the creation of a pure and unselfish public spirit, the example of a spotless service for the common weal. And India's value for England lies pre-eminently in the opportunity she offers to the "able sons of an energetic race" to develop a capacity for resolution and responsibility, and the satisfaction of a manly ambition. May we not put this appraisal on broader lines? May we not say that the greatest gift which each has for the other is a general widening of outlook? Con-

tact with the West has broken down the ring fence which the caste system and the devotion to ancient decrees had erected round India, has roused her to a vision of her political position in the world, and has awakened an interest hitherto unknown in the affairs and in the doings of other nations. And it has aroused—some would put this first, others may not regard it as altogether a blessing—it has aroused a sense of national unity. The dawn of nationality is just beginning to brighten after the long night of India's isolation and India's sleep. And for us, too, India has its lesson. Time was—for some perhaps still is—when we regarded the Indian people as groping in the darkness of what we were pleased to call heathenism and idolatry. Time was—for some perhaps still is—when we looked askance upon this civilization, and were content to thank God that we are not as other men are. A closer acquaintance has shown us a real and living religion, the object of passionate devotion to millions, expressing itself sometimes in thoughts which would not be out of place in the New Testament, has shown us a civilization which has produced profound thinkers, earnest men and loving and faithful wives. That is the gift which India gives us. Some have not received it, others would deny its existence, but it is there all the same, and by the light of that revelation we may increase our charity, we may learn that "truth and justice, religion and piety, may be established" without the aid of our particular religion and our particular civilization, and may more clearly distinguish the beam in our own eye when we discern the mote or motes in the eyes of Indians.

The Professor recognizes the "sure instinct" which has led us, as it led the Romans, to adopt the attitude of religious toleration, or, as we should prefer to say, religious neutrality. He ascribes this attitude to the lessons we have learned in the past (and especially to the lesson of the Mutiny) and to our fear of similar catastrophes. Some missionaries appear to have told him that in their dread of seeming to favour

Christians, the officers of justice are inclined to go to the other extreme and to favour the heathen, or as we should say the non-Christian, unduly. And he instances further our handling of the plague as evidence of our extreme sensitiveness in religious matters. We had attacked this problem with "wonderful energy", we had adopted all the measures then known to science, we had imported reinforcements of doctors and nurses. But signs began to appear that the people resented the inevitable interference with their private life and with those customs that have almost become a part of their religion, and in fear of disaffection, if not of actual rebellion, the Government of India stayed its hand, with, of course, disastrous results. This is true, but surely it is not the whole truth. The policy of religious neutrality is one of the pillars of good and orderly government, not only in India, but everywhere else, in India, where religion is a living, pulsating passion, that pillar is all the more important. You cannot force a people to accept a measure which interferes with something they hold dearer than life. What would have happened in England if the people had held their individual liberty dearer than the national safety and had refused conscription? Individual liberty has always been regarded as the dearest possession of an Englishman, and we know with what caution the Military Service Act was introduced. And here was something higher and greater than mere policy. For we have recognized the principle that no man should suffer for his opinions, that the two great religions of India are the very soul of the people who profess them, and that to sacrifice this principle to administrative necessities, however imperious, would be to shake the foundations of British justice on which so largely we base our Empire.

Surely, too, the Professor is in error when he attributes to the doctrine of "Maya" a certain apathy in political affairs. This doctrine is the outcome of a philosophy which teaches that the external world is all illusion and that the spiritual

world is the only reality, but like so many other philosophical doctrines it exists rather in theory than in practice. If it be true that the Indian "smiles at those who take so much trouble about such trifles" as politics and government, "and leaves it all to them," why does he clamour for self-government, for equality, for better recognition, and the rest? Why does he insist upon more extended education and more industrial training? Why does he trouble about his rice-fields and his litigation? The truth is that until very recently the Indian was content to acquiesce in a system which left to the European the task of administration and government. As Indians were gradually admitted to posts of responsibility and acquitted themselves honourably in them, the country awoke to the consciousness that Indians could compete in the same field with Europeans. The lecture was delivered, it is true, before the present phase of Indian politics had developed, but after the unrest of 1907-08, and it is difficult to understand why the lecturer should have discovered a political apathy due to "Maya," in the face of such an obviously political movement.

The Professor has great admiration for the system of justice which we have established, but apparently regards it as sometimes too elaborate and too academic for the needs of the country. We give, for example, too much protection to the usurer, for in the old days, if he pressed too hardly for his money, the debtor would have struck him dead, and "then," says the Professor quaintly, "he would have to be rather careful." Let me add also that we sometimes give too much protection to the debtor in our scrupulous avoidance of all that might seem unfair, a distinguished judge has remarked that "the troubles of a litigant begin when he has obtained his decree," so many are the ways in which the law permits practical justice to be circumvented or at least delayed in execution. But it is in the sphere of trade that the lecturer thinks we have shown the greatest weakness. The decline of Indian manufactures, coupled with the great increase of popula-



tion, has caused an ever-growing pressure on the soil and has thereby lowered the standard of living. His view is characteristically German, however. England has flooded India with machine-made goods, but she is an industrial country and it is therefore "in the nature of things" that she cannot allow India to compete with her, but on the contrary must insist on developing her great dependency as a market for her own goods. The Government have, he says, made some half-hearted attempts to revive native industries, but he regards the whole question as insoluble. It is not possible within the limits of this paper to discuss the whole complicated question of the decline of native industries. There have been, we know, certain efforts made to protect English trade against Indian competition, and the nervousness with which Lancashire lately received the abolition of the countervailing cotton duties shows that that spirit is not entirely dead. I do not know that we who love India are particularly proud of that attitude, nor does it seem to be shared by the Government of India or by the Home authorities. But when all is said and done, it is the introduction and development of machinery to which the decline of Indian industries must be ascribed, for handicrafts cannot in the long run compete with machinery, be the policy Free Trade or Protection. You may tinker with policies and tariffs, but the best chance India has of regaining her lost trade, possibly at the expense of artistic output, is to develop her factories and to learn to make her own machines.

The Professor reserves his most trenchant criticism for the educational system. Sir Valentine Chirol has called the educational policy "a more arduous experiment even than that of governing the 300 millions of India with a handful of Englishmen. Many nations have conquered remote dependencies inhabited by alien races, imposed their laws upon them and held them in peaceful subjection, though even this has never been done on the same scale of magnitude as by the British rulers of India. We alone

have attempted to educate the Indians in our own literature and science and to make them by education the intellectual partners of the civilization that subdued them " The Professor agrees and considers that at first the results were most encouraging The best brains flocked to the new education, learned "the liberal ideas of the West," and became "enthusiastic friends of England" But after a time the lower strata sought this new education, teachers became more difficult to find, and as a body deteriorated Thereupon the education began to degenerate, a half-educated class grew up, fit for nothing but to scramble for the broken meats of Government employment Dissatisfaction arose, men found that the education on which they had perhaps spent their all, profited them nothing and they were faced with destitution Of course there is nothing new in this, we have all heard it scores of times and many of us have seen it Does not the interest lie rather in the point of view? There is something analogous to it in Germany itself, where, Price Collier tells us, crowds of men, qualified by examinations, are awaiting the chance of employment With this difference, however, that while Germany is plagued with the superfluity of the efficient, India suffers from the surplus of the inefficient That is the Professor's touchstone—efficiency, and tested by that we have not succeeded The Anglo-Saxon would take another view He would argue that a literary education turns out youths by the hundred who take their place not without credit in the various walks of life, if therefore you apply the same methods, you obtain the same results, and the result to be aimed at is the formation of character India, however, is a country of surprises You add two and two in the confident expectation that they will make four Not a bit of it, they will make three and a half or five, or two and a half—anything but four And so the system which turns out of our public schools our soldiers, our merchants, our priests, our Civil Service, only suffices to provide men crammed to the throat for the passing of examina-

tions, of whom those only can survive who have stomachs to digest. The Indian's virtues are an immense patience, an infinite capacity for taking pains, and a faculty for acquiring book knowledge which almost amounts to a snare, but he is not usually observant, he is not usually inventive, and he is unaccustomed to responsibility. In a word, if one may generalize, the Indian is more brilliant, but the Englishman more solid.

Farther on we are told that one of our greatest dangers is a "Hindu reaction against Western culture and its followers." There is "a passionate propaganda for a return to the old gods." It amounts to "the whole revolt of the Oriental nature against the European," and the leading spirits are "the Brahmans, who see their age-long empire over the Indians called in question by modern ideas." It is true that about the time when the lecture was delivered there was some kind of spasmodic attempt to set Hinduism up against Western culture, but I cannot think that the Professor has read the signs aright. India's one chance of taking her place in the world is to assimilate Western science and Western culture and to adapt them to her own institutions, he who would try to check her on the career on which she has started would be in the position of Julian. If she were again to sleep the sleep of Brunnhilde, some Siegfried would arise to deliver her from that lethargy. For the reaction is said to be, not against any Western religion but against Western culture. We may believe—many of us do believe—that the Hindu will continue to worship the old gods in the old way, and I for one do not blame them. But to substitute the Shastras and the Laws of Manu for the machinery of everyday life in the office, in the Law Courts, in the factory, or in the study is to set the clock back a few centuries. You might as well try to govern England by the Book of Leviticus.

On the whole the German survey of our Indian Empire is entirely favourable and even eulogistic. In the direction of trade revival he certainly seems to insinuate that the policy of the Government could and should have been more

thorough, not only for the sake of supporting the industries themselves, but also in order to relieve the pressure on the land. Where we have partially failed in other respects, he is inclined to attribute the failure to unforeseen and even to inevitable causes. Thus the principles of our justice sometimes cause injustice, the increase of population, itself the evidence of successful government, has brought with it its own complications, the suppression of the plague was thwarted by religious susceptibilities. It must be borne in mind—and the fact may discount his conclusions—that the Professor was on the staff of the ex-Crown Prince, and was therefore in touch mainly if not entirely with the higher officials of the State, and perhaps also only with those Indians whom it was thought desirable that he should meet. He could not have seen intimately the life of the people such as many of us know it. But neither was he in the position of some of our critics who fortify themselves with the literature of their own side and with little else, in order to prove their preconceived theory that our rule is entirely bad, vicious, and mischievous. We know that there are mistakes, each individual amongst us probably has some pet criticism of his own, but it is not un instructive to hear what a German has said, even if he be not altogether unbiassed, even if his knowledge is incomplete. Professor Usher, of Washington University, has asked “What has England given to India which the Germans could not have given equally well?” and our Professor supplies the answer. Not railways, not telegraphs, not irrigation, not even justice and education. These might have been given by Germany, but the experience of the greatest colonizing nation, the unique capacity of the English, as he puts it, for organization and government—these things Germany could not have given, because they were not hers to give, and the Professor closes his lecture by declaring himself opposed to those Germans who would like to see England’s power in India exploded, and by expressing the hope that England may long maintain the position so well and worthily established.

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held on Monday, November 17, 1919, when a paper was read by Stanley P Rice, Esq, ICS, entitled, "A German on India" Harold Cox, Esq, occupied the chair The following ladies and gentlemen, among others, were present Sir C Sankaran Nair, CIE, Mr C E Buckland, CIE, Mr M de P Webb, CIE, CBE, and Mrs Webb, Mr W Coldstream, KIH, Major General Count A Cherep Spiridovitch, Mr N C Sen, OBE, Mr J B Pennington, Mr John C Nicholson, Mr G O W Dunn, Mr E B Havell, Mr and Mrs H R Cook, Mr F J P Richter, Lady Jacob, Lady Katharine Stuart, Captain P S Cannon, Mr J S Dhunjibhoy, Mrs Meyer, Miss Leach, Mrs A M T Jackson, Mr G M Ryan, Mr W Frank, Colonel A S Roberts, Mr K Gauba, Colonel and Mrs Aplin, Captain H J Inman, Rev H U W Stanton, Colonel Bruce Kingsmill, Mr S A Khan, Mr B V Jadhav, Mr B D Muthu, Mr H M Gibbs, Mr F Pratt, Mrs Debar, Mrs Collis, Mr W Carter, Mr S C Evans Williams, Mr D L Patwardhan, Rev W L Broadbent, Mr Ramachandra Rau, Mr K P Kotval, Major Taylor, Mr W F Dingwall, Mr R Grant Brown, Mrs Hazell, Lieut Colonel C L Swaine, IMS (retired)

The paper was then read

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and Gentlemen, I need hardly say how much we have enjoyed Mr Rice's paper (Hear, hear) I think most of us will agree with nearly all of it My own criticisms are almost entirely confined to the question of the countervailing cotton duties I know that Lancashire is very much blamed for the attitude she has taken up with regard to this question Let us frankly admit, from the business point of view, it was purely selfish, but I would like to ask whether, from an imperial point of view, it was a wrong attitude Mr Rice has assumed that the only interest involved was that of the Indian manufacturer I submit that there was another and much larger interest involved—namely, the interest of the Indian consumer And I cannot see that there was anything wrong in England insisting that the interest of the Indian consumer should be considered as well as that of the Bombay manufacturer After all, India is a very poor country The men do not use much clothing, it is true, but the women use a fair amount They are all poor people Is it right that they should be taxed to swell the profits of a handful of Bombay manufacturers? That is what it really comes to I remember once putting it to a wealthy Bombay manufacturer "Think of all these millions of people in India, they will all be taxed in order to increase your profits." What do you think his answer was? "They are only

common people they do not matter " Under the old system, when the Indian manufacturer was put on a parity with the Lancashire manufacturer in order that there should be fair play to the Indian consumer, was the Indian cotton trade in such a bad condition? I remember going over a big mill in India, and they showed me their balance sheet for the last thirty years. The average dividend had been 35 per cent. That does not look as if they wanted favourable tariffs to bolster them up. Therefore I submit that this question of the countervailing cotton duties cannot be settled by merely drawing a contrast between Lancashire and Bombay. You have also to take into account the vast majority of people in India who want their clothing cheap. I entirely agree with what Mr. Rice said—that, after all, the important question is not tariffs. On both sides people exaggerate the importance of tariffs. The important question is the development of the country. That is now taking place in India, and you have big industries springing up throughout a considerable part of India. Whether it is good or bad it is hard to say, but looking at our own gigantic manufacturing towns one wonders whether the rest of the world are going to imitate their example. On the other hand, the Indian peasant, living all the year round in his little village, has probably a better time than his brother who spends three quarters of the year at least stifled in Bombay. However, that is a thing which is on the knees of the gods.

I imagine, although Mr. Rice did not expressly say so, that underlying his paper is the consideration of what the future Government of India is going to be, and therefore I think he was perfectly justified in taking an impartial picture of the past, such as a German critic could present. The future of the Government of India is not on the knees of the gods, but on the knees of Mr. Montagu—perhaps not an altogether desirable substitute. When people put forward their demand for changes in the Government of India on the ground that in the past the Government has been bad, I think they spoil their case. If they put it forward on the ground that the mental atmosphere of India is changing, as it is all over the world, and that institutions must be changed to meet that alteration in the mental atmosphere, I think that argument is a sound one, but to base it, as people in India do, and also people nearer home in Ireland, on abuse of what has taken place in the past seems to me to be an altogether unsound method of argument, and in the main entirely mischievous (Hear, hear). I do not propose to discuss Mr. Montagu's schemes here, I only wish to point out this—that Englishmen in India have accomplished a gigantic task. We have enabled people who had previously no conception whatever of what we call self-government to imbibe that conception, at any rate to a certain extent—possibly 5 per cent of the population. That is a very great accomplishment. Let us be careful that we do not, in the hope of getting to that new world which our politicians are so fond of picturing, scrap all the good that we have placed to our record in the world behind us. (Loud applause.)

Major-General Count A. CHEREP SPIRIDOVITCH said that he was editor of a newspaper, *Slavia*, in Moscow during the Bolshevist time, so that he knew what revolution meant. After thirty-six years of very close

study of foreign policy, he had arrived at the conclusion that India had greatly benefited by the British brains. In order to avoid wars, in his opinion, the easiest and surest way would be to influence at least three-quarters of the world by British brains. The fears that Russia had designs on India were absolutely groundless. Russia had *never* sought to supplant the British in India, and never would, unless Bolshevism remained, which he hoped it would not. Bolshevism has made nobody happy, except criminals released from prisons. Bolshevism destroys everything, rebuilds nothing, and can exist only on old resources until they are exhausted. It is plunder, robbery, forgery and murder. Having heard at many Hindoo meetings some speakers, like Commander Kenworthy, M P, who raised false hopes among the Hindoos that the Russians might help the revolutionists in India, the General thought it his *sacred duty* to give the most categorical denial to those statements as absolutely false. The Hindoos must know that the chief point of Bismarck's and the Kaiser's policy was not to permit the Anglo-Russian alliance. That is why the Germans spread in the British Empire a lie—that Russia covets India. Some four million Germans always live in Russia, and simulating a devotion to the dynasty, they reached very high situations, which enabled them to influence the Press and all the place hunters and opportunists. However, their great efforts to enroot in Russia a desire of conquering or “freeing” India met with the most decisive refusals. And in future it will be still less possible. The chief secret of it is that the Russians themselves were, and are, the sincerest admirers of British administrative talent, and would like the same regime to be established in Russia. The Hindoos should understand that their neighbours, the Jews, have regained Palestine, from which they can exploit mercilessly such a rich country as India. The Jews know also that British governors would protect the Hindoos to the utmost, and therefore the Jews would like to see Great Britain's failure. The Jews know well that they could extract from the Hindoos all their resources only by dismembering the Indian Empire. “Divide et impera.” That is why the Jews persuade the Hindoos towards a revolution, and assure them that the Jews are also an Asiatic nation, and “oppressed” as the Hindoos are. All this is a diabolical manceuvre, which must be greatly apprehended.

The Russians love the Hindoos, and therefore would like to prevent them from being deserted by Britain, which would plunge India into an ocean of blood, famine and mire. The late Russian author Leonid Andreieff wrote “The Russians believe in Englishmen as in God.” Being President of the Anglo-Latino Slav League, the General hoped that the 200 million Slavs and the 150 or 200 million Latins in Europe and in three Americas will soon understand that the only way to prevent wars, with all their calamitous consequences, is to be led by British brains. An American thinker and expert, Mr C W Barron, writes “The Englishman is not outclassed in mental and physical balance by any nation on the earth.” The Hindoos must know that all the leaders of the Russian revolution, like Professor Mihukoff, Tchaikowsky, Burtzeff, etc., honestly and publicly recognized that the former Imperial régime in

Russia was a real paradise on earth in comparison with what was brought by the revolution. My sixty odd forecasts (*vide the Christian Commonwealth*) having been realized, I can foretell the greatest unheard-of upheaval in India in case she should start a revolution. I always sign my name under my forecast, and do it willingly under this one, sure that I shall never be contradicted by the facts.

Mr B V JADHAV, M A, LL B (of Kolhapur), acknowledged the great debt of India to England. England had given them the idea of nationality and the idea of co-partnership. English education and English government had made these things accessible to them. He was glad that Indian people were taking advantage of them and improving their conditions, and under the new laws he was hopeful that great strides would be made. With regard to the countervailing duties, it seemed to him that the profits would go into the pockets of the mill-owners, whereas they ought to go into the pockets of the Government. They would then be used for the public benefit, which would be better than their being used to swell the profits of the mill-owners. The labouring classes were very much trodden down by the mill and factory owners, and therefore, if the Government of India gave their attention to the miseries of the labouring people, it would be much appreciated. They had to work long hours in the mills, their physical condition was deteriorating, consumption was making great strides, and therefore it was the duty of the Government to devote its attention to the amelioration of these conditions. He advocated a tax on the mill-owners in the shape of an excess profits tax. The well-being of their operatives ought to be a charge on the profits of the mill-owners. They must endeavour to avoid the mistakes that had been made in other countries. He was grateful to the great British Empire for what they had done for India. (Hear, hear)

Mr PRATT said he wished to approach the much-debated question of the countervailing duties from a somewhat different point of view. The Chairman had said they ought to concentrate their attention upon the interests of the Indian consumer, but he was unable to see how the goods would be made any cheaper to the consumer by the imposition of a countervailing excise duty which would *pro tanto* increase the cost of production for the Indian manufacturer and make it more difficult for him to compete with the Lancashire manufacturer, whereas, if there were no countervailing duty it was obvious that the Indian manufacturer could put a cheaper article on the market. It therefore appeared to him that the Indian consumer would be better off without the countervailing duty.

Lady KATHARINE STUART said it was perplexing to know where the truth lay when observers saw us so differently. On the one hand, German criticism accused us of inefficiency in certain respects, upon the other Monsieur Spiridovitch desired to place the whole world under British administration. Perhaps she would be expressing the feelings of those present if she responded that they felt that where they had lacked efficiency it was when they had failed to illustrate Christian ideals, and where they, under Divine blessing, had succeeded, it was when they had realized and



demonstrated their God, as Self-revealed to them, the Good Physician and the Great Shepherd of all Folds The League of Nations had done splendid service in co-ordinating the Red Cross centres and pooling its resources, and if this method were extended to the other needs of humanity it might be the beginning of better things for Russia and the whole world, the resources of the whole and prosperous being *willingly* placed at the disposal of the sick and needy, which was the Christian ideal of civilization

Mr RAMACHANDRA RAO, referring to the lecturer's remarks with regard to Brahminism, said that although the influence of Brahminism was not so great as formerly, no decent Brahmin desired it to resume its old power, but wished to do his best to meet modern requirements

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and Gentlemen, before asking the Lecturer to reply, I should like to say a word or two more about the countervailing duties, because one of the gentlemen who has spoken did not quite follow my argument. If you have a customs duty levied on imported goods only, without any countervailing duty on home-made goods, the vendor of home made goods will charge the same price for them as is charged for the imported goods, plus the duty The consumer pays the duty in both cases But in the case of the imported goods the Government gets the duty paid by the consumer, whereas in the case of the goods made at home the private manufacturer gets the duty and puts it in his pocket. Every Government has to raise revenue to meet its expenditure, and if the Government uses its power to tax the general body of the community in order to put a special profit into the hands of one group of manufacturers it has to raise further revenue elsewhere In other words, the mass of the people are taxed first to enhance the profit of the private manufacturers, and then they are taxed again for the general purposes of government expenditure Therefore it seems to me that, from the point of view of fair play, it is right that any tax on imported goods should be counter-vailed by a corresponding tax on home-made goods

It is hardly necessary for me to say that very few of us understood Mr Rice to criticize Brahminism at all I think the keynote of his remark was that, while England had rendered many services to India, India had rendered many services to England by showing how the Indian religious idea might be of advantage to the world (Applause)

The LECTURER, replying to the criticisms on his paper, said he would like to suggest a possible modification of what the Chairman had said regarding the Indian consumer A countervailing duty meant practically Free Trade, and raised the question as to the propriety of protecting infant industries It was true that the cotton industry in India had been going on since 1860, but there was an admitted need for the growth of the industry The great need was for machinery He agreed with the Chairman that it might be a doubtful blessing, because they did not want to turn all their smiling ricefields and waving coconuts into stacks of smoke-blackened chimneys, neither did they want to turn the healthy life of the villages into the more or less stifled life of the towns The standard of living called for improvement, but the Indians would not do much in that

direction for themselves As regards the price of cloth, the majority of the Indians in Madras did not wear mill manufactured cloths, though it might be different in other parts of India. In Madras nine-tenths of the inhabitants would be found to be wearing ordinary handloom made cloths made by the weavers in their own villages, and it was only the Brahmins who wore the English cloth The truth was that the countervailing duties on cotton had been regarded simply as a great grievance, and the Indian Government had been very sympathetic towards Indian opinion on the subject Indians could not help feeling that the effect of these duties was to sacrifice India to Lancashire As in the case of volunteering, it was not so much the question of revenue or profits or of the position of the consumer to which Indians were looking as the removal of this grievance

A hearty vote of thanks was unanimously accorded to the Chairman and the Lecturer, and the proceedings terminated

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## EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

*It has been proposed to present a testimonial to Dr Pollen for his services to this Association Readers of the "Asiatic Review" are invited to send subscriptions (limited to £1) to the Secretary, East India Association, 3, Victoria Street, Westminster, S W 1 The list will be closed in March.*

STANLEY RICE,  
*Hon Secretary*

## WAR AND POST-WAR DEVELOPMENTS IN PERSIA

BY C A WALPOLE, O B E

Now that Persia has at last determined to put her house in order and develop her undoubtedly large natural resources, railways must come at no distant date. That a railway connecting Central Persia with the Persian Gulf, and thereby short-circuiting the present enormously round-about and expensive route via Baghdad and the River Tigris, or even the contemplated lorry and rail route to the Mediterranean via the Baghdad Railway, is of primary importance, there can be no doubt, and that such a line should at the same time tap the fertile district of the Karun Valley would seem equally desirable. As already stated, and as can be seen by a glance at a map, the alignment Mohammerah-Dizful presents no great difficulties. This alignment was surveyed in detail by the Persian Railways Syndicate on behalf of the Persian Government as long ago as 1913, and a reconnaissance of the country northward as far as Khoramabad and Hamadan was also made. The maps here show the country as extremely mountainous, but as a matter of fact, by following certain valleys and gorges, a good and perfectly feasible alignment was found, which it was the intention at once to survey in detail, had not war interrupted the Persian Railways Syndicate's operations. Such a line, besides serving the Karun Valley and the grain-producing districts around Dizful, Jerrahi, etc., would tap one of the highest and most fertile parts of Persia—namely, the country round Burujird and Kermanshah, and enable the produce therefrom to be

shipped to the Gulf at a cost even less than that of the grain shipped from Bombay or Karachi. It has been said by some that there is a convenient outlet for the produce of Central Persia via Baghdad to the Persian Gulf, but this is not so. The freight by this route to-day from, say, Hamadan to Basrah would, at the very least, amount to £10 per ton—which is more than the normal price of wheat delivered in this country, but by a direct railway to the Gulf it would not amount to more than £2 or £3 per ton—a rate which compares favourably with the cost of rail transport of much of the grain shipped from India. Moreover, railways are a necessity for efficient administration, and for the economical distribution of oil and other merchandise, and also for the development of industries generally both for internal consumption and for export.

In Southern and Central Persia, at any rate, fuel is practically non-existent, the little there is being wood collected from the scrubby growth along the Karun and Diz rivers, a purely local supply and insufficient even for local requirements, beside being prohibitive in cost. For the proper development of agricultural and commercial industries, a cheap and plentiful supply of fuel is, of course, essential, and in this respect Nature has come to the rescue of Persia with oil. The transportation of oil by caravan is, needless to say, most expensive, both in the cost of transport and in the heavy leakage consequent upon this method of carriage, nor is distribution by lorry or cart any more satisfactory in either of these respects—leakage frequently amounting to as much as 8 per cent. Transportation by rail is far cheaper than either and much more satisfactory, as has been proved in India, where leakage, even with two transshipments, only averages about  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

It has been suggested by some that a good motor-lorry service from, say, Isfahan to the Persian Gulf is all that is required to bring about the much-desired commercial and industrial development of Persia, and there are even some people who profess to consider that the present caravan

system is sufficient for the purpose. I would like to take this opportunity of insisting most emphatically, on the basis of my extensive knowledge of the country and of its transport problems, that this is not so—I have already indicated the prohibitive cost of transport by motor-lorry, rail, and river to Basrah via Baghdad. To further emphasize the point, I would like to give the respective costs from Mohammerah to Isfahan, these are as follows

(a) By river to Ahwaz and on to Isfahan by caravan, about £20 per ton

(b) By river to Ahwaz and on to Isfahan by motor-lorry, £15 per ton

(c) By rail, Mohammerah to Isfahan, about £3 per ton

The river caravan figure is the only one of the above figures actually available, but it must not be thought that those for lorry and rail are mere guess-work on my part. For a lorry road I have excellent data from a new road which the Anglo-Persian Oil Company have just completed between Dari-Khazirah (12 miles from Shusyat on the Upper Karun River) to their oil-fields, and for the railway I have certain estimates actually compiled when the survey was made by the Persian Railways Syndicate.

That it will take some little time to construct railways cannot be denied, whereas, as pointed out by Lieut.-Colonel Napier recently before the Royal Geographical Society, a rough motor-lorry service could be introduced much sooner, but I would like to point out that the construction of suitable roads through any part of the mountainous ranges which separate the seaboard from the rich provinces of Central Persia, would be costly and take time. In favour of this suggestion as a temporary measure, however, is the fact that the military in Mesopotamia would no doubt be ready to supply a certain number of lorries on the spot, petrol is already at hand from the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, and perhaps some of the existing caravan routes could, with a certain amount of patching-up, be made sufficiently passable for this kind of traffic. That the

experiment on a commercial basis would be tried in the near future, there is little doubt, and as a temporary measure, pending the completion of railways, it will doubtless be of value in carrying on the existing trade. I am convinced, however, and have endeavoured to show, that for permanent development on a large scale, Persia *must* have *railways*, and when these are built any lorries which have meantime been employed in maintaining the existing trade of Persia could no doubt be used to great advantage as feeders for the railway.

One of the greatest, if not *the* greatest difficulty which will have to be faced, whether the work in hand be road-making, irrigation, or any other constructional work, will be that of labour. The position in this respect, even before the war, was none too easy, and it is now one of the acutest problems of the day. The Persian is, taken all round, a good labourer, but he has many irons in the fire, and cannot be relied upon to remain with you throughout the entire year, especially when the date and grain seasons come round, nor to-day, with the big demand for labour in Mesopotamia, does there appear to be sufficient to meet the demands of all. Of skilled labour there is practically none, and even before the war artisans such as fitters, riveters, engine-drivers, etc., had mainly to be imported from India, the possible exceptions in this respect being carpenters and masons, but here again the demand far exceeds the supply. Experience in other countries has, however, shown that, with the serious opening up of the country, more native labour will come forward, although during the war, when the wages offered were at record height, and when, owing to famine, the shortage of food, clothing, etc., was acute, there was considerable difficulty in obtaining labour, this was no doubt, however, due in a great measure to the large demands of the Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force and the unsettled conditions generally. The Persian Government are quite naturally extremely keen that local labour should be encouraged and utilized

to the utmost extent, and every effort in this direction is being made in both official and commercial circles. It will, however, interest you to know that the artisans who have been imported from India (and the Anglo-Persian Oil Company have during the past ten years imported many thousands of such workmen) have on the whole been quite satisfactory—the men stand the climate well and their intercourse with the Persian is quite friendly, many have, in fact, married Persian wives and settled down. The war has done much to draw Persia and India together—not only have the respective peoples, as it were, been “introduced” to one another, but the trade relations between the two countries have been very much strengthened. Many commodities which before the war were obtained exclusively from Europe had, through necessity at first, to be obtained from India, when it was discovered that quite a number of these articles could be purchased as well and as cheaply as from home. Instances of this are chemicals, cement, and boxwood. Especially can I speak of the article last mentioned, of which the Anglo-Persian Oil Company imported from India alone approximately half a million boxes for the casing of petrol for the Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force.

A short review of the Oil Company's operations during the war should prove of interest. The company's refinery is situated at a spot called Braim on Abadan Island, some nine miles below Mohammerah on the Shat-el-Arab River. Here the company employs some 60 Europeans, a large number of Persian subjects, as well as some 2,000 Indians, apart entirely from a further large staff of Europeans, Persians, and Indians at Mohammerah, on the oil-fields and on the route of the pipe-line. In 1909 the village consisted of possibly 50 sleepy natives, to-day there are probably over 10,000 inhabitants. The declaration of war with Turkey found Abadan particularly well equipped to render assistance to an expeditionary force to the Persian Gulf. The works were in a position to supply any quantity

of petrol, kerosene, and fuel oil, there was a particularly well-equipped workshop, foundry, slipway, and a number of river steamers and motor-boats. All were, needless to say, at once put at the disposal of the expeditionary force, and later, when it was decided to construct a fleet of light-draft gunboats, tugs, and barges, this work was undertaken at Abadan. Throughout the entire campaign the Anglo-Persian Oil Company supplied the total oil, petrol, and fuel oil requirements of the Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force, and at the same time were shipping large quantities of oil home for the British Navy. On no occasion was there any hitch in the working of any of these supplies. Moreover, it was from one of the company's ships that hostilities against the Turks commenced, naval guns being mounted on the steam tug *Sardar-i-Naft*, which bombarded and demolished the fortress of Fao. This was on November 6, 1914. Two days later the original expeditionary force, under General Delamaine, landed on Turkish soil almost immediately opposite to the A P O C Refinery at Abadan. Here the Turks made their first attack on the British a week later, but were repulsed. Three days later the British attacked the Turks, advancing along the right bank of the Shat-el-Arab River to a point almost immediately opposite to Mohammerah. The enemy were severely defeated and fled towards Basrah, which they, however, evacuated on November 21 without firing a shot. An amusing incident of those operations was the attempt by the Turks to block the river below Basrah. A large Hamburg-America liner, named the *Ekkbatana*, and two small Turkish ships were scuttled by the Turks. These proceedings occupied fully a fortnight, and were carried out with the utmost care. From Mohammerah I could obtain a fair view of the operations, and could not help admiring the painstaking methods of the Turks. A small gap had, however, inadvertently been left between the *Ekkbatana* and the right bank of the river, and, three days after the battle last referred to, news came down from



Basrah that the Turks had deserted the town, and that the Arabs were looting it. H M S *Espiegle* and one of Lynchis' River steamers made a dash for the gap, which was passed through without mishap. This effort to block the channel was, in fact, entirely futile, and it was found later that two ocean-going steamers could even pass one another without difficulty.

A rather amusing episode is said to have occurred in Mohammerah just prior to the official declaration of hostilities by Turkey on Great Britain. Notwithstanding the friendly relations professed towards us by Turkey up till almost the eve of the war, great tension had existed for some time between the two nations in the Persian Gulf, at any rate. The only protection afforded to British interests in Mesopotamia at this time were H M S *Espiegle* and *Odin*, the former being particularly detailed to watch over Abadan and Mohammerah. She took up her position at Mohammerah just inside the mouth of the Karun River, this being Persian and therefore neutral water, of course, though the Shat-el-Arab River, into which the Karun runs, was Turkish water. The commander of the Turkish river flotilla seemed to think it his business to warn the *Espiegle* that in lying in this position she was committing a breach of international law, and, with this object in mind, he proceeded to issue daily ultimatums, which, however, as they were systematically ignored by the *Espiegle*, he very obligingly extended. Finally he decided to warn the British commander in person, and, with this intention, he one morning called on the British gunboat. During the interview, which was of a most friendly kind, the British commander offered the Turk some liquid refreshment, which the latter accepted, observing, however, that his creed precluded his indulging in anything stronger than "sherbet." This is not a very popular beverage in His Majesty's Navy. However, the order was at once (though somewhat dubiously) given by the British commander to his Indian servant to bring sherbet for his Turkish guest.

Somewhat to his surprise the servant (a resourceful fellow, as will be seen later, and moreover one who felt his responsibility in maintaining the hospitable reputation of the British Navy) shortly returned with a sparkling frothy pink drink. It was a hot day, and the Turkish commander's eyes glistened with pleasure as he raised the glass to his lips and drank it down. The all-important interview continued some little time longer, when it was observed that the Turkish commander was becoming "restless." The British commander suggested another sherbet, but this was hysterically refused, and the Turk took a hurried farewell. The commander of H M S *Espiegle* was nonplussed. What would account for the sudden and extraordinary change in the attitude of his Turkish colleague? It occurred to him to query his servant as to where he had procured the sherbet. "Oh, master," replied that faithful worthy, "we have no such drink as sherbet on board, so, in order to maintain the reputation of the ship, I manufactured the sherbet." "How?" inquired the commander. "I mixed a little rosewater with a lemon squash, and then, to make it fizz, I added some of that white powder which master keeps in his cabin." "Fetch me the bottle," replied the commander. The servant brought it—it was Eno's Fruit Salt!

It should be noted that it was within a few miles of the Sheikh of Mohammerah's territory that the first shot was fired, and, had it not been for Sheikh Khazzal's unswerving loyalty and staunchness to the British, our task in this theatre of the war would have been much more difficult. For weeks before the actual declaration of hostilities between Great Britain and Turkey the latter from Basrah, a very powerful base and only some fifteen miles distant from the Sheikh's residence, were in turn cajoling and threatening him to throw in his lot with them. The military power of the Turks was evident on all sides, whereas from the British the Sheikh had only the verbal assurance of the Consul on which to rely. Though the time must have been

a most anxious one, and the situation one requiring the greatest diplomacy and courage, never for one moment did the Sheikh waver, and, more than this, he placed his entire resources and unique local knowledge entirely gratuitously at our disposal

One of the most important, if not quite the most important, questions of the day in regard to Mesopotamia and Arabistan is that of dredging the Shat-el-Arab bar. This bar, which commences at Fao and which is some seven miles in extent, is a severe thorn in the side of all shipping entering the ports of Basrah, Mohammerah, and Abadan. No vessel whose draft exceeds 18 feet 6 inches can at all times with certainty negotiate the bar, with the consequence that practically every ocean-going vessel, both inward and outward, requires to be lightered, a most expensive, slow, and sometimes dangerous business. As matters stand at present, it is no exaggeration to say that a 6,000 to 8,000 ton cargo ship is delayed anything up to ten days, or roughly, one third of the time it would take for such a ship to perform the entire journey from Basrah to a British port if no bar existed. This, during the war, when tonnage was so scarce, was a most important matter to the British, nor to-day, with acute competition for trade supremacy among the nations of the world, can it be regarded in a much lesser light. Calculating on the number of ships loaded and discharged during the war at Abadan (of which, of course, the most precise figures are at my disposal), the time saved, had no bar existed, would have been equivalent, in the case of cargo boats, to about 16 per cent, and in the case of oil-tank steamers to 9 per cent, of the total shipping which had to be employed. As regards the difficulties in the way of dredging, this question has been very thoroughly gone into by more than one expert, and the work has been pronounced as likely to be neither unduly costly nor lengthy. The bottom is soft, there are apparently no rocks, the current of the river is swift, and the tendency of the banks suitable for training

I may add a few lines on the position of Germany in the Persian Gulf prior to the war. Prior to 1900 German interests were scarcely, if at all, represented in the Persian Gulf. Early in that year, a certain Robert Wonckhaus, a Hamburg merchant of no particular status, and with little if any capital, opened up business in Lingah, he appeared to prosper exceedingly, and some five years later the firm of Wonckhaus and Co. were represented in most of the more important Gulf ports, including Basrah, Mohammerah, Bushire, and Bahrain. They traded in all kinds of goods, both import and export, and were employed as agents of the Hamburg-America Line. At first very few of this line's ships visited the Gulf, only about one every five or six weeks in 1909, but these gradually increased, till in 1913 their ships were calling on an average once a fortnight. That they were heavily subsidized by the German Government is pretty certain, though latterly, at any rate, I should not think any subsidy was necessary, as their outward freight (from Europe) was assured, in that they had obtained the contract to carry out the material required for the laying of the Baghdad Railway line northward from Baghdad, and, as regards return freight, favoured by their irregular methods of dealing and by good harvests, they were able to fill their ships with grain for Hamburg. Their methods were enterprising as well as unscrupulous, they seemed always ready to buy grain, even when the advice received by British firms indicated falling prices at home, but this may be explained by the fact that the Germans were none too "particular" in their dealings with the Persian Customs. There is an export duty on cereals from Persia of 7 per cent, and this the Germans were experts at "dodging". On a large bulk-shipment of grain this is not difficult, as the amount declared by the shipper is difficult to check, it can, in fact, only be checked by the draft of the steamer, which method the Persian Customs authorities found it difficult to carry out. The matter was brought to the notice of the British Chamber of Commerce

in Mohammerah, figures of the declared quantities of shipments made by the Germans were obtained, and it was decided to write to the British Consul in Hamburg, requesting him to endeavour to procure the out-turn figures at the latter port, war, however, broke out about that time and the matter dropped. Though our German competitors had these two big advantages over the British—namely, a subsidy, and evasion of Customs duties, or at least a large portion thereof—there is no denying that they owed some of their success to their enterprise and industriousness as well as to the unscrupulousness of their methods. The representatives of Messrs Wonckhaus were one and all, from the partner in charge down to the junior assistant, extremely keen, they all seemed to know their business thoroughly, and, more important still, they made a careful study of the native, not only from the commercial point of view, but also from the social. All spoke the language fluently, and they would go out of their way to meet and entertain the more influential local merchants and others. In these respects, though not in the others to which I have referred, the British trader might copy the German to advantage. The object of this was amply demonstrated, after the outbreak of war, when Messrs Wonckhaus's staff, led by the notorious Wassmuss, exchanged the commercial for the political cloak, scattering over Southern Persia and spreading anti-British propaganda with much success and with the gravest possible injury to Persia. Apropos of Wassmuss, I would like to mention a story which is little known and which further illustrates a well-known characteristic of the German race, both high and low. Some two years prior to the Armistice Wassmuss was taken and held captive at Kazvin, he was treated with the greatest consideration and was allowed some freedom on giving his parole, but—German-like—he broke his parole almost as soon as it was given.

I will conclude with a paragraph on the prospects of British enterprise in Southern Persia. With Russian

influence removed (the Persian "man-in-the-street" never could understand why the British, whose characteristics are so widely different from those of the Russians, should associate themselves with the latter, whom they [the Persians] most cordially disliked), and with the disappearance of dishonest German competition there is, in my opinion, in Persia an exceptionally fine field for British trade. Heretofore, even with her resources little known, her abominably bad communications, her lack of establishment of law and order, trading with Persia has developed, and, now that these deficiencies are about to be remedied by means of the understanding arrived at under the new British-Persian agreement, a period of great development for Persia and mutual prosperity may be anticipated. The personal relations between the Englishman and the Persian have always been most friendly, at least, that has always been my own experience. Their business methods are straight and their friendships are sincere, the working classes are loyal and honest (I may say that during my entire stay in the Persian Gulf I have had the same personal servant, and never wish for a better one), and there is plenty of evidence to show that they are quick to appreciate and adopt modern methods. We have trained quite a number as engineers, riveters, motor-drivers, and also, on the clerical side, as book-keepers and cashiers. I see no reason why the Persians should not in due course become fully as competent in all these respects as Europeans. From the sporting point of view the instinct is there, as also is the practical side, in so far as there has been any opportunity of its manifestation. The Persian is a fine rider and a good shot. No present is so highly prized as a sporting gun, a pair of field-glasses, or a hunting-knife. The Persian is, moreover, where opportunity exists, an excellent *shikari*, shooting over dogs is no uncommon practice with him, and hawking is an ancient sport of theirs. In a country where some of the finest ponies in the world are bred, it need scarcely be said that

## *War and Post-War Developments in Persia*

riding is second nature to them. Of polo, racing, etc., they of course cannot know much, though the present Shah and his predecessors have held annual meetings at the imperial summer residence near Teheran for many years past, and his Imperial Majesty is to-day, I understand, President of the Sporting Club in Teheran. When I first arrived in the Persian Gulf sport was hardly known, a small annual gymkhana meeting among the Europeans in Mohammerah and Basrah being all there was. Three years later the Europeans in Mohammerah were able, owing to the keen support of the Sheikh of Mohrah and the late Sheikh Mubarrak of Koweit, to hold two most successful meetings run on fairly "pucca" lines, and the entries included as many native-owned horses as European. To day there are "pucca" race-meetings twice and sometimes three times annually in Ahwaz, Mohammerah, Basrah, Amara, Kut, Nasiriyah, Baghdad, and Tekrit, the proceedings are on first-class lines, permanent courses have been constructed, there is no lack of entries, and the class of pony, especially of the Arab, is very good. There is a good club in Mohammerah, where tennis, golf, billiards, and other games are played, of which the Sheikh is a keen member, as also his Prime Minister, Haji Rais. In Ahwaz, Abadan, and at the oil-fields, there are also clubs.

## THE ARMENIAN QUESTION

BY ARAM RAFFI

(We regret to announce that the author, who was Secretary of the Armenian Bureau in London, passed away on Wednesday, November 12, 1919, at 6 20 p m —ED A. R.)

ONE of the chief diplomatic problems of the nineteenth century was the Eastern Question. This problem always came up on the conclusion of any war in which Turkey was concerned in one way or another. On every one of these occasions the question of the protection of the Christian subjects of the Porte was brought forward. New treaties were signed and schemes for the protection of the Christians were drawn up by the European Great Powers. Turkey was put under new obligations to carry out these schemes and the Powers pledged themselves to see that she did so. But these schemes were never executed. Outrages and massacres were committed during times of peace, the Great Powers sent protests to the Porte, fresh promises were made by Turkey, but they have never been fulfilled. Every time that a massacre of the Christian subjects of Turkey took place, the Eastern Question again came to the front. Hundreds of thousands of Armenian women and innocent children were barbarously put to death. This aroused the indignation and sympathy of the whole world, fresh representations were made, schemes were drawn up for the protection of Armenian Christians, but it was generally recognized that these schemes would lead to nothing unless the execution of them was enforced by the Powers. Some of the Powers agreed that compulsion should be used, but in one case it was said that Russia was against such action, therefore diplomats decided that if any country were to fight for the liberation of Armenia, it would reopen the Eastern Question and lead to a European war. From this prospect all nations recoiled. The Question again remained on paper, resulting in fresh representations to the Porte, and fresh Turkish promises. The last time the Armenian Question came to the front, after many outrages had been committed, Russia figured as Armenia's champion, but it was said that Germany was the obstacle to the final settlement of the Eastern Question. However, the Great Powers conceived a scheme for introducing reforms in Armenia. It was proposed to appoint a High Commissioner to undertake the execution of the reforms. After long discussion the Committee of Union and Progress consented to this, fearing that, if the scheme were not executed speedily, Russia would take this as a pretext to occupy Armenia. Germany was against having one High Commissioner and proposed to divide Armenia into two zones of influence and send two High Commissioners, one for



each zone. The Turkish Government tried to thwart this scheme and to demand special privileges. A Swedish general actually proceeded to Armenia as High Commissioner, appointed by the Great Powers, and with the consent of the Porte. Such was the state of affairs at the outbreak of the Great War. The Armenians cast in their lot with the Allies, formed volunteer forces, and led the Russian armies into Armenia. After the fall of the Russian Government, and the revolution when the Bolsheviks were in power, the Russian troops evacuated all the conquered parts of Armenia. For a long time the Armenians defended the front and checked the advance of the Turks. In Turkish Armenia a most horrible massacre took place, the whole Armenian population was deported into the interior of Arabia, a great number of the deportees were done to death during the journey. Thus, out of two millions of Armenians in Turkish Armenia, nearly half were wiped out. Now the Turks were trying to invade the Caucasus, where two millions of Armenians are living. After this, Bolsheviks came into power, the Caucasus declared itself independent of the Bolshevik Government, and the three chief populations of the Caucasus—Armenians, Georgians, and Tartars—formed themselves into independent republics. The capital of the Armenian Republic is Erivan.

The Russian Armenians concentrated themselves in their territory, and, singlehanded, checked the advance of the Turks in the Caucasus, thus facilitating the march of General Allenby to Mesopotamia and Palestine by making it necessary to divert many Turkish troops to the Caucasus.

In the Armistice concluded with Turkey (November 2, 1918) the following stipulation concerning Armenia was made:

"In case of disorder in the six Armenian vilayets, the Allies reserve to themselves the right to occupy any part of them."

Since that date great disorder, accompanied by murder and pillage, has prevailed, and is still prevailing, in the six vilayets mentioned in the Armistice, but those regions have never been occupied by the Allies and the Armenian Question is not yet settled. The Paris Conference is waiting till America makes up its mind whether or not she will accept the mandate for Armenia. Pending the decision of the diplomats, Armenian blood is being freely shed. British troops, which were a safeguard to the Armenian population, have been withdrawn from the Caucasus. In consequence Turks, Kurds, and Tartars, are combining in an attack on the Armenian Republic, with a view to wiping out the two millions of Armenians in the Caucasus. The following telegram speaks for itself.

"The situation in Armenia is literally terrible. The Turco Tartar troops have completely surrounded the country, and taken Davalu and Kulp, on the frontier of the Kars. The incessant attacks of the Kurds, capturing officers, soldiers, machine-guns, and Turkish cannon, have necessitated the beginning of evacuation. Many thousands of Armenian refugees coming from Turkey, and installed in districts near the frontier, find themselves compelled to make another exodus.

"There is a Mussulman agitation in progress. The insurgent Tartars threaten the Ouloukhanliou-Echmiadzin railway. The centre of the

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agitation is at Erzerum, Nakhichevan, and Baku, whence the enemy forces receive money, arms, and ammunition. Fighting has taken place during the evacuation of Kars. The departure of the English and the lack of ammunition reduces our forces to inactivity. We cannot," the Premier concludes, "understand why Paris does not send us help. We are completely abandoned."

Armenia's tragedy is twofold: she was a victim of the war, now she is a victim of the peace. She was persecuted by her enemies, now she is almost deserted by her friends.

# TAO CHIEN'S RETURN TO THE COUNTRY

(A CHINESE MASTERPIECE)

BY DAVID ALEC WILSON

THE Chinese are impatient of verbosity, and say a man should put his thought into the minimum of words. A common remark in this connection is that the "Masterpiece," the ancient "Return to the Country" of Tao Chien, is the only long poem that is perfect, and as readers will see, we would not call it long.

It appears to me to be the finest idyll in literature, surpassing all the rest in depth and clearness and beauty. Only the defects of my translation can leave room for doubt, and maybe the Chinese opinion may be shared by many who can see through the mists of language the meaning of this wonderful word picture. It has something of the perfect daintiness of "The Tempest."

Tao Chien, the author, "the poet of the Chrysanthems," died in 427 of our era at the age of sixty two, so that the "Return to the Country" may have reached the hands of his contemporaries at the very time which the Italians called "the Night of the World," when Alaric and the Goths were plundering Rome and her belongings, and Augustine was writing for the comfort of men his "City of God", in short, when the millennium of confusion called in Europe "the Middle Ages" was about to begin.

The "poet of the Chrysanthems" would have been impossible, not allowed to live at all, at any time since 1890 in modern Germany, and even in England he might have been deported in time of war, unless, which is unthinkable, he were in the pay of somebody. I will not disguise his peculiarities. He was a poor scholar, and sought and found an official career, and was promoted to be a magistrate, but after eighty-three days he resigned that high promotion because he objected to the obeisances required by "official" superiors, and had the rudeness to say he could "not crook the hinges of his back for five pecks of rice a day." It may help us to understand him to reflect that he would not take bribes, so that the official perquisites he lost would be less tempting to him than to others, and his wife abetted him. So the historians expressly tell us, and it is worth while to remember. One of the best women in England (Mrs Fawcett) said in my hearing not long ago "Whenever a man is specially good, I ask about his wife, and find she has a hand in it." The wife of Tao Chien "worked in the back garden, while he worked in the front."

This wonderful man supported his family by cultivating a little land, and might be called a humble gentleman farmer, but that phrase is misleading. Even fifteen hundred years ago there had ceased to be what the caste-ridden English call "gentlemen" in China, and game-preserving was only known to historians. The most vulgar Chinaman had outgrown the fashion of killing for the pleasure of killing. Tao Chien gave most of his strength to literary work that was never paid for, but did not neglect

his fields, and lived so modestly that he was free from worry, and said himself that he had nothing to pray for but "length of years and lots of liquor "

To this day his countrymen may be heard to wish, as for the chief of blessings, to enjoy an old age like that of Tao Chien

He would long ago have been forgotten, as he doubtless expected to be, but for the "Return to the Country," which goes to the heart like some of the best of the songs of Burns. It may have seemed insignificant to himself at first, and been intended to please his wife, "the inner one." But his other writings are too full of allusions to contemporary events to be interesting or even intelligible now without notes that are tedious.

It was very different when they first appeared. He made official sinners squirm. They did all they could to silence him in vain. The very Emperor himself condescended to solicit him to accept an official post. But "in spite of the reiterated appeals of the Emperor," writes Tchengk-tong, "he would not budge, and never left home again." He gloried in the freedom of private life. Like Lord Rosebery, he had retired to enjoy himself, and he did. In reading his happy anticipations, we feel for a moment even happier than he could have been when he wrote them, for now we know that they were all fulfilled.

I will go home. The thick'ning weeds  
Show how my home its master needs  
There's nothing left me here to crave  
My soul's been long enough a slave  
The past is lost, but vain regret  
Would make my losses greater yet  
The future's left 'Tis not too late  
Upon it now to concentrate  
I have not wandered far astray,  
But, for a little, lost my way,  
And stumbled, but not far, and then—  
I feel I've found the road again.

Now lightly speeds my boat away,  
The breezes with my garments play,  
As through the tangled creeks I steer,  
I only ask what way is near,  
And homeward, homeward as I go,  
The rising sun itself seems slow,  
Till from afar my home I see  
Look! look! they are expecting me,  
My servants running to the shore,  
My children clust'ring at the door!  
Among the weeds chrysanthemums shine,  
And still it's there, my own old pine  
But in I go, I cannot stand—  
The children have me by the hand  
From wine jars full I fill my cup,  
And, as we drink the liquor up,  
I at the window loll to see  
And feel the joy of being free  
Then sit, and there, my heart to please,  
At once I watch my favourite trees  
And children playing on my knees

There's nothing that the world could give  
 Could draw me hence , so here I'll live ,  
 And howsoe'er things go askew,  
 There's nothing more for me to do  
 If any friends an hour would cheer,  
 They'll find me, if they seek me, here  
 My garden's all I want to see,  
 Its gate may now stay shut for me  
 Inside it, on my stick I lean,  
 Or sit me down to view the scene,  
 And, with uplifted head, behold  
 A world of beauties manifold  
 See lowland clouds unwilling rise,  
 Reluctant they to mount the skies  
 That weary bird, which seems so pressed,  
 Methinks, is making for its nest  
 Now shadows all in shade combine,  
 And still I stay beside my pine,  
 Still loath to leave my lonely pine !  
 Home, home again ! and hap, what may,  
 At home for ever now I'll stay ,  
 Here, in my family, abide,  
 And never more I'll wander wide  
 On tedium I can never look  
 While I have light to read a book  
 The longest nights the dark months bring  
 Are not too long to play and sing

My men will come to call me forth  
 With them to plough the wak'ning earth,  
 When, after winter's wind and rain,  
 The world is all alive again  
 I'll seek the fields by boat, and start  
 To climb the gorge in quiet cart ,  
 Then o'er the giddy cliff I'll go,  
 And watch the brooks that brimming flow,  
 And trees, that bud on every hand  
 As if the trees could understand  
 And join in joy at life renewed  
 Shall we alone be thought subdued ?  
 Ask whither ? Whence ? And how and why ?  
 And whimper, when it's time to die ?  
 'Tis not for long Then why be sad ?  
 The end in sight—that makes me glad  
*I'm ready now* Content to stay,  
 I can enjoy a pleasant day,  
 And lengthen out the sunlit hours  
 Among my happy garden flowers  
 Riches and rank I'll never prize,  
 Nor yet post obit paradise ,  
 But on the hill I'll sing my song,  
 And by the brook the verse prolong,  
 And work, in my allotted time,  
 With many a pleasing thought and rhyme  
 Content to live, and free from care ,  
 With Fate contented, everywhere ,  
 When Fate shall life no more allow,  
 Content to die *I'm ready now !*

## THE PARISHIONER

(*Translated from the Russian of the poet KRILOV by DR JOHN POLLEN, C I E*)

PEOPLE there be who, if they hold you dear,  
To them you are a genius ! Writer without peer ,  
Whereas another man,  
Sing sweetly all he can,  
Not only fails to win their praise—  
But e'en his beauty fear they to appraise  
Therefore, though possibly you may be vexed,  
In place of fable I'll take this for text

In Temple, once, a Preacher—  
Of Pluto s eloquence Pupil and Teacher—  
Lectured his Parish flock on doing good  
The words poured from his lips in honeyed flood  
And all he said was true and pure and free from guile ,  
As 'twere by golden chain  
Were raised all thoughts and feelings to the sky—the while  
He painted Earth as folly full and vain—  
And hushed in awe his sermon ended  
Each listened eagerly, and to the spheres  
With softened and enraptured souls ascended,  
Nor felt the flow of their fast-falling tears !  
As from the church their homeward way they wended,  
One hearer to another said—" How splendid !  
Ah ! what a gracious gift !  
What glow ! what sweet uplift !  
And with what power he led his Flock from wrong !"  
" But you, my friend, your nature's hard and strong,  
I did not see a tear-drop in your eye !  
Did you not understand ?" " Of course I did ! but why  
Should I begin to cry ?  
I to this Parish don't belong !"

## JAPANESE COLONIZATION\*

BY DR INAZO NITOBÉ

THE nineteenth century is pre-eminently an age of nationality and of national expansion. All nations, large and small, were awakened to a strong sense of their own importance, so much so that not a few of them were obsessed with it. Those that wisely adapted their national self-consciousness to the law of organic growth became conquering or colonial Powers, while those who, like the Foolish Virgins of the parable, were not ready to act at this call of the century were bereft of their independence. The merciless law of the survival of the fittest, first announced in the middle of the century, has only justified the expansion of virile nations. So much for the universal tendency of the age just passed.

If we examine the more immediate reasons for national expansion, we shall find them to be largely of economic character, such as the growth of the investment of capital, the growth and migration of population, the necessity of command over the supply of raw materials, the desire to acquire markets for home products. None of these reasons is absent in the colonial enterprise of present Japan, whether it be in tropical Formosa, or temperate Korea, or half-frigid Saghalien. But in its earliest form of modern Japanese colonization the chief motive was national safety—the safeguarding of territorial boundaries, the security from foreign invasion, and this reason has been present even in its later stages. Let me explain.

Modern Japan began her career late in the sixties of the

\* A paper read before the Japan Society, on Wednesday, December 17, 1919. Published by permission.

last century That was the period which Mr Kidd has, in his recent book, called the age of Great Pagan Retrogression. It was the period when force was freely displayed and conquests unscrupulously made in the backward places of the globe For some three centuries Japan had shut herself up in a shell, but when she first opened the lid and gazed upon the world, what was the sight she beheld? The Union Jack was firmly planted in India and was moving eastward to Singapore, Hong-Kong, and there was some probability of it marching on to China Why not to Japan too? The French Tricolour was also to be seen floating over Cambodia, Annam, and Tonkin, and nobody could tell how far north or east it would fly More alarming than these, the Muscovite Power, like a huge avalanche, was steadily descending southwards from its Siberian steppes, crushing everything on its way The necessity of protecting our northern frontiers was most evident and urgent So began, in the seventies, the colonization of the long-neglected island of Hokkaido (Yezo) Saghalien, a bone of contention between Russia and Japan, was exchanged for a group of some thirty-one Kurile Islands (6,000 square miles) The colonization of Hokkaido was not fraught with great difficulties, as the natives—the Ainu—were a timid and fast vanishing race There was at first a reluctance on the part of the Japanese, who, being essentially a southern race, but for generations bred in the genial clime, were averse to move north Colonial enterprise had therefore to be largely led by the Government An immense amount of money was spent before the work was voluntarily taken up by the people The island—30,500 square miles, just about the size of Scotland—can nowadays scarcely be called a colony, being more a part of Japan than Algeria is of France At present the chief motive of immigration from the south is not for the defence of frontiers, it is economic Its agriculture, fisheries, and coal mines are very profitable Its beans are of much better quality than those of Manchuria.



Barley for brewing can be grown only there Its herring, cod, and salmon are exported in vast quantities It is rich in timber, oak and walnut The population has now risen to over 10 millions, and it will prove an important granary to the rest of the Empire

This sole colonial training in this northern island, though it proved of great use when Russia returned in 1905 the southern half of Saghalien, an area of some 13,000 square miles and a population of 70,000, and valuable for its fishery, coal, oil, and timber, was inadequate to cope with the conditions of a tropical colony of Formosa, inhabited by 3½ millions of the Chinese race and some ferocious head-hunting tribes We acquired Formosa in 1895 after the war with China largely because we could not get anything else To this rich island of 14,000 square miles, twice as large as Wales, there was attached at first no great economic value, neither was it considered indispensable for the defence of our realm But its strategic importance proved later very great during the war with Russia China was apparently exceedingly willing to get rid of it, because of the chronic obstacles, as Li Hung-Chang said, in administering it on account of (1) brigandage, (2) epidemics, (3) aboriginal savages Sure enough the island was for a while a white elephant to Japan, and its sale was even discussed at one time Later on, under the able administration of Kodama and Goto, brigandage was put down, plague and malaria almost suppressed, and Malay head-hunters kept within bounds by hundreds of miles of electrified wire fence The last device, let me explain, is not to kill the savages Setting aside humanitarian reasons, it does not pay to do so The interior of the island, so rich in camphor, must have labour, and this is reason enough to do everything to entice the aborigines to peaceful activity When they are cut off by the fence they begin to suffer from want of salt It is then that we offer salt in exchange for their weapons, and on their surrendering those we give them buffaloes and agricultural

implements and the fence is moved, as it were, over their heads so that their village comes within Japanese protection. Every year an advance of ten or twenty miles is thus made. They are confined among mountains, while on the plains and along the shores the Chinese population ply their trade and industry. After the suppression of brigandage, the Japanese Government turned its attention to the development of island resources. The tropical climate, which was at first a terror to our people, was soon turned to good account. Irrigation and agriculture are encouraged, sugar production has increased nearly tenfold, cadastral surveys have increased the amount of Government revenue, rice culture has improved and the Oolong tea production has increased. Railways and harbours have been constructed, and the introduction of sewage systems in the larger cities, the gradual abolition of opium-smoking under strict regulation, the Government monopoly of the camphor industry, have been some of the more prominent features of the Formosan administration. The number of Japanese is steadily increasing, but they cannot compete with the Chinese in labour or in small retail business. Formosa is still an investment colony, but with the opening up of the higher altitudes in the interior, which is sure to follow the subjugation of the head-hunters and with the general sanitary improvement, I believe our people can settle without detriment to health. Already the island, thanks to camphor and sugar, is self-supporting. Indeed, the Home Government derives no small revenue from the heavy consumption tax on sugar and from Customs duties on her trade with China.

In its rather short history, Formosa has been under Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, French, and Chinese rule. With such changes of masters there is little patriotism among the people, who nevertheless are intelligent, hard-working, and law-abiding. We do not hear of self-determination there. It is quite otherwise with Korea.

This country prides itself on being one of the oldest

nations of the earth    Oriental pride in mere age is shared by our people too    but I am afraid that in the Occident old age is identified with senility, decrepitude, and dotage    However that may be, Korea was once a powerful and advanced nation, from whom Japan learned most of her ancient arts and craft

The Korean Peninsula, jutting out into the Japan Sea, was like a phial, from which was poured milk and honey into the mouth of Japan    But as to Korea's political independence in the past, there are grave doubts how much she had ever enjoyed it    For centuries she was virtually under the suzerainty of China, paying tribute to Peking and receiving Chinese envoys as messengers from her over-lord    After a war in the sixteenth century we claimed Korea as our protégé    And later in the nineteenth century Russia was bent upon absorbing the kingdom, and was on the fair way to success    As long as Korea remains a really independent country, strong and well governed, it may well be a buffer State, but when it is now under China, and now under Russia, there can be no security for peace in the Far East nor safety for Japan    We can easily change the geographical metaphor, and liken the Peninsula to a sword-blade aimed at the heart of Japan    Suppose Belgium were a weak and vacillating country, to fall at any moment under the sway of Germany, what guarantee is there for the peace of Europe and the security of Great Britain ?    I wish Korea had been as strong and well ordered as Belgium, for in that case there would have been no need of three Powers (China, Russia, and Japan) preying upon her, nor any necessity on the part of Japan to annex her    Here again it was as a condition of self-preservation that Korea was taken under our rule

I am not a believer in the Will to Power, or in the doctrine of the Divine Right of Might, but I do not believe it is the right of every people to do as they will, regardless of consequences to their neighbours    A nation that cannot

keep order has as little right to absolute independence as a nation that has only power has to conquer another. As a matter of fact the old Korean kingdom had forfeited its right to independence when it was treated as a shuttlecock between China, Russia, and Japan. Lord Curzon wrote some years ago

“The spectacle of a country boasting a separate, if not an independent, national existence for centuries, and yet devoid of all external symptoms of strength, inhabited by a people of physical vigour but moral inertness, well endowed with resources, yet crippled for want of funds—such a spectacle is one to which I know no counterpart, even in Asia, the continent of contrasts.”

As another English statesman has said, what India and Egypt want is a self-government, and not a good government, and though I believe that self-government is a sure means to good government, there is a proper time to begin it, and this depends upon the political maturity of the people who ask for it. As long as they resort to assassination, to terrorism, to appeals to third parties, to calumnies, childish methods of playing at governments on foreign soil—well, English people have had enough experience with this kind of demonstration! I count myself among the best and truest friends of Koreans. I like them. I do not share such unfavourable views as were expressed by Captain Bostwick, Archibald Little, George Kennan, or Professor Ladd, and other writers on Korean character. I think they are a capable people, who can be trained to a large measure of self-government, for which the present is a period of tutelage. Let them study what we are doing in Korea, and this I say, not to justify the many mistakes committed by our militaristic administration, nor to boast of some of our achievements. In all humility, but with a firm conviction that Japan is a steward on whom devolves the gigantic task of the uplifting of the Far East, I cannot think that young Korea is yet capable of governing itself. Let them study, I repeat, what we are doing.

Mr Wickham called the Korean "the pale ghost of what a Chinaman was a thousand years ago," and Mr. Kennan called him "the rotten product of a decayed Oriental civilization" Indolence was the badge of honour The first lesson to instil into him is to work

Before annexation was formally proclaimed, in August, 1910, Korea had been a protectorate for four years (1906-10) under the Residency of our foremost statesman, Prince Ito It was in the early years of this régime that I called on him in Seoul My mission was to induce him to accept a plan of settling Japanese farmers in Korean villages as demonstrators of better systems of cultivation The old Prince refused to endorse my plan, insisting that Korea was for Koreans But when I asked him how he could supply the decreasing population—of which there were several local indications in different parts—he still insisted in his opinion by saying, "Under better government, which I inaugurate, population itself will increase" By better government he meant more than the elementary functions of government—viz, legal security of life and property

Certainly, a government to be better than a self-government must provide a substantial economic basis A glance at the table showing the amount of agricultural produce grown in 1910 and 1915 needs no comment

	1910 Bushels	1915. Bushels.
Rice	40,000,000	60,000,000
Wheat and barley	17,500,000	33,000,000
Beans	12,000,000	17,500,000
Cotton	11,000,000 lbs	45,000,000 lbs

Mining, fishery, and manufacture have advanced in the corresponding scale The bald mountains have been covered with young trees Trade has increased by leaps and bounds, foreign trade increasing from 60,000,000 to 108,000,000 yen Railway mileage has nearly doubled. The peninsular Government can support itself without subsidies from the central exchequer Schools, hospitals,

and savings banks are being built in all the larger towns and villages. The school attendance has more than doubled in 1910 15. And let me state here, with all emphasis, that there is perfect religious liberty. A strange rumour is now and then started by misguided missionaries, or by malicious Koreans, that there is a Christian persecution by the heathen Government of Japan. May I add that the Chief Judge in Korea—a Japanese—is one of the most earnest Christians, a Director of a Department is another, and the late Director of Education still another—not to cite other instances I am not personally acquainted with. Last summer we read in papers that a church was bombarded by Japanese gendarmes. That sounds bad enough. As far as I understand, this was done, not because it was a church, nor because good Christian people gathered there for worship—but because a dozen instigators of insurrection hid themselves under its roof. When a building is used, not for a religious purpose but for harbouring law-breakers, it forfeits its sanctity. On questions like these it is exceedingly difficult to be absolutely impartial and fair. Distortion of facts by interested and hostile parties is only human and too frequent. I can well imagine, however, that Japanese authorities—or more probably the lower officials, civil and military—may exercise their functions awkwardly, to say the least, and sometimes too zealously. When a colonial administration as experienced as the British commits errors in Egypt or in Jamaica, it is not to be wondered at that novices like us are not free of them.

What is vital in any colonial scheme seems to me to be the right answer to this question. Do we govern an unwilling people for their sake or for our own?

As to the general unwillingness of any colony—not excluding India, Egypt, the Philippines, Indo-China, etc.—to be governed by a Power alien to it, there is little doubt. A colonial government has received no consent of the governed. Nor is there much reason to believe that a

## *Japanese Colonization*

colonial Power, white or brown, bears the burden at a sacrifice simply to better the lot of the people placed in its charge. The history of colonization is the history of national egotism. But even egotism can attain its end by following the simple law of human intercourse—"give and take." Mutual advantage must be the rule, for the old doctrine of "colonial pact" holds no more. Korea must not be regarded as a mere boundary-line nor as a field for exploitation, much less its inhabitants as food for powder or as a labour supply. Certainly, two races so closely allied as the Korean and the Japanese must come to a better understanding, and such a time will be accelerated more by Japan's approach than by Korea's. To an English student of colonization it will be highly interesting to watch the development of Korea to a Wales or—to an Ireland.

## DRAMATIC NOTES

### "SAKUNTULA"—*Winter Gardens Theatre*

It was a good inspiration which caused the East and West Association to introduce the play "Sakuntula," on November 21, to a crowded audience at the Winter Garden Theatre, Drury Lane

Miss Sybil Thorndyke as Sakuntula acted throughout with effective grace and distinct yet melodious enunciation. Charming indeed was the first scene in which she and her two young companions were tending and watering "their sester flowers."

Excellent, too, was the acting of the jester, who, like in our Shakespeare plays, served to relieve the tension between the various highly dramatic situations

Now, the king had gone on a hunting expedition to escape the cares of State. The hermits who meet the king urge him to stay, as his sacred presence will protect them from devils with whom they are afflicted, and the mother sends to entreat him to accept

The next scene opens with Sakuntula love-sick and confessing her admiration for the king. Meantime the mother comes forward and tells her daughter that the king is called to drive out the demons—and so they converse together, he enraptured with her beauty, and secretly giving her a ring. Thus marriage is consummated, and he returns to his duties of State. Meanwhile a voice from heaven has announced her marriage to the old hermit. He then delivers an eloquent speech, insisting that "You must go to your husband and all will be well, if only thou to thine own self be true."

Accompanied by hermits, they arrive at the Court to find the king in a very unhappy mood, declaring with scorn that he has no recollection of the marriage or of the ring, which he challenges her to produce. Then Sakuntula discovers they have unfortunately lost it, and the hermits retire, leaving them alone—a scene in which Miss Thorndyke's acting is very dramatic. Then the Chancellor, standing behind the king, reminds him of a prophecy made by the astrologers, that his son shall be a mighty man who will acquire an Empire, and counsels Sakuntula to remain in the Chancellor's house till the birth of her child, when the hereditary birth-marks will be found. As she passes through the door a loud clap of



## *Dramatic Notes*

thunder is heard, and a bright light discloses that her celestial mother has taken her to the skies. No sooner is this accomplished than the curtain drops.

Two guards are then seen kicking an unlucky fisherman on the ground, who is bound, and vehemently declares that the royal ring had not been stolen, but found in the mouth of a large fish. An official comes forward and then says the case must go to the king. As the king handles the ring his memory of Sakuntala returns. The fisherman is handsomely rewarded, but the king is utterly disconsolate.

Then Mantala, the charioteer of heaven, appears and commands him to return to the hermitage. There he sees a fine manly boy eagerly pursuing a lion cub. The king watches him with mingled envy and admiration, but the boy calls loudly for his mother. It is Sakuntala who comes, she sees the king, recognizes her boy's father, and all the past is forgiven and forgotten in the present joy of reunion with the child of both.

The music and whole staging reflects much credit on Mr. Das Gupta. The only item that seemed to our minds out of harmony with the East was the patch work curtain, which recalled Jacob's coat of many colours.

## ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION

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### THE EGYPTIAN ORIGIN OF THE ALPHABET

BY WARREN R. DAWSON

THE vexed question of the origin of our alphabet has given rise to a long series of controversies and theories, but of recent years the matter appears to have been comfortably settled among philologists. A recent discovery of great importance has caused us, however, to reconsider our ideas and to push back farther into the mists of antiquity.

It is, of course, a matter of common knowledge that our English alphabet is taken directly from that of the ancient Greeks, who in their turn received it from the Phœnicians. It is indeed true that not later than 1,000 years before the Christian era a perfect alphabet of twenty-two consonants, but without vowels, was used upon Phœnician soil, and it is clear that Greece adopted most of the letters of this script, although possibly in an earlier stage of development than that in which we first encounter it. Some of the Greek letters, however, seem to have a closer affinity with those of another Semitic alphabet, akin to Phœnician, but used in slightly varying forms in South Arabia and Abyssinia, and generally known as *South Semitic*, the *North Semitic* being Phœnician proper. The mutual relations of the North and South Semitic alphabets seem to postulate a common parent which came into existence at least anterior to 1000 B.C., and which may be called *Original Semitic*. Opinions differ considerably as to the origin of this hypothetical

## *The Egyptian Origin of the Alphabet*

not Egyptian in origin. All these derivations present difficulties, and a different solution of the problem has been presented by Dr Alan H Gardiner, who has studied the subject exhaustively and whose researches have already been made known to science\*. His views have recently been propounded by Mr T E Peet, who has collaborated in this study, in a lecture delivered to Egypt Exploration Fund, and the substance of the lecture is given in a condensed form in the sequel.

Our data are the early forms of the letters, and their *names*, which can be shown with great probability to be as old as the letters themselves. The signs were originally chosen on the acrophonic principle, thus, in order to represent the sound B, a common object, whose name began with B—namely, BET, “a house”—was chosen. The sign was hence called BET, which has survived in the Greek BETA. Can we see this process in its early stages?

In the peninsula of Sinai, on a plateau called Serâbit-el-Khâdim, anciently frequented by the Egyptians for the purpose of turquoise-mining, stood a temple dedicated to the goddess Hathor, really called “the Lady of the Turquoise”. In this temple the expedition sent by the Egypt Exploration Fund in 1905 discovered various monuments bearing inscriptions in an unknown script, and near the turquoise mines in the same district were found seven further inscriptions in the same writing. Careful copies were made of these documents, but it was not until 1914 that their true significance was realized, when Dr Alan H Gardiner submitted them to a long and minute study. *It soon became manifest to Dr. Gardiner that, though the language was not Egyptian, many of the characters were taken from Egyptian hieroglyphs, but this borrowing was*

### *The Egyptian Origin of the Alphabet*

well be Semitic, and he proceeded to fix the values of the signs on the acrophonic principle already alluded to. These signs being only thirty-two in number could scarcely be other than alphabetic. Having thus determined the values of fifteen signs, with their help a group of four signs which recurs in several of the texts was found to read BA'ALAT—the Semitic word for Lady, or Goddess—the evident equivalent of the Hathor of the purely Egyptian inscriptions of this site. Dr Gardiner and other scholars have added new readings for other groups of signs, but none of these are quite as convincing as the instance just quoted.

Here, then, in Sinai, we have at a date probably earlier than 1500 B.C. a Semitic people apparently in the very act of borrowing signs from the Egyptian hieroglyphic script, in order to form on the acrophonic principle a true alphabet which would suffice to write their own speech. For B they borrowed the Egyptian sign for “house” because their own word BET began with the b-sound, and so on.

From the very crude alphabet which these inscriptions reveal, it is possible to trace many of the letters of the Phœnician alphabet, and thus to show that they are conventionalized forms of objects selected originally from the Egyptian hieroglyphs on the acrophonic principle. If we have not here the actual origin of the Phœnician—and hence of our own—alphabet, we have at least a striking example of the process to which both are due.

It may be added that a complete corpus of all the known inscriptions in the Sinaitic script is in course of publication by the Egypt Exploration Fund, under the joint editorship of Dr Alan Gardiner and Mr T. E. Peet, the first volume of which has already appeared.

## THE ROYAL TOMBS OF THEBES

ON December 12 last Professor P E Newberry delivered a most interesting lecture before a crowded audience at the Royal Society's Rooms on the tombs of the Kings at Thebes. This lecture is the second of a course organized by the Egypt Exploration Society primarily for the benefit of members, but to which the public are welcomed. The Royal Society have most generously placed their lecture-room at the disposal of the committee, and the large number of applications for tickets (which are given gratis) has shown the keen interest taken in the subject by the public.

Professor Newberry is of all Egyptologists the best qualified to lecture on the royal tombs, as his knowledge of them is the result of twenty-five years' residence in their vicinity, and he has the honour of being the discoverer, or at least the co-discoverer, of many of them.

He opened his discourse with a brief historical sketch of Thebes and traced its history from the earliest times as a centre first of local government until it became the capital of the country both in the temporal and religious senses. He next described the topography of the district and indicated the rise and growth of the great necropolis, more especially that particular quarter which was appropriated by the Pharaohs as the site of their tombs. The Egyptian tombs, it must be remembered, are not merely vaults for the deposit of the body, but are elaborate and systematized structures of enormous extent and complex adornment, and their every feature had a deep mythological significance.

The time honoured custom of depositing valuable jewellery and other precious objects on the mummies of the dead has from the earliest antiquity made the tombs, and more especially the royal tombs, objects of irresistible attraction to treasure-seekers, and we learn from a number of papyri, which time has so considerately handed down to us, that active judicial measures were enforced to protect the sepulchres of the Pharaohs from desecration. The principal

## *The Royal Tombs of Thebes*

of these documents, the Abbott Papyrus, relates that in the twentieth dynasty a Royal Commission was appointed to inspect the tombs of the Kings. The personnel of this commission is detailed at length, and a catalogue of the tombs visited follows and a report on the condition of each. The remainder of the document deals with the arrest and trial of certain thieves. Another papyrus, the "Amherst," contains the confession of one of them, who apparently turned "King's evidence." Details of some of the tombs are given, the accuracy of which modern discoveries have verified. Space forbids a description of the manner in which the clues of the Abbott Papyrus have been followed up by modern discoveries. It is indeed a veritable romance. It would seem that judicial measures did not avail to protect the sleeping Pharaohs, and the final course adopted was to remove the mummies from their tombs to a place of safety, where they have remained undisturbed till our own times, and the bodies of the greatest Kings of ancient history now repose unmolested in the Cairo Museum.

A wonderful series of objects recovered from the tombs was displayed upon the screen, but space forbids the mention of all save one—a piece of woven tapestry found by Professor Newberry in the tomb of Tuthmosis IV. This tapestry may justly claim to be one of the marvels of the world, since it is the earliest piece of woven tapestry known—by a full thousand years—from any part of the world, and its texture is so fine that it contains sixty threads to the inch as against a maximum of twenty in the finest known examples of any country or of any age ancient or modern.

The next lecture, which will be delivered in late January, will be on "El-Amarna, the City of the Heretic King." The first lecture of the session—upon the alphabet—is fully dealt with elsewhere in this journal.

WARREN R. DAWSON

## CORRESPONDENCE

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 "A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR"
 

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## DO THEY WANT TO KNOW THE TRUTH?

SIR,

Is there anybody in England who cares to know the truth about Russia? At first sight it would appear so. Under the auspices of the British Government there have been published a very important collection of official reports by an official English Consul, setting out in very truthful, honest terms what the facts really are about the horrors of Bolshevism. *The Times* has also published a pamphlet with the same object, and it is sold at such a very cheap price that no Russian can think of that publication without a feeling of gratitude. Naturally the Russian National Committee lost no time in distributing that pamphlet, with the principal object of making known the important testimonies of Englishmen, as they know only too well facts so terrible that they have ceased to be a revelation to us, but can startle only English readers.

It would be ungrateful on the part of a Russian not to mention also the splendid leaders and articles of the *Morning Post*. I am quoting now just a few general facts which show that anybody who cares to know the truth can easily be informed from the most authentic and accessible sources. How can you account now for the strange voices often heard in England that, after all, things in Russia are not probably so bad as they are printed? What better testimonies can be required or secured?

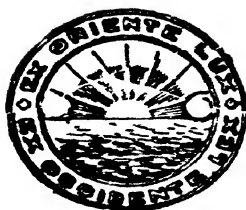
The evidence against Bolshevism is truly overwhelming! There is one point, however, which is being lost sight of, and that point is a practical one. People ignore the material consequences which naturally will follow that apparent indifference. There are still, in spite of all the numerous murders committed by the Bolsheviks under the ægis of official atheism, many Russians who are alive who not only hope for the recovery of Russia, but are convinced of the day of her resurrection. Before the war there were 180,000,000 Russians, amongst whom there were so many friends of England and the Allied cause. If we assume—as we may rightly assume—that the sacrifices of Russia in the war, followed by the fiendish murders, accompanied by unspeakable tortures, of the Bolsheviks, have led to a diminution of the entire population of Russia by 10 per cent, there still remain 162,000,000 who will be either the friends or the enemies of the English people in the future. When, therefore, I mention

## Correspondence

the apparent indifference to the fate of Russia which is the fashion of the day, I keep wondering, Where is the advantage of that attitude? And again I ask myself, Is there anybody who cares sufficiently for the truth about Russia to understand that the time is ripe, not only for abstract sympathy, but something more concrete and effective, as has been demonstrated so effectively by Colonel Ward, M P, who, returning himself from Russia, spoke *en connaissance de cause*? Such an attitude has been shown, for instance, by General Page Croft when he wrote that England could at all events help the Russians by making available for her the large stocks of medical stores, warm clothing, and ammunition of which there remain after the war such an abundance. As a woman, passionately fond of children, I would appeal to English mothers to help the poor little Russians who are dying now in thousands for want of food and clothing. English women, I feel sure, will pardon my appealing for their support, as I have already done in the *Daily Mail* on Friday, October 31, in response to which I have received many precious letters

OLGA NOVIKOFF





## WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

A RECORD OF IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE DAY, AT HOME,  
BEARING ON ASIATIC QUESTIONS

### EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

On January 19, in the Lincolnshire Rooms (Westminster Palace Hotel), Miss F. R. Scatterd will deliver her long promised paper on "Friends of India, Wise and Otherwise" (3.45 p.m.)

A Joint Session of the Royal Asiatic Society, La Société Asiatique, the American Oriental Society, and La Scuola Orientale, Reale Università di Roma, was held in London on September 3 to 6. In the regrettable absence of Lord Reay, the President, and Sir Mortimer Durand, the Director, the chair was taken by Sir Charles Lyall, who said

"The last time the Triennial International Congress of Orientalists assembled was at Athens in 1912. A meeting was to have taken place at Oxford in 1915, but the war made it impossible. With the advent of peace comes the epoch of reconstruction, and this, for Oriental studies in the West, is the inaugural meeting for the establishment of fresh effort. The proposal for this reunion came to us from M. Senart. It was his view that the Triennial Congresses of Orientalists had become rather occasions of entertainment and amusement than serious reunions for the purpose of a review of progress achieved and plans for future work, and that it was advisable that Orientalists should meet more frequently for the purpose of keeping in touch with one another, and considering the plans most likely to advance the cause of Oriental research among the nations which the war has brought together in a bond of the closest friendship and common aspiration. These representations were warmly received by the Royal Asiatic Society, and the present gathering is the result.

"Among the changes wrought by the war is the severance from the Turkish Empire of most of its outlying provinces, which opens to scientific and archaeological research vast tracts hitherto in a great measure closed."

On September 6 there took place a reunion of the standing committees for the purposes of drafting resolutions.

The first resolution was moved by Professor A. A. Macdonell.

"That a sub-committee of the Oriental Societies taking part in this Joint Session be appointed to consider the best means of realizing the scheme of establishing an Institute for International Research in India, such Committee in due course to report the result of its deliberations to the Standing Committees of the associated societies."

Mr F W Thomas moved, in the name of the Joint Standing Committees,

"That a committee consisting of Professor Cabaton, Professor Finot, Sir George Grierson, Mr Blagden, Mr F W Thomas, together with one or more representatives of the International Phonetic Association, should be appointed to continue the work of the committee on Indo Chinese Transliteration"

Professor Clay proposed that a Report of the Joint Session should be published in the Journals of the three Societies

Mr F W Thomas proposed a resolution drawn up by M Senart on behalf of the Committees in the following terms

"That a Committee consisting of Messrs Sylvain Lévi, F W Thomas, and J H Woods (with possible extensions later), should be formed with a view to studying and preparing the publication of a general dictionary of Buddhism"

It was also proposed by him in the name of the Joint Standing Committees that the Joint Session urges upon the Government of India the extreme desirability of procuring, when circumstances permit, facilities for the archæological exploration of Balkh and the adjoining regions After a speaker had suggested the substitution of the name "Bamian" for "Balkh," this resolution was also adopted

For the afternoon a visit to Kew Gardens had been arranged, and about forty members proceeded thither in motor cars which had been procured by the generosity and resource of Mr Robert Mond

The banquet to which the Royal Asiatic Society had invited the visitors from America, France, and Italy, was also honoured by the attendance of the Chinese Minister, Signor Balsamo, representing the Italian Embassy, Sir David Prain, and Sir Hercules Read

In lecturing before the Royal Society of Arts on British Trade in China, Mr H B Morse, LL D, paid a tribute to the work of the China Consular Service He said "An idea is prevalent that men with business training should be selected as commercial attachés That is an error The commercial attache must be, first of all, a diplomatist, he must ferret out the business secrets of the country he is working in, and the business secrets of his rivals in that country, much as the military attaché has to ferret out military secrets A man who has qualified in the severe test of the Civil Service examinations, has then undergone the varied and broadening training of the China Consular Service, and has then been selected by his superiors to be a commercial attaché, is more likely to acquire the requisite knowledge of business methods and requirements than a man with a solely business training is to acquire the other qualities needed The China Consular Service is a special service, requiring special training owing to the difficult language and to the complicated duties arising from the privilege of extra territoriality enjoyed by all Europeans I have known several commercial attachés and formed a respect for their work"

*In the subsequent discussion the Chairman, Mr Byron Brennan, said*

*言言 of the immense opportunities which were now being presented in China, why should not their great manufacturers, engineers, and*

financiers all join hands, sinking their rivalry and competition, and work together towards one common object? It was not only that they would make money while they were doing so, but they would be preparing a wealthy and prosperous China, which would be a huge factor in future international trade

Sir Charles Addis wished to acknowledge publicly the great debt due, by the whole of the commercial community dealing with China, to Mr Morse for the work he had done. This work would endure, and he had paid a compliment to all the Fellows of the Society in delivering his paper that evening

Professor C A Middleton-Smith said that, for the last seven years, he had been in the University of Hong Kong attempting to train young Chinese in applied science work, and every year he had been brought into contact with those Chinese his admiration and respect for them had increased "

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On November 19, a meeting of the Central Asian Society was held at 22, Albemarle Street, when Sir Maurice de Bunsen delivered an address entitled "The Old and New Levant Company". After recording the history of the old company, which lasted from 1581 to 1825, having been carried on under royal charter, and paying a tribute to the work done by successive generations of the Whittalls and others, Sir Maurice pointed out that when the new Levant Company was formed towards the end of 1918, the first thing it did was to establish the closest relations with J Whittall and Co Ltd, who possess some forty eight branches and agencies throughout Turkey in Europe and Asia Minor. The new company may be described as an offshoot of the British Trade Corporation. This powerful body was formed in the early period of the war, and under the special auspices of Lord Faringdon, in order that something might be done to remove from British banking the reproach of withholding from British industry the support and encouragement more freely accorded to German producers and manufacturers by the banks of that country

In Turkey and Asia Minor this new company works exclusively through Messrs Whittall's, in Greece there is the Levant Company (Greece), Ltd, which was represented at the Athens Exhibition. There is a branch in Serbia, and also in Roumania. In South Russia its branches centre in Odessa, Novorossisk, and Rostoff on the Don, in the Caucasus at Batoum, in Mesopotamia at Bagdad, in Egypt at Alexandria, in Syria and Palestine at Beyrout and Jaffa. The Levant Company (Sudan), Ltd, has been set up at Khartoum. Early extension is hoped for to Persia. The head office is, of course, in London

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A very successful Red Cross sale has been held in Belgrave Square, and was opened by Princess Christian on December 2. Among the stallholders were Countess Carlov, Lady Wernher, Countess Medina. Among the objects for sale was a beautiful piece of jewellery given by Madame Novikoff, which has been referred to in *The Times*. Among those who made purchases were the King of Portugal and the Queen of Spain

# LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

## OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

### INDIA

LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN ANCIENT INDIA By Radhakumud Mookerji,  
M A., PH D (Oxford *Clarendon Press*) 1919 12s 6d net

Dr Mookerji has written a most learned and thorough study of the local bodies of ancient India. It is interesting to find that the South supplies much more evidence than the North, and it looks as if the balance of past historical investigations, on the political and military side, to which Mr Vincent Smith has drawn attention, may now be redressed, on the constitutional side, by a closer investigation of *origines* in the South. The existence of a system of social self government, that of Hindu India, through out "the Muhammadan period," is abundantly proved indeed, the author considers this survival so strong and so fully operative as to render the often used phrase a misnomer. There was not a Muhammadan period, he would say, because Indian activity was still Hindu. Lord Crewe in a valuable "Foreword" calls attention to the special significance of the book to-day.

W H H

THE SEPOY By Edmund Candler (London *John Murray*) 1919  
7s 6d net

Very happily very special attention has of recent years been paid in England to the history of our Indian troops. Not only has Mr Fortescue reached the campaigns of Lake and Wellesley, and most admirably described them, but there have been picturesque books like Major Mac Munn's exciting short history of the Armies of India, with Major Lovett's fascinating illustrations, a book which Lord Roberts justly praised for its "masterly review," and authoritative records such as Colonel Merewether's history of the Indian Corps in France, "one of the most radiant chapters," Lord Curzon has called it, "in the glorious history of the Indian Army." The heroic deeds of Indian troops in Mesopotamia remain to be told in detail. But meanwhile Mr Edmund Candler, most sympathetic and brilliant of correspondents travelling with Oriental troops, presents us with this charming sketch of the characteristics of the different regiments. It is really a first-rate little book, full of zest and spirit from beginning to end, and full, too, of the knowledge which comes from intimacy and understanding. In a series of sketches Mr Candler

describes the Indian soldier as he is found to-day—the Gurkha, the Sikh, the Punjabi Mussalman, the Pathan, the Dogra, the Mahratta, the Jat, the Rajput, and many less well known but not inferior races and types. The pictures are most vivid, and the predominant characteristic of each section is illustrated with stories humorous, pathetic, or bloodcurdling. There is no other way to describe the book, and it would be unfair to quote its best stories. It is unquestionably a book to be read, a book to make English people love their Indian fellow-subjects

W H H

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SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF LORD SINHA (Madras *G A Natesan and Co*)

As has been well said by His Highness the Maharajah of Bikanir, Lord Sinha holds the wonderful record of being the first Indian appointed Advocate-General in Bengal, the first Indian to serve on the Executive Council of the Governor General, the first Indian to be made a King's Counsel and a Privy Councillor and a member of His Majesty's Government, and, finally, the first Indian to be raised to the Peerage of the Realm. And his country is justly proud of him, not only for this, but because his views on public questions have always been those of a patriotic, sober, just minded, ardent, yet sweetly-reasonable, Indian. The esteem and respect in which he was held by his fellow countrymen was illustrated when he was elected President of the Indian National Congress held in Bombay in 1915, and in his opening address at that Congress he did not hesitate to profess his abiding confidence in the British character, and declared that the East and the West had not met in vain, and that no other nation had fought so continuously and strenuously for the freedom of other nations as the English. The picture of the future of India that most appealed to him was one in which Britons and Indians would be fellow citizens of a common Empire, sharing a common and splendid heritage, all of them bringing their special talents to work co-operatively for the common good of the whole. He, therefore, appealed to all sections of his own people to express in unmistakable language their abhorrence of the dastardly crimes which besmirched the fair fame of their country, and he implored them so to co-operate with the authorities as to render the detection and punishment of such crimes absolutely certain.

At the same time he appealed to the British nation to pronounce their ungrudging approval of the goal to which the peoples of India aspired, and to declare their inflexible resolution to equip India for her journey to that goal, and to furnish her with due escort on the long, weary road.

He pointed out that the war had afforded a splendid opportunity, demonstrating the courage, loyalty, devotion, and tenacity of Indian troops, and affording a striking proof of the wisdom of those who had shown confidence in India, and trusted the fitness of Indians to grasp the dignity and the real possibilities of citizenship. In short, in all his utterances, Lord Sinha has always displayed a profound patriotism for his mother-country, with the utmost loyalty to the British Crown, and a

grateful appreciation of all that India's connection with Great Britain has meant for his native land

He has fully realized that Britain and India, "united," will stand, and "divided" will fall. India needs Britain and Britain needs India, and law, order, and good government have always been as dear to Lord Sinha as the continued political advancement of his fellow-countrymen, and, as an Indian gentleman, his own brilliant and honourable record and untarnished reputation have always been devoted to the public good

He recognizes that the regeneration and reconstruction of India can only take place under the guidance and control of England, and deprecates the impatience of those who imagine that they have only to stretch forth their hands to grasp the prize of local self-government and self-determination

He pleads for a spirit of mutual trust, toleration, and forbearance, while he claims equal citizenship for Indians, and insists on the loyalty of the educated classes of India to their King-Emperor and the Empire

The training for freedom of one-fifth of the entire world's population—this is the exhilarating task that now confronts British statesmanship—and it involves the gradual transfer of responsibility to the people of India from the Civil Service of India, although that Service has conspicuously accomplished the greatest task ever undertaken in the history of the world by the men of one country for the people of another

No other race, Lord Sinha (when Sir Satyendra) declared, could or would have done the work of the English in India. "I admire them—nay, I love them—for I believe that they are a people mentally and morally clean, and if I am sometimes called upon to attack them or criticize them when they seem to fall short of their own standard, it is certainly not with pleasure I do so. Let England trust us and she will never regret it." As the REVIEW has often said, "trust begets trust," and what is wanted in India just now is an extension of kindly feelings and of good manners on both sides, and a cordial acceptance of the conciliatory attitude, and "the fair field" so consistently advocated by Lord Sinha of Raipur

### "FIVE PER CENT OF THE GROSS"

"SOME SOUTH INDIAN VILLAGES" Edited by Gilbert Slater, M A, D Sc. (*Oxford University Press*) 12s 6d net

About fifty years ago I wrote an article entitled "Fifty per cent of the net," which was supposed to be equivalent to the 30 per cent. of the gross to which the State as co-sharer was always considered to be entitled, just as the English landlord claimed about one-third of the crop as *rent*. In that article I criticized, (adversely I have no doubt), the procedure of the Settlement Department in arriving at that figure. Now we have a Professor of Economics in Madras, after a most elaborate survey of villages in eleven different districts by Indian students, working in or near their own homes, telling us that the *average incidence of the Land Revenue in those villages now cannot be more than 5 per cent of the gross produce*

That is what many of us have been saying for many years, but the people of this country prefer the evidence of the late Mr Keir Hardie and Mr Smillie. No doubt, as the reviewer in *The Times Literary Supplement* points out, these few surveys do not afford sufficient data on which to generalize, but as far as they go they prove, as Dr Slater says, that the Land Revenue is *not* an effective cause of poverty, and that the popular outcry is the result of the leniency rather than the severity of the assessment, in other words, "In the existing economic environment, a low incidence of revenue does not enrich the 'people,' but merely *breeds parasitic landlords*, the income of the country is not increased, but a share of it is diverted from the public, as represented by the Government."

As to the poverty of India, Dr Slater notes that the official estimate of the average income (£2 a head, or £10 for an average family) was "very probably an under estimate in 1898, and would have to be very considerably raised now." His own estimate in 1916-17 for the Madras Presidency was "Rs 72, or nearly £5 a head," say, £25 for a family. The truth is, he says, that "India is a very rich country inhabited by very poor people." "English arable land will bear a crop of wheat *once in four years*, a paddy field in the south of India will bear one, two, or three crops of rice every year", and I might add that the best of such land was selling, when I was last in Tinnevely, for Rs 3,000 an acre, at which rate I was assured it brought a return of 6 or 7 per cent. Why, then, are the people of India poor? Well, it is certainly not because of the Government assessment even in Madras, where it is higher than in any Province of India, or in the Tambraparni Valley where it is higher than anywhere else in Madras. Dr Slater says it is partly owing to the "inefficiency of labour, the lowness of wages, submissiveness, and excessive abstinence," and certainly, we may add, the Hindu law of inheritance with its excessive subdivision of the land.

Dr Slater is only beginning his economic studies, but this first volume should be read by everyone who takes an intelligent interest in the condition of India, especially by our friend Mr Hyndman, and his many misguided followers, Mrs Besant and her motley crew. Dr Slater's criticism of one of his own contributors, Mr N Sundaram Aiyar, on page 233, would be amusing if it was not so sad as a specimen of the sort of argument constantly used by the people who ought to know better. It may be worth while to reproduce Dr Slater's words

"Mr Sundaram Aiyar says '*The burden of taxation must be lightened*, the villagers are starving themselves to pay the taxes'. But when he comes to details of a particular holding, we find that his typical 'kanomdar,' who is a middle man supervising and financing the working tenants, draws from them an income of from 4,600 to 5,000 paras of paddy, out of which he has to pay in land revenue only 400 paras, or one-twelfth. With the help of the other information he gives we can conclude that the land revenue in this village drawn from paddy lands is about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of the gross produce."

I cannot improve on the conclusion of the Review of this book in *India*, that "the illustrations are excellent, and a good glossary of terms and an Index (which might have been better!) conclude this valuable work"

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GEOLOGY OF INDIA FOR STUDENTS By D N Wadia, M A, B SC Pp xx+398, 8vo, with 20 plates and 37 other illustrations (*Macmillan and Co*) 18s net.

This volume is an admirable textbook, well adapted to its purpose, and written by a teacher whose experience is quite evident in its pages. It is not intended to replace the comprehensive, but now somewhat out of date, work of Blandford, Meddlicott, and Oldham, which the mention of Indian geology calls up to the mind of those of our generation, but it embodies in compact form the gist of its teaching and of the progress made during the last twenty five years by the India Geological Survey.

After a brief description of the physical features of the country, the author plunges into its stratigraphical description, forming the bulk of the book, then he deals with physiography in a rather short chapter, followed by economic geology, and a compact monograph of the geology of Kashmir. His treatment of the subject is broad and comprehensive, one would almost think that he was reached by the circular from the French Government to teachers of geology, requesting them to abstain from loading the student's memory with lengthy lists of fossil species—indeed, Mr Wadia confines himself to naming genera. He illustrates his chapters with sections, and with key maps at the end of the volume, but we cannot help thinking that he might with advantage have added some sketch maps of the *whole* of India showing the relations between the various systems, much as Lapparent, Boule, and others, have done in their textbooks of geology used by French students. Geology, speaking from some experience in teaching it, requires a mass of illustrations, photographs, and maps, and it is a wise policy to give them in textbooks, an admirable example being Tarr's College Physiography, which Mr Wadia might add to his bibliography.

While commending the book as a whole, we may perhaps be permitted to mention a few shortcomings. We found but two misprints—read *enstatite* (p 57) and *Spodumène* (p 324) instead of the present mistakes—but a few errors or misstatements of fact. We cannot let pass without a protest the words *terra cotta* as the name of a *raw* clay, nor can we agree with the author's definition of peat, he should read Lapparent on "tourbe," and the excellent reports published by the Canadian Geological Survey, and amend that short paragraph (p 296). Nor, do we believe, is amber used in medicine, generally speaking, but in native medicine only. There appears also to be some mistake about the manufacture of tungsten wire, chromite is used chiefly in the manufacture of bichromates, and incidently becomes of interest in that way to Indian tanners. It is tantalizing to read that *salajit* is a solid hydrocarbon, without its true nature being stated. It is ignored by Dana, and likewise by Watts, to whose work the reader not familiar with Indian bazaars is likely to turn for information.



The sketch of the theories of the origin of petroleum might have been extended to include the more recent American theories involving the consideration of diatoms, and reference made to the Canadian publication thereon, further, Mr Wadia does not mention the important bearing of salt (including the bromides and iodides) upon Ochsnius's theory

Here and there the style is somewhat involved—e.g., “under such a state of circumstance” (p 279) might well be corrected to a simpler sentence

These, however, are minor points which do not diminish the value of the book to students, presumably already acquainted with geology in a general way, and who will find in its pages the information necessary for their examinations, together with constant incitement to seek in other more specialized publications the smaller details which only the specialist requires. Particularly welcome is the repeated injunction to the student to keep geological maps before him during his study. The book must have involved immense research, and it betokens true love of his subject by its author

H. L. J.

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COURTESY IN THE BRAHMAN OLIGARCHY \* By Annie Besant

Courtesy is one of the commonplaces of controversy, and I shall not therefore emulate Mrs Besant in her use of such adjectives as “impudent” and “absurd.” In fact, there is little to cavil at in her exposition of the meaning and connotation of caste, for it is quite true and within the knowledge of many that a Brahman may be a clerk or a judge, a prince or a constable. It is also true that the “oppression” of out-castes, whatever meaning we may attach to the word, is not the monopoly of Brahmans. But the insistence on the value of wealth to be found in paragraphs 2 and 4 of the leaflet savours suspiciously of the platform, for no one knows better than Mrs Besant that mere wealth counts for little against the educational superiority, the greater energy, and the immemorial prestige of the Brahman. The attack on Europeans in the latter part of the pamphlet is very misleading. It is difficult to assume that Mrs Besant does not know that in her own province of Madras there was quite recently an inquiry into the working of the Forest Laws by a committee of five, of which two were Indians, possibly she may not know that the eternal question of pasture lands, with their ludicrously inadequate supply of grass, which involves the further problems of promiscuous breeding, cattle disease, and over preservation of inferior stock, is constantly before the Government in general and the Agricultural Department in particular. Possibly she may not know that in her own province of Madras there is not a district which has less than 2,000 guns, that special rewards are offered for man eating tigers, and that the man eating tiger is the most elusive of animals, so that even if the Sahib arrives with his rifle it is ten chances to one that he never sees the tiger. If the other accusations—over-taxation, the cutting-off of the old customary privileges, the

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\* Home Rule for India League (British Auxiliary), Leaflet No 14

rising death rate and the rest—have to be passed over in silence, it is not the silence of consent but rather the silence which awaits something in the nature of proof of their assertions

Finally, the planters are convicted out of their own mouth of the desire to enslave the worker. Of course it is very wicked of the tea-planter to be so much interested in the tea industry, just as it is very wicked of British Labour to become his accomplice by consuming the tea. But somehow a wicked world is inclined to look to its own interests and to satisfy its own wants. Is there really anything very dreadful in an appeal to planters to "look ahead and be prepared to meet the gradually changing conditions"? The vast majority of the Indian people is agricultural, working on its own land or for its Indian masters, a fraction of the remainder is "held in the iron grip of the foreign capitalist and exploiter". For the sake of that fraction, in the words of Mrs. Besant, "may we not hope that British Labour will help 'by doing without its tea'?" May we not indulge in the further hope that the "iron grip" of the great British firms, through whom Indian traders reach foreign markets, may be relaxed, so that Indian trade may work out its own salvation—sink probably or possibly swim?

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### THE NEAR EAST

PAN ISLAM. By G. Wyman Bury. (London *Macmillan*) Pp. 212  
1919 6s. net

(Reviewed by PROFESSOR D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, LITT. D.)

Mr. Wyman Bury's new book contains an amount of valuable information quite out of proportion to its size. The matter is of a decidedly miscellaneous character, and includes history, geography, anthropology, theology, natural history, and homiletics. What he has to say on all these subjects is decidedly worth hearing, whence we have no cause for complaint.

Of all the "side-shows" of the Great War perhaps the Aden campaign attracted least attention. Mr. Bury's account tallies exactly with what the reviewer heard on the spot, and exhibits a fresh illustration of the well-known British talent for blundering through. The public did not realize how near Great Britain came to losing this valuable station on the Arabian coast. Mr. Bury is able to give details of the campaign in these regions which could have been obtained by no one who had not (like himself) taken part in the transactions, armed with his unique knowledge of the geography, the conditions, and the dialects of Arabia.

His is the only work known to the present writer in which the political situation in South Arabia is explained with reasonable clearness and suggestions of any value are made for the future government of the country.

Mr. Bury's acquaintance with Islamic lands is by no means confined to Arabia, but extends to all Mohammedan countries, of which he has provided a useful map. Much of what he says is reassuring, thus he is

satisfied with the results of French preponderance in Morocco, and according to him these in no way correspond with the gloomy forecast of Mr Ashmead Bartlett's *Passing of the Shereefian Empire*. His history of the Pan-Islamic movement and its failure in the hands of Germans and Turks is highly expert and explains all the facts.

His account of the Somalis and their country, and the enterprise of the Mad Mullah, contains much which is unfamiliar, if not new, and again illustrates the incompetence with which matters are managed in these out-of-the-way possessions and protectorates.

A considerable portion of Mr Bury's book deals with the missionary problem. His view is that to some regions no missions of any sort should be sent, in the remaining countries of Islam missionary activity should be confined to education and good works. Though his tone is that of an orthodox Anglican, he has great admiration for Islam, to some extent (though not exclusively) as a teetotal religion. The reviewer is disposed to agree with most of what he says, but fancies he has overlooked, or at least taken insufficient account of, one practical difficulty. It is that the subscribers to missions are warmly interested in proselytism, mildly so in philanthropy, and scarcely at all in education. The savagery prevalent in Mohammedan states—e.g., handcutting for theft, still practised in Koweit—can be abolished only by strong government, which while tolerating Islamic worship, abnegates the Islamic codes. Consciously or unconsciously the proselytizing missions prepare the way for the introduction of such civilized control.

HISTORY OF ZIONISM, 1600-1918. By Nahum Sokolow. Vol II, pp lxiii, 480 (London *Longmans, Green and Co* 1919) 21s net  
(Reviewed by PRINCIPAL W H BENNETT, LITT D, D D)

The first volume of this work has already been noticed in these columns. This volume starts from the close of the first Zionist Conference in 1897, and deals with the history to the end of 1918. The character of this portion of the work is the same as that of the previous volume, the interest and importance are maintained at the same high level. There is further evidence of the division of opinion amongst the Jews as to the ideals of Zionism. We gather, however, that the majority are in favour of the movement, and we should imagine that many who are not Zionists might yet favour the establishment of an autonomous Jewish community in Palestine on practical grounds. The author deals with the difficulties arising from the presence in Palestine of a large non-Jewish population, and from the interest of Christians and Mohammedans in their respective holy places. The leaders of the Zionist movement are fully alive to these problems, and are prepared to handle them in a liberal and conciliatory spirit. See especially LXXXVI of the Appendix, "Lord Gwydyr on Zionism and the Arabs." We do not notice, however, any reference to one feature of the problem, the fact that at present the Jews are only a

comparatively small minority of the population. There is full information as to the numerous emphatic declarations by representatives of the allied Governments in favour of Zionism. A less cheerful subject is the account of the savage persecution of the Jews under the Russian autocracy in 1906 and in the early years of the war. In 1906 "something like 1,400 pogroms took place", the number of persons directly affected reached a total of some 200,000 to 250,000, the casualty list was estimated at approximately 20,000 murdered and 100,000 injured." According to our author, the Russian Government took advantage of the military necessity of evacuating certain districts to inflict barbarous treatment on the Jews, he speaks of "the curious mixture of expulsion and evacuation, of pogroms and slaughters, of which they were the victims" (p. 34).

The greater part of this volume is occupied with reprints of documents referred to in the text.

SHEKEL HAKODESH (The Holy Shekel), by Joseph Kimchi, and YESOD HAYIRAH (The Foundation of Religious Fear) Edited by Hermann Gollancz, M.A., D.LIT. Pp. xx+209 (Oxford University Press) 1919 21s net

(Reviewed by PRINCIPAL W. H. BENNETT, LITT.D., D.D.)

The *Shekel Hakodesh* is a metrical collection of maxims and proverbs, written in Hebrew, by Joseph Kimchi of Narbonne, 1105-1170, father of the celebrated David Kimchi. It is based on earlier collections, Hebrew and Arabic. As far as the *Shekel Hakodesh* is concerned, this work is an *editio princeps*: the Hebrew text is printed for the first time, and Dr. Gollancz has added an English translation, Introduction, and Notes, the latter are critical. The *Yesod Hayirah* is similar to the *Shekel*, each chapter opens with the words "Fear God," except that in some texts the first chapter begins "Fear the Lord." Dr. Gollancz is unable to offer any solution of the problem of the authorship of *Yesod*, but regards it as closely connected with the *Shekel*, he says nothing expressly as to its date, but apparently assigns it to the same period as the *Shekel*. The "Proverbs and Maxims" are good examples of the shrewd, pawky, and yet devout "Wisdom" of the Jews. For instance, from the *Shekel*, I. 16. "A man of wisdom will continue in the search for wisdom, seeking knowledge wherever it may dwell or be kept. There is no fool equal to him who may think that he has finished and completed his studies." I. 29. "Why dost thou find that it is the way of the world for the wise to be knocking at the door of the rich? Because the wise of heart, knowing the folly of the rich, make allowance for their poverty in sense when compared with their own." X. 222. "Shouldst thou need a gift, ask rather of one who once was rich and hath become poor, than ask of one who was once poor and is a man of means." XXI. 411. "The world grows sick of the society of those who never cease prating." As one might expect from the circumstances of the Jews in the Middle Ages, there is much in a minor key, on the value of endurance, contentment and humility—for instance,

from *Yesod* VII 77 "Is it not better to endure that which you have neither strength nor the power to remove? What is better calculated to remove the worries and sorrows of a man than the power of endurance which comes to his aid? Herein lies the panacea for all mourning and grief, the healing of all the ills of the flesh" In XIV 156, on the difficulty of safeguarding secrets, we have a curious application of Habakkuk 11 11 "Fix a suitable spot under the heavens, for why wouldest thou destroy men of uprightness? Understand that the stones cry out of the wall and the rafter speaks forth what is in the innermost recesses Lower, therefore, thy voice when thou givest council at eventide, and look about at thy surroundings when thou givest it at morning-dawn"

The book is beautifully got up, and is a valuable addition to the number of accessible Rabbinic texts

### FAR EAST

ROMANCES OF OLD JAPAN By Madame [Y T] Yukio Ozaki. Pp 278  
Small 4to, with 32 plates by Japanese artists, 16 in colours (*Simpkin Marshall*) 30s net

Mrs Ozaki, the half-English, half Japanese, wife of the Japanese political leader, who some years ago was Mayor of Tokyo and late Minister of Justice, needs no introduction to readers of Japanese tales, under the name Yei Theodora Ozaki she has already published three collections of translations of fairy tales and stories of warriors told in easy, pleasing style. This new book contains eleven stories ranging from the Middle Ages to within half a century of the present day, and most of which are famous in Japan, as tales or as theatrical plays, some like "Kesa Gozen" and the story of "Matsuó" finding their way into popular imagery and the decoration of sword mounts. Both these and the "Quest of the Sword" are famous examples of Japanese loyalty, and of that stern sense of duty which the education of the Samurai put in the first place. Almost all Japanese folk tales contain at least one ghost, and Mrs Ozaki has given us here some ghost stories, two fairy tales, one Buddhist story. The book is well got up, free from misprints, and, even to one who has long known some of the originals, thoroughly readable, in fact, the present writer never let it out of his hands until finished, at one long enjoyable sitting. It should be a most acceptable gift-book, but why was the colour plate opposite p 212 printed out of register? Is it a new way to suggest motion? The printer could easily do better. For instance, the plate showing Endo Morito holding the head of Kesa Gozen and gasping with unutterable horror is beautifully done.

H L J

JAPANESE POETRY THE UTA By Arthur Waley Pp 110 Small 4to  
(*Clarendon Press*) Price 6s 6d

This book gives one the impression of being a students' note-book used in the study of Japanese poetry with or without native help, and now offered to the public as a means of enlightenment written by a master

The short Japanese poems are set with a parallel translation, the lines of which are reshuffled to facilitate their apprehension by the reader, and numbered so that he who wishes may put text and translation side by side. It is a curious device, calculated to trip the hurried and unwearied, and even some would-be panegyrist. A rapid perusal shows that the translations are fair, and the book should take its place with such as Porter's translations. Mr Waley, in his usual way, is very dogmatic, and does not spare harsh criticism to those who made the trail easier for men of his age, his cheap, half hidden sneer at Professor B H Chamberlain is distinctly out of place in his incomplete bibliography of Japanese poetry. His criticism of Lange's may some day be applied to his own efforts. Anyone might, for instance, call Mr Waley's attention to his translation on p 55 of Hitomaro's classical ditty, and require chapter and verse in justification of the footnote, because (1) it is far from obvious that it is a poem of parting, and the treatment of the subject by Japanese artists is against that contention, (2) the authorship may be uncertain and the occasion also, but tradition has always ascribed the poem to Hitomaro, (3) the translation is no improvement on those already in existence. There are a sketch of Japanese Grammar and a Vocabulary which make the book more useful, but an Index should have been provided. On p 93 Sugawara should be Sugawara no Michizane, and, by the way, there are amongst his many poems several more popular than the one here given.

H L J

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THE MASTERY OF THE FAR EAST By Arthur Judson Brown Pp 669  
8vo, with a map and illustrations (G Bell and Sons) 28s net

(Reviewed by H L JOLY)

The sub-title of this large book describes it as "The Story of Korea's Transformation and Japan's Rise to Supremacy in the Orient," but this is only two-thirds of the truth, as *Punch* said once of A Smith's initials, for the book is divided into three parts: Korea, Japan, and two hundred pages on the Christian missions and the problem of the Far East. The author is a careful, conscientious compiler, and he has boiled down into two hundred pages each the history of Korea and that of Japan, as an American he writes presumably for Americans primarily, and much of his story would be unnecessary if the American public knew more of Japan than the following quotation from the "Far East" indicates.

"It is good to learn that Akimoto Shun has been deeply impressed by American ignorance of Japan. He says in the *Advertiser* 'As far as my observation and experience tell, all that the average American knows about Japan is that it is a small country far away, which produces tea, silk, paper lanterns, and kimonos, and also great numbers of small objectionable creatures, called immigrants, for the explicit purpose of harassing American labourers. And the knowledge, or rather the lack of knowledge, of the cultivated men of America, who may be supposed to know better, does not seem to soar much above this level.'"

Mr Brown's book should enlighten his countrymen considerably. He has been so careful to present both sides of the question in the relations, now so much discussed, between Japan and Korea, that he seems loth to come right out with a definite conclusion, indeed, he works hard towards one, but one which can be acceptable to the missionary mind only—namely, that Japan would be a good master of the Far East were it but Christian. That is the kernel of Mr Brown's seven hundred pages, it is tantamount to say, "Come into the fold of Christianity as expounded by Americans, and all will be well." One does not want to waste ink discussing that plea, all that mixing up of religion and politics reminds one of the negro king's description of his kingdom's subjugation "Gin, Bible, lobsters", the latter being too well known a military slang expression to need explanation. In the same way we see the "Korea Review" printed in Philadelphia for the Korean Republic, asking for the help of the world to obtain independence for "poor *Christian* Korea" (*italics* ours), and that sort of thing lets the cat out of the bag. Where Mr Brown deals with historical facts he is fairly careful to give, as we said, both sides of the question, but when he gets on to missionary endeavours and influence his quotations are one sided, *pro domo sua*, his statements biased even to the point of being contrary to fact, as when he says that the missionary was the first to teach science and to explain the uses of steam and electricity in the Far East, when he exaggerates and distorts the daily bowing before the portrait of the Japanese Emperor, and calls it "ceremonial worship." All Mr Brown's pleas for missionary schools in Korea to be on an equal footing with the Government schools in which no religion is taught can be dealt with by comparison with the similar system that some time prevailed in France, and by remembering that all the agitation in Korea at present is fomented by Korean converts. And Mr Brown, who presumably knows what he is talking about, gives them a broad hint when he writes (p. 372) "The large way" (of viewing the Japanese Administration) "is to note that in the evolution of the race and the development of the plan of God, the time had come when it was for the best interests of the world and for the welfare of the Koreans themselves that Korea should come under the tutelage of Japan." *Agimus tibi gratia*. We wish Mr Brown's book a large number of readers, if he prints a second edition he might correct the dozen or so of misprints, chiefly in proper names, in the Japanese section.

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## RUSSIA

THE DARK PEOPLE By Ernest Poole (*Macmillan and Co*) 1919

THE VILLAGE By Ernest Poole (*Macmillan and Co*) 1919

These excellently written books should be read together, as they give a clever and sympathetic American visitor's impressions of Russia during her crisis from July, 1917, and of a visit later in the August of that year with his interpreter to the latter's native village in the heart of the country, where he saw village life from the inside. Thus, though not actually at

first hand, he had an opportunity of gaining some knowledge of Russia and the Russians after the Revolution, and it is obvious that the affection that Russia inspires in so many strangers gripped him strongly. His "Dark People" are the Russian peasants—for, as he points out, Russia is still a peasant land—who have until now been inarticulate, and even now are swayed by group after group of politicians. He describes the rise and fall of the eloquent Kerensky, and says that his fall meant that 160,000,000 people were left without government. Nevertheless, he noticed the profound truth that "the Slavs have a deep instinct for getting along without any law," until the Bolsheviks seized upon the power with their programme of "socialized industries." Still, he points out, every Russian question leads back to the villages, and "until the peasant is satisfied, nothing is settled, nothing is sure." The purification of the abuses in the Orthodox Church is one of his hopes, so is the future of the emancipated "Old Believers," who have gained so much power in the past in spite of fearful oppression at the hands of their brothers in league with autocracy. It remains to be seen, however, how religious liberty will harmonize with the Bolshevik régime—for, as he says, 'What is Russia *really* doing?' His pictures of the villagers, their lives, sometimes sordid, sometimes noble, show that he and his friendly guide understood each other well, and help us to visualize the village life. He shows that in the country noble and peasant families often had a matrimonial tie between them, that the old serf days are by no means forgotten, and that there are many evil results still of the Old Régime. Chief among these are the insufficient means of communication and, among a people eager for instruction, an entire lack of sufficient enlightenment and education. Yet he shows how lovable the villagers are, and he hopes for their future. Let us take his advice. "To help them," he says, "we must understand. We must realize that Russia may not settle down for years. And we should not wait for that, we should seize every possible chance to give aid—or the Germans, superior in civilization to the Russians, will do it—we should work as hard as they. We should grimly refuse to be disheartened or give up, no matter what disappointments fall, for in the elevation and direction of the "Dark People" of the villages lies our hope of the best solution of the Russian question."

A. FRANCIS SIEUART

THE LIQUOR PROBLEM IN RUSSIA. By William E. Johnson. (*American Publishing Co.*)

The above is a very interesting and richly illustrated volume by the now famous Mr. Johnson. It is the result of studies on Russian Social Problems which were commenced by the author in 1913. He acknowledges that the greatest men in Russia have recognized the national mistake of the vodka monopoly, of which one of the inspiring geniuses was Count Witte. It is pointed out that the monopoly was overthrown by the exigencies of war and, it may be added, the statesmanship of the Tsar, but its days long since, like the days of Serfdom, seventy-five years ago, have been numbered.



He makes the following interesting observation about the liquor problem in the Baltic Provinces

"It is because temperance activities in these provinces have been so generally promoted by the revolutionary element that the Russian Government has always been suspicious of the Baltic anti-alcohol reformers. The German brewers were more influential with the Russian governor than the peasant and tenant class. And there is some justification for this feeling of suspicion in Russian circles. Mr Jean Seskis, the editor of *Dsmitenes Wehstnesis*, the largest daily paper in Riga, and which is published in the Lettish language, told me in 1913 that the 'temperance movement and the revolutionary movement are one and the same thing'. It represents a revolt against the baronial brewer and the Russian Government vodka monopoly."

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### GENERAL

"WAKE UP, ENGLAND!" By Granville C Cunningham (*P S King and Co*) 1919 Pp 9—126

This book seems to have been written in 1917, though not issued till the present year. The author (most of whose life has been spent in Canada) feels it to be his task "to rouse the British nation to the necessity of forming a Government for the British Empire". He is impressed by the fact that "at present there is no Government of the Empire: there are numerous different Governments over different parts of the Empire, but there is no one Central Government where questions common to and affecting the whole Empire can be discussed and adjudicated upon". He had already published in 1895, "A Scheme for Imperial Federation," and he now returns to the subject in the new light thrown upon it by the experience of the war. In the first chapter, "Food and Raw Material," the value of the Colonies to the Mother Country is powerfully and energetically demonstrated. We regard this demonstration as the best part of the book. It is very concise and clear, and is written upon a full and accurate basis of facts. The main thesis is that "there is nothing agricultural, mineral, or forestal, that is required or needed for the use and enjoyment of man, but can be found—and found in ample quantities"—within the confines of the British Empire ("except cork," adds the author with a touch of humour), with the corollary, "Better for us in the future to get everything we can from our own possessions, even if at first we have to pay more for it, rather than build up a foreign Power that may in the future become an enemy." This view is carefully worked out in regard to wheat, sugar, cotton, and metals, mentioning as respects the last named the amazing fact that at the outbreak of war the only place where wolfram (tungsten) existed was Burma, and the whole supply was in German hands! So with zinc, so with copper—nobody knew, nobody cared. We wish that every candidate for Parliament could be compelled to read this short but pregnant chapter. Mr Cunningham proceeds to point out that "if the Empire is to be maintained and practically made use of there must be an

organized direction of Imperial affairs," they cannot be treated as a mere adjunct to the local affairs of Great Britain. Elected as it is, the time of Parliament is almost entirely occupied with matters of immediate interest to the electors, and especially to organized labour. Such an assembly has not time to deal adequately with questions affecting the Dominions overseas, and is often too imperfectly informed upon such questions to form sound decisions upon them. He therefore advocates an Imperial Parliament for the whole Empire—and as a part of the scheme Provincial Parliaments for England, Wales, Scotland, Ulster, and South Ireland—something like the Dominion Parliament and local Legislatures of British North America. We need not follow him into the complicated details of this proposition, confining ourselves to the observation that the author of the scheme himself does not venture to define what would be the position of *India* under it (p. 107). But he is unquestionably right in regarding the subject as one of vital and immediate importance to the Empire. The admission of the self-governing Dominions as direct participants in the treaty of peace has effected an organic change in old conditions, and this change cannot stand alone. An Empire which comprises about a fifth of the whole world must find the right way of co-ordinating its several parts in an enduring system of self-government. The question of Dominion representation, whether in a supreme Parliament or an Imperial Council, is closely bound up with the trade of the Empire and the use, for the benefit of the whole, of its vast resources. These treasures must never again be allowed to be controlled by alien enemies. Every politician, everyone who has fought or suffered or made sacrifices in the terrible years that are past, ought to devote his deepest thought to the serious and urgent question of the future government of the Empire. This timely little book is well adapted to promote serious thought on the subject, and we hope it may have a large circulation.

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THE SEA COMMONWEALTH AND OTHER PAPERS. Edited by A. P. Newton (*J. M. Dent and Sons*) 1919. Pp. 130.

The six papers contained in this book, which are entirely unconnected with each other, were delivered as lectures in an Imperial Studies course in the University of London, King's College, during the Session 1917-18. Of the value and indeed the imperative necessity of such studies there can be no doubt. A democracy which has suddenly found itself charged with the settlement of the affairs of a world in confusion is in sore need of a larger store of knowledge—historical, geographical, and ethnographical—than most of its members possess. These lectures, by authors whose competence is undoubted, and packed full of information, will help to spread this necessary knowledge. As Mr. Caxton remarked when confronted with a prophecy of universal peace, "the past helps me to judge of the present," and we feel that the University and its lecturers are entitled to high praise for their effort to promote Imperial Studies among a nation which has to decide Imperial issues. The first lecture, which gives its title to the book, "The Sea Commonwealth," by Sir Julian

Corbett, is a bold assertion of the vital necessity to the Empire of Sea Power. It is pointed out that the great members of the Empire may become separate centres of foreign policy, but that "they must one and all be dependent upon sea power, and since, in this connection at least, the sea is all one, the old bond of union reasserts itself more strongly than ever." Other Powers have chafed under it and only endured it because "all men, no matter whence they hailed, were free to come and go, free to trade as they would, free to gather and enjoy what they could find," because, in short, our sea power was a convenience to the world. So far everybody would agree, but the author's further proposition is more debatable. He sees that the desire for fiscal union within the Empire and the closing of the "open door" might produce new and formidable resistance to our sea power in the nations who have hitherto grudgingly acquiesced in it. Will they continue to do so "if so vast a measure of sea power is tainted with restriction of trade"? We do not share these apprehensions. Our sea power has always been disliked and contested. The Dutch in the seventeenth century, the French and Spanish in the eighteenth, the United States in the nineteenth, fiercely assailed it, and in the twentieth the German Empire, not deterred by the advantages of the "open door," made a deliberate effort to abolish it. It will be as much disliked in the future as it has been in the past, and if it be in the interests of the Empire to introduce fiscal union between its parts, we need not be deterred from doing so by any vain hope of making our sea supremacy popular. If the policy of Free Trade could not prevent the late terrible war, how can it be a factor in the question at all?

Very apposite to this discussion is the third essay in this volume, "The Colonial Aspirations of Germany," by (the late) J. C. Mackenzie. This writer shows how useless and futile all the friendship and all the concessions of England to Germany in colonial matters always proved because of the ulterior aims of the latter. Her avowed reasons for colonization were not the real ones. It is a fiction that Germany had a large surplus population which must find an outlet. She has to import a million foreigners to till German soil and work German mines, and the whole white population of the German colonies never exceeded 20,000. It is a fiction that she needed them for trade. "Germany's whole trade with her colonies in 1913 was just one half of one per cent of her whole foreign trade!" "German colonial aspirations are entirely contained in German world ambitions." The German aim before the war was the creation of "a Colonial Empire stretching right across Africa, linking German East Africa through the Belgian Congo with a much enlarged German Cameroon and running down through Angola to an enlarged German South West Africa" (p. 46). It was to be a *strategic* position, a new Germany based upon the open sea. And its aim would be, according to Herr Zimmermann, to interrupt the traffic between England and India or Australia. These plans of *Weltpolitik* were not frustrated by the policy of the "open door," but by British sea power.

Turning to the other essays in this volume, "France and Colonial

Power," by Professor Paul Mantoux, gives an excellent sketch of the history of the present colonial empire of France from its beginning with the conquest of Algiers in 1830, followed by an account of the products of these colonies and of their contributions of man-power during the war. He ends with the brave words that in the future "the need for bold enterprise will be found everywhere, and promises great rewards. Then it is that all the reserves of strength and wealth which the French colonies keep for France and for the world will be thrown into the scale where sinks and rises the greatness of nations" (p. 28).

The essay on "The Monroe Doctrine and its Transformation," by Professor Pollard, is of the excellence we should expect from the honoured name of its author, who touches nothing that he does not adorn. We have never seen any account of this much discussed pronouncement which gives so clear a review of the historical situation which led up to it, and of what it meant when it was uttered. Professor Pollard shows that it was in the spirit of this doctrine and its ultimate purpose of peace that the United States came into the late war. "For the nation accustomed to war regarded it as the final arbitrament wherever the conflict might arise, and the people which believed in arbitration also believed in its universal application. One or the other must become the general rule common to both the worlds, and inasmuch as no arbitration could compel the believer in war to abandon his weapons, the apostles of peace were driven to drawing the sword to disarm him" (p. 66).

The essay on "The Development of Africa," by Sir H. H. Johnston, perhaps the highest living authority on the subject, contains in thirty three pages a sketch of the whole subject of the ethnography, history, present condition, and future prospects of that continent. Beginning in the Ice Ages and sweeping through prehistoric time "forty or fifty thousand years ago," and closely packed with facts, its very conciseness and fullness render it rather bewildering to the reader. We know that the author is to be trusted, but the matter in this little essay would be easier to grasp if it were diluted into an octavo volume.

"Problems of the Pacific," by Basil Thomson, contains an interesting description of the physical beauty of the island scenery, and discussions as to the qualities and future destinies of the native races. He records conversations seventeen years ago with Dr. Solf, the former German Governor of Samoa, who confided to him his intention to copy the British methods of dealing with the natives, but that his great difficulty was money. "He could not hope to get from the Reichstag the funds necessary for colonial administration" (p. 124).

We cannot lay down this volume without expressing the hope that the University of London will continue to afford its students instruction of this character

## POETRY

POEMS OF DAWN AND THE NIGHT By Henry Mond (London  
*Chapman and Hall, Ltd*) 1919

This weird, wild, rollicking collection of rushing verse is full of the strength of youth, and gives promise of a middle age of Swinburnian grace and melody

From the "Dedicatory Sonnet" on to the "Sapphics"—hymning the beauty, the fragrance, the body, the hair, the eyes, and the lips of "Beautiful Aphrodite of the Throne embroidered"—the lines "have been kissed and set free by a vision that the songster describes as half of himself, who, silently folding him in her white arms, has stifled his perfect songs into perfect sighs

These songs have been named "Poems of Dawn and of the Night," but there is much of the stare and the glare and the fierce light of the full mid-day about most of them. Witness "The Staves of Youth," "The Dance," and the "Scarlet Heels." Again the young poet has evidently studied and imbibed the scornful and defiant doubts of FitzGerald, and, in so doing, has signally failed to appreciate the deep faith of the true-believing mystic, Omar, as may be seen from these lines

"Upon this earth to come I did not seek,  
And I'll have all the good things to be bought  
Within this paltry marble flung in space  
No profit to the Infinite my birth has brought,  
No profit brings my death, but in this place  
Since something me created I'll not be  
An atom Me, through all eternity,  
The gods must tolerate for evermore  
I'm not content to lie upon the floor  
Of this foul harlot earth and take  
Such kindness as your godship pleases to make,  
I never asked thee to be made but now  
That I am made, I must be e'en as thou!"

The Lover is out to enjoy himself whatever happens, and is determined to pursue Happiness direct for her own sake

"Earth and Heaven vie  
Offers of Sacrament, with sensuous stare  
Of moulded colour's passionate mastery  
Ah, dear one, throw your head back once again  
And let this soft hair tumble on my hand,  
Soft as the breezes sighing thro' the bough  
Astride the woods when sunlight mingles rain,  
For in the splendour of our youth we know  
All the philosophies of every land,  
And in a kiss the Universe is ours  
And the eternities of spinning suns  
Are overreached and dwindled into dust!"

But this is a palpable case of Atalanta's apples. There is the ring of the lines on "Death," and the poet's phrase describing "a bush of dark green holly" as "merrily sprinkled with the scarlet berry" will probably live. We cannot say we like the lines on "War," or "Bellona," or "The Silver Corpse," but the simple "Evening Hymn of the Shell Shock Hospital" and "Evensong" are tender and true, and breathe the poet's soul, while even the airy and flippant "Envoi Philosophique" with which the little collection closes has poetic merit of its own. W

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### CURRENT PERIODICALS

IMPERIAL INSTITUTE MONOGRAPHS Manganese Ores (116 pp), by A. H. Curtis, Tin Ores (111 pp), by G. M. Davies (*John Murray*) 3s 6d each net

To the chemist or the engineer interested in metallurgy or mining who hitherto has had to refer to the monographs published by the United States Geological Survey these books will come as a boon, they embody a mass of information worth far more than the published price, they contain extensive bibliographical appendixes, and they show how well the British Empire is endowed with mineral resources. Almost every tin-bearing locality is under the Union Jack, and India comes a good second in the list of manganese producers.

Another volume in this series will deal with tungsten.

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*The Review of Reviews* (November) contains a startling article entitled, "Turkish Massacres in Asia Minor," by W. A. Lloyd. A New Zealander by birth, he served with the Australian forces during the war, and has since last spring devoted his energies to an investigation of the conditions in Asia Minor since the armistice.

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### LITERARY NOTES

Japanese family and personal names and place names are one of the stumbling-blocks of that difficult language, so much so that officially the personal names of members of the Diet are read in Chinese fashion to save chances of error, for instance, one may read Baichu when the owner of the name reads it Umetada, and Keiki when one should say Yoshinori. European collectors of Japanese works of art have found this rather troublesome, and lists of names of artists are found in various books, but hitherto no systematic treatise on the subject has been available. The material is so formidable that one might hesitate before dealing with it, and be content, like most of us have done, to use some makeshift. Mr. A. J. Koop, of the Victoria and Albert Museum, undertook the task some

## *Reviews and Notices*

years ago, and with an industry altogether beyond words of praise, he has dissected year-books, dictionaries, and other lists of names, classified the material, and compiled a large quarto book, which will be indispensable to all students of Japanese. The various characters and their combinations form the dictionary part of the book, and a series of introductory tables give numerical categories, names of Emperors, date names, etc., making the work as comprehensive as might be desired. The war delayed the publication of this book, but a portion of it is now almost ready for issue, interested readers should communicate with the author or with Messrs B Quaritch

H L J

## ASIA MINOR AND THE DODECANESE

BY ANDREAS C. MICHALOPOULOS, O B E

THE Near East is a corner of the world about which many people write and talk, many politicians hold theories, and most Governments make blunders. It is a corner of the world which undoubtedly presents many difficulties, but these are constantly being increased and complicated owing to the unwillingness of those in authority to face facts honestly, or their inability to obtain from their agents an accurate account of them. In an age when Machiavellian principles are falling into discredit, and when the world is waking up to the fact that honesty is, after all, the best policy, and that a readjustment of nations in accordance with the principle of self-determination of peoples alone can ensure a durable peace, it would seem particularly desirable that an effort should be made to solve the "Eastern Problem" definitely on these lines.

It is in no way an exaggeration to say that the fundamental principle underlying Hellenic aspirations in Thrace, Asia Minor, and the Dodecanese is not one of imperialism, it is not an unjustifiable desire for conquest in strange lands, but it is a very legitimate determination to redeem from a foreign and oppressive yoke millions of Hellenes in districts where they are in a majority and the ruling race in a distinct minority.

Even the most bigoted supporters of the Turkish cause cannot deny that the littoral provinces of Asia Minor, as well as all the Ægean Islands, are inhabited almost entirely by Greeks, and that the Turkish element preponderates only in the interior.

It is obvious that as long as lands essentially Greek, racially, intellectually, and commercially, remain in foreign hands, the friction which must



ultimately result in new wars. Moreover it is a very definite fact that one hope has ever been latent in every Greek's heart, to the realization of which the general policy of the nation as a whole must always of necessity tend—despite many attempts to thwart it from the quarters whence Greece expects most sympathy—and that is the hope that at some future day all Hellenes will be united, and that the Greek Kingdom will extend from the Ionian to the Black Sea, and include within its limits Thrace, the coast-lands of Asia Minor, and Constantinople. This is not merely an arrogant intellectual fancy—it is not, as has so often been wrongly asserted, a dream which has its only source in historical tradition—it is not a wild ideal with the object of resuscitating the Byzantine Empire, but it is the voice of a people determined to be free, more than half of whom are still in a state of the most abject subjection to a foreign race, savage in its customs and ruthless in its treatment of alien subjects.

It would not be reasonable to suppose that these national aspirations are immediately realizable. This would not even be desirable, chiefly because the difficulties of administration following upon a sudden expansion over too large an area would be extremely great. If our rights to expansion are recognized, we are content to achieve that expansion gradually. In the assignment of Smyrna to Greece we have a proof of the goodwill of the Great Powers, and the first step in the right direction has been made. But the mere possession of the town of Smyrna will be of very little value to any country, least of all to Greece, unless it is accompanied by a sufficient portion of the hinterland to support it economically and to maintain its trade on its pre-war level, and also to safeguard it against the aggression of an ever-vigilant foe beyond the border. Economically Smyrna depends for the most part on its export trade of agricultural produce, all its wealth emanates from the extremely fertile vilayets of Aidin and Brussa. If the greater part of these provinces is left to Turkey, it is obvious that it will eventually be found

more expedient to transport their produce by the Bagdad Railway to Constantinople, or some Turkish port on the Black Sea or in Southern Asia Minor, rather than send it through Smyrna, which will then be a foreign port. The result will be that Smyrna will be reduced to a state of economic starvation.

It is precisely this economic starvation that several big European exporting companies in Smyrna fear, and this would afford ample scope for the agitation in certain semi-official circles on behalf of the retention of Smyrna by Turkey. The simplest as well as the justest solution of the problem is to give to Greece, together with Smyrna, the vilayet of Aydın and rather more than half of the vilayet of Brussa, to which she has an ethnological as well as a commercial right. But this solution might again be opposed by the European merchants, who know that they will not, under Greek rule, reap those vast benefits which a lax Turkish administration afforded them, since Turkish officials were always ready to be persuaded to accord privileges to influential foreigners, which their devotion to duty and their reverence for the laws of the land would never permit them to grant to the Greek merchants of Smyrna who were their subjects. In these circumstances it is only natural that the European Levantine should assume in anticipation that Greek administration will be essentially bad, and that his friends in Western Europe should bestir themselves on behalf of the honest Turk.

There is another most important reason why a considerable hinterland should be given to Greece with Smyrna. It will be quite impossible for Greece to defend a small, isolated piece of territory which has no actual boundaries or defences unless she decides to maintain a strong army of occupation permanently in Smyrna. This is far too great a burden for a country as small as Greece to take upon its shoulders. It is precisely the necessity always to have a standing army of defence, in order to guard against an attack from the foes that surround her on every

side, that has crippled Greece financially in the past. But the acquisition of the vilayets of Aïdin and Brussa would enable her to mobilize an army of 200,000 fighting men of Greek birth at any moment, and would effectually prevent any hostile attack.

To those Englishmen who know Greece well, and have been able properly to appreciate the superiority of Hellenic culture and civilization over that of any other nation of the Near East, it must be patent that it is in the interests of the general welfare of South-Eastern Europe that that State should be supported in taking the lead which is most qualified by its merits and development to promote peace and commerce in that troublesome part of the world.

Italian aspirations in the Near East have only their unprecedented effrontery to recommend them. The spirit of imperialistic aggression which led Italy to occupy Tripoli in 1911 is now urging her to put forward claims upon vast territories in Asia Minor, not excluding Smyrna itself which claims cannot possibly be justified either on grounds of humanity or of racial affinity.

If the unhappy inhabitants of Asia Minor are to be freed from the oppression of the Turk in order to become subjects of a nation which, during the past seven and a half years, has given conclusive proofs of the liberality of its culture and civilization by its treatment of the Dodecanesians, their present ill fate is a thousand times to be preferred to freedom under the Italian flag. The well-attested and undeniable acts of barbarity and truculence committed by the Italian authorities in the twelve Greek islands of the South Ægean, which they have arbitrarily taken over, need no comment here, but it would be interesting to know on what principle, if not on a medieval principle of sheer conquest, 103,000 Hellenes, 10,000 Turks, and 4,000 Jews are administered by the Italians, unless it be that those eminently manly virtues, and that administrative genius which the Italians have inherited from ancient Rome, entitle them to spread their beneficial ægis over the whole Mediterranean.

## THE BALKAN PENINSULA

By P E DRAKOULES, LL D

I AM asked to express an opinion as to the possibility of a Balkan Confederation and on the affairs of Greece

A Balkan Confederation is inconceivable so long as the hatreds cultivated by the politicians exist, so long as the Turkish question remains unsolved, so long as Italy nurtures Imperialistic designs

A reorganization of the Balkan States on the basis of Labour ideals would make the project of Confederation enter the domain of practical politics, but it is useless to expect that the Turkish people should be denied the right of forming a democratic State, although I do not think this advisable on European soil The progress of Socialism in Italy will be conducive to the realization of the Balkan Confederation, because all the Italian Socialists are disposed favourably towards the Hellenic aspirations, which they acknowledge to be just, and they know that Greece is never Imperialistic Hellenic ideals coincide to a great extent with Labour ideals This is a point I have had opportunity to point out in my recent tour in the United States, and I found there the minds well prepared to realize this truth, by the lectures of Professor Gilbert Murray, who some years ago emphasized the fact that the development of contemporary Labour ideals was largely due to Greek studies in England and elsewhere

It is this impression that makes me have confidence in the future of the Near East, inasmuch as it can be built on Hellenic culture It is gratifying therefore to feel that this view is furthered by Italian Socialists From a national point of view there could be nothing better for Greece

than the prevalence of Socialist opinion in Italy Greece can turn to the reconstruction of which she is in need as soon as she feels she has nothing to fear from Turkey or Italy

As to Bulgaria, the trend of events is modifying her attitude It will be a long time before her politicians are again enabled to provoke quarrels in connection with Salonica and the Ægean Meanwhile in Bulgaria, as in Italy, the growth of Socialism is favourable to Greece and consequently to the birth of a Balkan Confederation

The scheme entertained assiduously before the war by Prussianizing Socialists was to bring about a Balkan Confederation under Ferdinand of Bulgaria, which of course was a German Empire scheme "Nous avons changé tout cela" now, and I can aver that there is no real hatred between the Bulgarian masses and the Greek masses All that hatred was engendered by foreign intrigue and plutocratic schemes Foreign interference in the Balkan States has been always detrimental to their development\* and if they are disposed to come to an Entente between themselves, each must religiously try to keep aloof from interested foreign wire-pullers

In proportion as Labour problems are solved in favour of the productive classes, differences will cease between any group of Balkan peoples, such as between Serbia and Roumania, or Serbia and Montenegro, or Jugoslavia and Italy It is all a question of more light, for as long as the masses are kept unenlightened the elements prone to quarrel will make unity impossible And the same may be said with regard to the Greco-Albanian relations Both Greeks and Albanians are beginning to understand that they have common interests even as they have a common origin

The reputation of Socialism has lately much suffered in all countries, partly because it was identified with the hypnotic influence exercised everywhere on Socialists by

\* See my article in the *ASIATIC REVIEW* of February, 1915, on the *Balkan Question*

German exertions, and partly because of the Bolshevik misapplication of the ideal. But this must not prejudice us against the eternal verities which constitute the basis of Socialism. I am not afraid of handfuls of pseudo-Socialists here and there, and firmly believe that Socialism, well understood, has a future in the Balkans as elsewhere. There are rudimentary Socialist parties in the Balkan States, and the Greek Socialist party can only thrive in solidarity with the Socialist parties in the rest of the Peninsula, all aiming at a Balkan Co-operative Commonwealth. The general tendency is anti-monarchic and anti-dictatorial. As far as the Greek Socialist party is concerned, it certainly has a future. It seems to me destined to save the nation from the peril of a misapplied Soviet experiment, and on the other hand from the monarchical menace, whether this comes from Restorationists or from plutocratic politicians. Its present rôle is to watch developments and check arbitrary tendencies, so as to cause a mitigation of the ills prevalent at present in Greece, such as Martial Law, Censorship, terrorism, profiteering, poverty and discontent at what is considered a desertion of Greece by the Allies after all the great sacrifices she made in the endeavour to win the war. The Greek Socialists are the only force in Greece which desires changes independently of party politics. They are inspired by the desire to diminish the present intolerable conditions of the people and to avert serious dangers. These dangers are real and lie in the path of Mr Venizelos's policy, which therefore should be modified accordingly so as to meet new conditions and new requirements. But whatever are the issues of the near future Greece must cultivate friendships everywhere without surrendering a tithe of her sense of self-existence, and I take it for granted that it is the interest of her neighbours and of her well-wishers beyond the Peninsula to promote the efforts of the Greek people to be independent and contented.

## FAR EASTERN STUDIES

BY SIR E. DENISON ROSS

IT is interesting to realize that since the beginning of the Christian era up to the present day Asia has been quite as profoundly modified as Europe in the corresponding period. Indeed there is no current phrase which contains a greater fallacy than the term "Unchanging East." The history of the East abounds in changes of every kind: religion, government, fashions, and so forth, perhaps more than the history of Europe, say, since the Middle Ages.

Moreover, the term "Asia," when we come to use it in a general sense, is far too general a name. Asia, of which we still know so little compared with what we know of Europe, comprises such utterly different countries and races that it is absurd for us to speak of Orientals as if they were one huge race with common characteristics. This impression was gained by the West in the days when our knowledge was confined to hearsay and books.

In the early days, before men travelled extensively, the whole East seemed indistinguishable in the same way that when we first see them we are apt to think all Chinamen alike.

My principal theme is as follows. Our conception of history as a whole has been wanting in true perspective, owing to the dominating foreground of familiar episodes to the exclusion of those which are less familiar. That is to say, certain periods of history and the scenes in which they were enacted have been so extensively studied, and form such an inevitable part of our educational curricula, that we most of us grow up under the impression that the whole history of mankind is contained in that of the Greeks, the Romans, the Jews, and of modern Europe.

Up to the end of the eighteenth century there was indeed some excuse for this narrow outlook, for until then little or nothing was known of the past or present inhabitants of the greater part of Asia, but no such excuse exists to-day. During the last 150 years scholars of a dozen different nations have devoted themselves to the study of the history, languages, geography, and ethnology of Asia, and have produced an enormous mass of literature dealing with every aspect of these problems. Nevertheless, one excuse for our ignorance still exists to-day, and that excuse is the fact that this vast assemblage of data has never been co-ordinated or made accessible to the general student of history. The time has certainly arrived for some organized attempt to remedy this state of affairs. Even

Remusat, writing in 1826, made a similar complaint. How much more is one justified in doing so to day, in view of the wonderful discoveries made in every corner of Asia in the last hundred years!

Before I pass to the consideration of a practical remedy, I would like to indicate more precisely the nature of those obstacles which have to be surmounted, and in doing so I shall make myself clearer if I confine my remarks to the Middle East, although I have in my mind the whole of the East, from Suez to Japan, for the history of all the peoples of Asia is closely interwoven, and their intercourse with one another is revealed more clearly as our studies advance. There are, of course, huge gaps in our knowledge of the earlier civilizations, due, on the one hand, to the destruction by Nature or by man of monuments or literature, and, on the other hand, to the fact that some of the nations never possessed either. The Iranians and the Turanians certainly had chronicles of their own in pre Muhammadan times, but they have only been preserved at second hand. The great Persian Epic of Firdausi was based on written traditions, of which few survive, and the great historian of the Mongols, Rashid Ud Din, tells us that he consulted many old Turkish chronicles, none of which have come down to us. The Indians, on the other hand, were averse from writing history, their men of letters considering philosophy and grammar more profitable studies. It is not till we come to the Muhammadan period that we find the chronicles of India set down in writing. What precedes has to be pieced together from the inscriptions and the coins, and it is Greek and Chinese writers who made this task possible! But on the whole India has fared better at the hands of the modern historian than any other country in the East. This is due partly to the noble array of scholars who have lived in British India, and partly to the spread of English education among the Indians, which has created a demand for systematized Indian history.

China has excelled all other nations in the making of chronicles, but there remains still much to be done in the field of their translation and interpretation. It is to be hoped that some day a complete critical translation of the twenty-four dynastic histories may be undertaken by a group of scholars.

It is essential that a certain number of scholars in the field of Oriental linguistics should spread their net a little wider than is usually the case with specialists, and thus attempt to piece together various materials and data which have been collected by specialists, but which go to make up one complete story. In recent times a number of eminent scholars have rendered great services to science by extending the field of their researches outside the conventional limits of their main subject. For example, Professor Sylvain Levi, the eminent Sanskritist, has done important work by the additional help of Chinese. Professor Pelliot, who is one of the greatest living Chinese scholars, has, with his marvellous linguistic gifts, thrown his net very wide, and has thereby been able to deal with many varied aspects of Central Asian archæology. He has lately, for example, been engaged on editing and translating the secret history of the Mongol dynasty, a work which has a most romantic history, and is of the utmost



historical importance Another scholar who has furnished us with a remarkable series of papers on a great variety of subjects connected with the philology and ethnography and culture of China and Central Asia is Dr Laufer of Chicago, who has acquired an intimate acquaintance with such different and difficult languages as Chinese, Sanskrit, and Tibetan Much important material would have been lost to us had these scholars whom I have just mentioned confined their studies to one group

It is to be hoped that their example may now be followed by some of the rising generation of Orientalists

The young student at the outset of his career naturally makes some particular language or group of languages his speciality, and is possessed of the laudable ambition of becoming an authority in his special subject, but nowadays, when so much ground has been broken in almost every field of Asiatic research, we need the services of scholars who, at a comparatively early age, would be willing to forgo the glories of specialization, and after laying a sound foundation in one particular branch, would be prepared to devote themselves to the collocation of a vast mass of materials which are now available, and help us to focus and bring into their proper perspective the whole panorama of Asiatic history But apart from linguistics, we as Orientalists need the collaboration of workers in all the other fields of Asiatic research

The term "Orientalist" itself is used in far too narrow a sense—indeed by the general public it is often totally misunderstood I heard only recently that someone remarked to one of our teachers, apropos of Oriental studies "You don't really believe in these things, do you?" from which my friend inferred that the speaker thought the School of Oriental Studies was a temple of Blavatskyism This is by the way

Orientalism should include many branches of science and research which we are not apt to associate with the name We need, in order to understand the history, religion, and habits of Asiatic peoples and their migrations, the aid of naturalists, anthropologists, geographers, and so forth In such fields of research as Egyptology and Assyriology, where from the first the traveller and excavator have been to the forefront, and the written word was only deciphered at a later stage, the foundation of studies has been on a broader basis than in the case of peoples and countries who have first become known to us through the medium of their literatures Professor Breasted has pointed out in a recent paper the great advantages under which the students of early American history have worked owing to the very absence of documents and inscriptions

What is needed, then, is the co ordination of the available material dealing with every aspect of Asiatic research

So much for the personal element I will now pass to what may be regarded as one of the greatest difficulties with which the student of Asiatic history and culture is confronted—namely, the difficulty, not only of ascertaining what has been written of any value on a particular subject in the past, but also of keeping himself abreast of what has appeared from day to day

Personally I may confess that I began my Central Asian studies—with-

out guidance, it is true—at the wrong end I merely took what I could find, and there was no book to tell me what had been done. I was first attracted to these studies by the manuscripts discovered by Stein, and especially by those in the old Turkish language. Shortly after the first results of Central Asian exploration were made known to the world, a number of scholarly papers appeared dealing with the various subjects, but without wishing to imply that the new writers denied any credit due to their predecessors in the field, I certainly received the impression that they were discovering more than they had learnt. I will explain what I mean later.

If we take the subject of Central Asia with its history as known from the Chinese chronicles, and its languages and culture which have lately been revealed to us, it will afford a good example of the chaos of materials in which the student will find himself engulfed. Before the invention of Orientalists' journals—and the earliest of these was, I believe, that published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal—it may have been comparatively easy to keep pace with most of the literature bearing on China and her Western neighbours, which appeared in French, English, and German. With the Russian works, of which there were many and important ones, it was another story, for the knowledge of the Russian language was very rare outside Russia until comparatively recent times, and thus it happened that important translations from the Chinese and other works of a similar nature were for the most part ignored and, in some cases, lost sight of altogether. But since the invention of journals and the foundation of so many Oriental societies, it has been almost impossible for a single man to keep pace with all that appeared, even on a most specialized subject. How much the more in such a vast subject as the Western neighbours of China! And it is in view of such considerations that I wish to advocate the institution of some systematic guide to all the various branches of Asiatic research. Such a guide could not well be undertaken by any single individual, but would require the co-operation of a number of scholars and a central organization. It would, I fancy, be easier to deal with the whole of Asia rather than with sections, and certainly far more useful. What is required is a work in the nature of a subject index to a library, with this difference—that individual pamphlets would play an equally important part with books. Every journal purporting to deal with the East should be indexed, not merely the journals of Oriental societies, but the journals, memoirs, and publications of every society which contain articles on Asiatic topics. Anthropological journals of all countries are full of materials of the deepest interest to Orientalists, but are often apt to be overlooked by them.

If such a scheme as I suggest could be realized, it would be the further duty of the central organization to keep scholars who desire it informed of the work which was being undertaken by their colleagues. There can hardly be a scholar who has not experienced the misfortune of finding that he had devoted a great deal of time to a subject which either had already been treated or on which someone else was also working. This has happened to myself more than once, and although Orientalists have a pro

verbal name for quarrelling, I cannot help thinking that if there were to be some such means as I suggest for keeping in touch with the labours of other scholars, they would be willing to sink all rivalry, and very often one or other of the scholars would hand over his material

I may be permitted to mention incidentally that only recently when Professor Pelliot was visiting this country, I handed over to him all the material I had collected in the shape of old Uighur Chinese vocabularies, knowing that he would be able to deal with them far more efficiently than I could, and I did so without any feeling that I had wasted my time in collecting such material, or that I was performing an act of self-denial.

Since writing these remarks—which give expression to feelings that I have long entertained—I have heard that the Royal Society and the British Academy are about to publish a new monthly journal under the title of *Discovery*, the aim of which will be to present in a popular form the progress of knowledge in all its chief branches. The communiqué issued to the Press says

“The control of the trustees will be final, but they will exercise it through a managing committee, which they will appoint on the nomination of a large number of bodies, the chief of whom are the conjoint board of Scientific Societies, who will nominate five members, the Classical, Historical, English, and Geographical Associations, each of whom will nominate one member, and the Modern Language Association, if, as is hoped, that body also adheres to the scheme

“The British Psychological Society and the Royal Society of Economics will also appoint one member

“All these specialist associations undertake to supply, year by year, for the editor's use, a list of contributors capable of representing different sides of their particular branch of knowledge by articles or series of articles, of a thoroughly popular kind, which will, however, always contain references to the books or periodicals in which the subject of the article can be pursued more fully”

This is certainly a most laudable enterprise—but it does not seem to meet the need to which I have referred. In the first place it is avowedly popular, and in the second place it does not seem to embrace the East. This is, I presume, due to the notion that “discoveries” do not come from the East, though it scarcely needs to be demonstrated that we owe to the East among other matters of importance our religion and our alphabets, not to mention the credit claimed for China of having discovered gunpowder and the taxi-cab

But the announcement of this new journal has suggested to me the establishment of a journal on somewhat similar lines dealing with Asiatic research. For it now occurs to me that the best solution of the problem before us might be the publication of, say, a quarterly journal containing, in addition to a list of all books and articles which have recently been published on Asiatic subjects with a brief résumé of their contents, notes on recent explorations, lectures, and controversies. Such a journal might perhaps be also undertaken by the British Academy—which counts among its members a certain number of Oriental scholars. I would suggest as a title “Asiatic Researches”—thus reviving an old name

I see no reason why such a journal should not at the same time publish

## *Far Eastern Studies*

with each number complete bibliographies of one or more of the main subdivisions of Oriental studies, such as Buddhism in China, Christianity in Central Asia, and so forth. The subdivisions having been decided upon, a certain number might appear with each issue of the journal, so that ultimately the journal would contain a complete guide to sources of information of all Asiatic topics.

[Perhaps the ASIATIC REVIEW could undertake such a work either as a separate publication or as a supplement to the existing issue. It is already publishing proceedings and resumé of Asiatic Societies and, in its Literary Supplement, bringing under notice as many as possible of the important books on Asia. An extension on the lines indicated above should therefore prove most valuable.—ED. A. R.]

## GREEK NOTES

BY F R SCATCHERD

## I THE FUTURE OF GREECE \*

IN a conversation between M Venizelos and Dr Drakoulis in Paris on the eve of the Prime Minister's departure and the signature of the Bulgarian Treaty, the national problem and the internal affairs of Greece formed the main subjects of discussion

M Venizelos believes that Smyrna will remain Greek and that the Dodekanessos will soon form part of the Hellenic State Even for Thrace he has every reason to hope that the whole of it is destined to be added to Greece That Bulgaria has been driven away from the Ægean is, he says, an achievement for which any sacrifice could be justified

M Venizelos looks forward to the signature of the Turkish Treaty for a definite solution of the Greek national problem

Dr Drakoulis expressed the Labour feeling of Greece as to the delays which render the internal situation precarious, inasmuch as it necessitates the continuance of martial law, censorship, and a kind of mild terrorism With profiteering rampant, the high cost of living, and widely spread privation, Greece is now about the most harassed country in Europe

The conclusion of Dr Drakoulis is that fundamental political changes are needed, and he suggested the creation of a separate authority to deal with questions affecting the working classes, independent of Parliament

M Venizelos recognizes the importance of the Labour problem, but thinks that much has been done by his administration towards its solution, and that anyhow it must remain dormant until after the signature of the Turkish Treaty

Dr Drakoulis, while agreeing that waiting is expedient, warned the Premier that a great storm of discontent is brewing in Greece, which may break out before the Constituent Assembly, contemplated by M Venizelos, has time to be elected

## II GREECE AN EPITOME OF THE WORLD

Reading the reports of the above conversation produced a strange impression upon me Greece became the world, her ex King Constantine representing the dead or dying *Past*, her Premier Venizelos the sane and reasoned *Present*, while the intransigent lover of humanity incarnating the unborn *Future* cries aloud

"Fiat justitia, ruat cœlam"

"Dr Drakoulis," I said, "you say that during the war the times have marched with such gigantic strides, as far as popular ideals are concerned, that men even of the calibre of M Venizelos risk being left behind Is there not an even greater danger of men of idealistic temperament failing to gauge the depths of savagery and unreason to which the less instructed may sink if trusted with power they are unfitted to wield?"

\* *Le Journal des Hellènes*, November, 1919, *The Review of Reviews*, December, 1919, *Justice*, etc

"What I emphasized almost exclusively in my conversation with M Venizelos," replied Dr Drakoulis, "was the need for instruction, enlightenment, re education, or should I say de education, in order that those who are entitled to administer the interest of the community may realize their responsibilities and the people their destinies

"In the first place, therefore, I should urge the reorganization of the educational system on new foundations altogether. In Greece, as in all other countries, education has always been on the basis of individual profit. Thus chronic profiteering as distinguished from contemporary, acute profiteering has always characterized the nations

"The new educational system should aim at making useful citizens, instead of money grubbers. But the present mismanagers of civilization do not sanction such a change. Therefore I do not see how M Venizelos could revolutionize the educational system to the extent of militating against the economic system, which as Prime Minister he is bound to support."

"Why, then, all this criticism if action be impossible?" I retorted.

"Because there will soon be a Constituent Assembly. It is to be hoped that it will create institutions tending towards this new spirit of usefulness and social harmony. So much does human intuition abhor parasitism, that there is no one now but tries to justify his existence by doing some work answering to his idea of usefulness.

"There are two primary objects before a Prime Minister of goodwill enjoying such a unique position.

"The first, as I have indicated, is a radical change in the educational system so as to instil love for truth and justice.

"The second is the establishment of a new authority competent to deal with the Labour problems which are sure to arise in Greece very soon.

"The workers lack cohesion and organization. Very much could be done towards securing both by the initiative of the Government in a country like Greece, where agriculture and industry are still in their infancy.

"If the next National Assembly created a new Labour Authority, independent even of Parliament, that authority would gradually grow to be the new State—the Co operative Commonwealth.

"Events in Greece are impending which may be of a grave nature, and, to my way of thinking, there is no means of averting danger except the declaring of a policy of concession to the just demands for light, labour, and leisure—the three chief planks in the platform of *Erevna*."

"Were you Minister of Labour, how would you secure order now that Labour believes only in the rights of one class, its own, to any consideration, or even to the right of existence?"

"There is only one class, or there ought to be—the class of useful citizens, and they are the only set of human beings that has any right to exist," said Dr Drakoulis.

"Would you have little Greece, at this moment, break with her sister-nations by launching on a tempestuous, perilous sea, that might lose her as Russia has been lost?"

'The common problem, yours, mine, everyone's,  
Is not to fancy what were fair in life  
Provided it could be, but finding first  
What may be, then find how to make it fair  
Up to our means.'\*

This common sense seems to me the pre eminent characteristic of M Venizelos, and fits him to be a wise pilot through the stormy period of

transition I never meet M Venizelos without thinking of these lines. It also appears to me that true Socialism must include all grades of human society, that the 'tree of life for the healing of the nations' is a tree with root, trunk, branches, flowers, and fruit, all forming a perfect whole, yet no two leaves receiving exactly the same amount of air, water, and sunshine "

"Russia has not been lost," replied Dr Drakoulis "A new, sane Russia will emerge from the furnace. As to what she may be I agree with Browning Hence I am mainly interested in studying tendencies and the force of things

"Victor Hugo speaks of a mysterious text, '*le texte mystérieux de Dieu*' I try constantly to read it The war has been fought for larger issues than the particular phases of a nation's growth "

"Then do you believe that we are impelled by blind forces?" I inquired  
 "No, things are thoughts crystallized The force of things has its springs in the Power behind Evolution Cromwell was right when he said that revolutions are made by God

"I quite agree with what you say about the all embracing nature of Socialism, and that is what I try to impress upon the readers of *Erevna* But remember that no leaf receives less of air, water, and sunshine than is necessary for its life and growth So no human or sub human being must receive less than is essential for its life and growth "

### III INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF GREECE

"We have little news from Greece just now What is going on there?"

"Although Venizelism is not as popular as it was before the Peace Conference, no healthy opposition to the Government, such as I know the Prime Minister himself would wish, can develop under present conditions No political leaders, able to voice the popular sentiment, well or ill founded, that the origin of the present Venizelist administration is not constitutional, have a real chance for action

"At the beginning of the war M Venizelos did not entertain the idea of forming a Coalition Government, in order that anti Venizelist forces should not remain out of power during such a great national crisis These forces are now so situated as to be inadequate to form an opposition commensurate with the popular discontent

"If an anti Venizelist politician declares the Government is no longer adequate to present circumstances, all that a Venizelist has to retort is 'But where can its successor be found? If it falls it will be reinstated, stronger than ever, in a few days, because the political situation is a deadlock'

"Feeble as it is, the voice of the Socialist party has an echo in the hearts of the working classes It is argued that their wages have been increased, but the fact is that the cost of living has increased even more because unbridled profiteering has been permitted, for the reason that the Government cannot afford to lose the support of the traders Freedom of speech does not exist, and all allusions to the prevailing conditions of misery, terrorism, and waste of public money are tabooed The newspapers are full of blank spaces, and judging by the prohibited articles of my own paper, *Erevna*, the Censor objects to reviews or translations of such innocent matter as Adolph Smith's contributions to *The Times* or of books like Professor Scott's 'Syndicalism and Realism' The *Erevna* articles on works like these are decorated by many blank spaces in obedience to the Censor "

"Now, Dr Drakoulis, you were not in England during the early

## *Greek Notes*

years of the war Can you, in Greece, parallel the classic example when our Censor deleted as seditious and dangerous Rudyard Kipling's line

'The captains and the kings depart'

One must remember also that not only is Greece still at war, but that she has been deprived of the presence of her Prime Minister all through these long months of 'peace-making' Assuredly, as you yourself have said, the magic of his presence will serve to remove the worst evils, perhaps necessary, during his absence, and the unnecessary mercilessness of the martial law and unreasoned rigorousness of the censorship will disappear under a just and wise leadership "

"Your words fit the situation fairly, but as it is the conditions to which the Prime Minister is wedded that I deprecate, and not his own human initiative, I do not need to withdraw what I have said The words you have used would have fitted the situation still better before the Balkan wars, when we all implicitly trusted the 'just and wise leadership' But the hurricane came and swept away the landmarks Similarly now, may all too suddenly come a hurricane, incomparably fiercer, which will scarcely respect even the most benevolent of old régime administrations. The most constructive human agencies are powerless when creative cosmic forces become irresistible."



## THE UNTOUCHABLES OF INDIA AND THEIR ENUMERATION

BY REV H U WEITBRECHT STANTON, PH D, D D

[At a conference of representatives of British missionary societies, held on September 28, 1916, the Bishop of Madras called attention to the serious situation created by the illiteracy of the Christian community in India owing to the large accessions through the mass movements]

The Annual Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland has arranged for the sending of a Commission to India to investigate and report as to the extension of elementary education among rural Christians, and such modifications of curriculum and methods as may be desirable to adapt such education to the realities of Indian village life

The Commission started for India in October last Its members are as follows Rev Alec Fraser (Principal of Trinity College, Kandy, Ceylon), Mr C Roberts (formerly Under-Secretary of State for India), Miss Allan (Principal of Homerton College, Cambridge), Mr Jesse Jones (Secretary, Rockefeller Institute, America), Professor Fleming (late of Forman College, Lahore, now Professor, Union College, New York), together with two Indian members—viz, the Bishop of Dornakal and Mr K T Paul, secretary of the National Council of Y M C A Missionaries now working in India will be attached to the Commission during its tours in India, and to assist in the preparation of the Report ]

My only qualification for attempting this intricate and somewhat technical subject is that, in the course of missionary life in India, I have gone in and out among the Untouchables of the Panjāb for a good many years, and have tried to learn what I could from and about them They are people well worth helping on every side of human nature, and one has found real friends among them The outstanding impressions made upon the most casual worker among the Indian Untouchables are those of their illiteracy and their poverty The latter is the

What I have called the Domiciled Untouchables may be taken to represent, in the main, the body of subjugated aborigines who have been fitted on to the Hindu community as an appendix, embracing occupations which are specially menial and toilsome (*e.g.*, scavenging and field labour) or ceremonially degrading (*e.g.*, leather-working). The variety of religious belief and practice among this section is very great. Generally speaking, they represent the animist cults of their ancestors, in which, as generally in religious development, ritual is more persistent than belief. In some cases, as in the village cults of South India, depicted by the Bishop of Madras, this heritage actually gives them precedence in certain acts of worship, where they seem to represent the pre-Hindu priesthood. In other parts—*e.g.*, among the Chuhras of the Panjab—the old beliefs and practices are much overlaid by the religion of the masters whom they happen to serve. The Chuhras adopt names and religious terms—Hindu, Sikh, or Musalman, as the case may be. Some use the Hindu greeting *Rām-Rām*, some let hair and beard grow, like the Sikhs, some have their children married by a *mulla*. But everywhere is the mud mound or pillar that represents the ancient tribal deity, though some refer it to a Hindu sage, Balmik, others to a Mohammedan teacher, Lal Beg. In the Western Panjab considerable numbers have professed Islam, but are called Musalli (little Moslems), and work and are treated as scavengers. In the Central Panjab a certain number (the Mazhabis) have been admitted to the Sikh religion, but remain on a lower social status, without intermarriage. The large number who have become Christians are in process of dropping the caste distinction altogether as they rise to a higher level of education and morals. These examples may serve to illustrate the shifting conditions of status among the Untouchables, accelerated, as they have been, by the movement towards Christianity.

\* *The Village Gods of South India* (Milford)

### SOURCES OF ESTIMATE

It must be frankly premised that a study such as this has to allow for a large margin of error. I suppose that there is no one who is acquainted in any detail with all the castes in India. Certainly the information that I have been able to secure is scattered and incomplete. The summaries that I have found are (1) by Risley (*Peoples of India*, first edition, 1908), (2) Baines (*Ethnography of India*, 1912), and (3) Gait (*Census of India*, 1911, vol 1).

Sir Herbert Risley classifies by regions (Bengal, Orissa, etc). He divides the Untouchables into Hindus (50,630,576) and animists (17,248,151). These totals are my additions of the separate figures which he gives. Perhaps they form the basis of the 60 million estimates which we sometimes hear of, but, in any case the figures are based on the 1901 Census. In the second edition of *Peoples of India* (1915), the author, I believe rightly, omits the table altogether, though in the meanwhile the census figures of 1911 had become available. The alteration of provincial boundaries, besides the large increase in population in the decade 1901-11, had evidently upset the calculations.

Sir Athelstan Baines bases on the 1901 census, and excludes Burma, taking the total population of India as 283 millions. The Domiciled Untouchables are classified by castes and occupations. His totals are

Field labourers	16,158,400
Leather workers	15,028,300
Scavengers	3,647,700
	<hr/> 34,834,400

But the classification in some cases is very doubtful—e.g., Namasudras (or Chandals) and Kolis are included under peasants, though a large part of them are Untouchables. The Aborigines are given regionally

Central Belt (Kol, Santal, Munda, Oraon, Gond, etc)	9,229,900
Western Belt (Bhils)	1,922,300
South Indian hill tribes	593,900
Assam and Himalayas	1,765,700
	<hr/> 13,511,800

more poignant, for a man may be intelligent though illiterate, but moving among these outcastes one feels almost ashamed to be decently clad and sufficiently fed when one's fellow-creatures are so scant in both ways. The task of raising them is as tremendous as it is imperious. The administrator, with no little success, has been labouring at it for generations, the missionary has brought home to many a spiritual impulse resulting in social progress, and the patriot has come to realize that a true national life cannot be built up on a substructure of virtual slavery. No one of these classes is likely to accomplish the task alone. Their efforts need to be co-ordinated on a basis of solid fact, and, however much one may gibe at figures, their accuracy is as needful for the successful prosecution of this as of any other great undertaking.

In the quarters with which I am best acquainted, but in others also, appeals or statements about the Indian Untouchables are enforced with estimates of their number varying from 45 to 60 millions. For these figures, so far as I can find out, no stable basis of calculation is given. Moreover, the tacit assumption seems to be that these millions are pretty much on the same level as to social and spiritual conditions. The fact is that the so-called "outcastes" vary among themselves more than do the caste Hindus. The contrast between a Toda of the Nilgiris and a well-to-do Chamar of North India is much greater than that between the Chamar and his Brahman neighbour. Indeed, in the case of the upper strata of the nominal Untouchables (notably of the great Chamar community), it is at present almost impossible to determine what proportion belong to the uppermost section of the Untouchables and what to the lowest section of the caste people. Probably the dividing line is movable.

The term "Untouchable," as a name for the "depressed classes," or "outcastes," is a revival of the most ancient designation of these people. In early times the *asprishya* (untouchable) *Sudra* stands below the four great *varnas*

(Brahman, Kshatrya, Vaisya, Sudra) The name has recently come into prominence since the appearance of an article by His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda in the *National Review* of December, 1909 In this able and touching appeal on behalf of the "depressed classes," His Highness points out that there are depressed classes who are not outcastes We may add that "outcaste" connotes the idea of expulsion from caste which has rarely, if ever, taken place, whereas "Untouchable" goes to the root of the matter in that it describes the religious and social attitude of the Hindu towards the outcaste, which constitutes the degradation and misery of his position The term "Untouchable" in this essay means, therefore, that part of the population of India which is not admitted to any recognized social status in the Hindu community, and is accordingly segregated from it without having gained admission to either of the other organized religions of Christianity or Islam

#### VARIED ELEMENTS AMONG THE UNTOUCHABLES

It is well known that the Untouchables of India are divided into two very different sections, which we may call for convenience' sake the Aboriginal and the Domiciled The Aboriginals, generally speaking, live in more or less separate territories, following their own primitive organizations and cults, but many of them are merging into one or other of the three great religions—Hinduism, Islam, or Christianity An appreciable number of some of these tribes (as in the case of the Bhils) are domiciled among the general population This illustrates the difficulty of classification The Bhils enumerated in the census as "Hindus," of course, no longer come under the heading of "Aboriginals" This is confined to the tribes which are mainly or wholly "animist" But are these domiciled Bhils still "untouchable," or are they recognized as belonging to a Hindu caste? Here, again, the line of division is probably shifting

Here we have a total of 48,346,200, perhaps the origin of the 50 million estimate, which is the one most frequently given. But as pointed out above, these figures also are based upon the 1901 census, and they exclude Burma (which Sir Herbert Risley includes) with its large aboriginal population. Nor is it easy to determine how far the castes and tribes enumerated by Sir A. Baines are all untouchable, or include all the Untouchables.

The plan that I have followed in this essay is to take the list of castes and tribes given in the Report by Sir H. Gait of the 1911 *Census of India*, vol. 1, part II, pp. 178 ff., as a basis. From this I have extracted the Untouchables under the two groups mentioned, Aboriginal and Domiciled, to the best of my knowledge and information. There are sure to be mistakes in detail, but I do not think that any important bodies have been omitted. It is more likely that some have been included who are not really untouchable. The two lists are given alphabetically, with particulars as to occupation, and an attempt is made to summarize the most important groups. One has had to use private judgment in drawing the line between Untouchables and others. For instance, I have not included *Dhobis* (washermen) and *Kumhars* (potters), though, strictly speaking, their employments are reckoned among the unclean, because usually they seem to be recognized as castes. On the other hand, I have included *Chamars* (leather-workers), because I believe the majority of them are socially excluded. These instances and much else will make it clear to the reader that this claims to be nothing more than a preliminary study, which may serve as a starting-point for really accurate and detailed investigation, both before and after the census which is due in 1921. This is a field in which the Survey Committee of the Indian National Missionary Council might do useful work. A sketch map of India showing the results would be invaluable.

In dealing with these figures, taken from the 1911

census, it is to be noted that the total population of the Indian Empire was then reckoned at 315,132,537. Of this number 12,115,217 lived in Burma, which is a Buddhist country, and therefore has no, properly speaking, untouchable classes, as it has no caste system. Hence, in making comparisons regarding Domiciled Untouchables, the population of India must be reckoned at 303,017,320. But in the case of aboriginal tribes, Burma has to be included. The Aborigines (as shown here) amount to a little over 6 per cent of the entire population of the Indian Empire. The Domiciled are a little less than 10 per cent of the population of India without Burma.

For the benefit of the non-technical reader, I give a list of the provinces, with populations. It has to be remembered that "Central Provinces" denotes the area under direct British rule in that part of India, while "Central India" is a group of feudatory states and their dependencies. The "United Provinces" of Agra and Oudh were formerly known as the "North-West Provinces."

Provinces	Area in sq miles 1911	Population 1911
Ajmer-Merwara	2,711	501,395
Andamans and Nicobars	3,143	26,459
Assam	53,015	6,713,635
Baluchistan	54,228	414,412
Bengal	78,699	45,483,077
Bihar and Orissa	83,181	34,490,084
Bombay ( <i>Presidency</i> )	123,059	19,672,642
Burma	230,839	12,115,217
Central Provinces and Berar	99,823	13,916,308
Coorg	1,582	174,976
Delhi	557	391,828
Madras	142,330	41,405,404
North-West Frontier Province	13,418	2,196,933
Panjab	99,222	19,974,956
United Provinces of Agra and Oudh	107,267	47,182,044
<b>Total, Provinces</b>	<b>1,093,074</b>	<b>244,659,370</b>

States or Agencies	Area in sq miles 1911	Population 1911
Assam State (Manipur)	8,456	346,222
Baluchistan ( <i>Agency Tracts</i> )	80,410	420,291
Baroda State	8,182	2,032,798
Bengal States	5,393	822,565
Bihar and Orissa States	28,648	3,945,209
Bombay States	63,864	7,411,675
Central India Agency	77,367	9,356,980
Central Provinces States	31,174	2,117,002
Haidarabad State	82,698	13,374,676
Kashmir State	84,432	3,158,126
Madras States	10,549	4,811,841
Mysore State	29,475	5,806,193
North West Frontier Province ( <i>Agencies and Tribal Areas</i> )	25,500	1,622,094
Panjab States	36,551	4,212,794
Rajputana Agency	128,987	10,530,432
Sikkim	2,818	87,920
United Provinces States	5,079	832,036
Total, States and Agencies	709,583	70,888,854
Total, India	1,802,657	315,548,224

## CHIEF GROUPS OF THE ABORIGINALS

Taking the chief aboriginal tribes we may group them in

(1) Western, (2) Central, (3) Southern, (4) Eastern

Under (1) we have the Bhils and Bhilalas, 1,096,376

In addition to these the census gives us 675,329 as Domiciled How far (if at all) these latter are untouchable is not clear

The main group is (2) the Central It comprises

Gonds	2,917,150
Santals	2,138,310
Ho	420,571
Kamār	314,105
Kol	344,790
Munda	574,434
Oraon	751,983
Mina	639,908
Panika	796,973
	<hr/> 8,898,224

In (3) the South we have

Khond	673,346
Kurumban	947,619
	<hr/> 1,620,965



In (4) the chief Eastern tribes are in Assam and Burma

Assam	Kachari	231,912	672,079
	Mech	115,056	
	Mikir	105,077	
	Naga	220,034	
Burma	Karen	1,102,695	2,099,641
	Shan	996,946	
			2,771,720

Out of a total of nearly 20 million aborigines the main groups mentioned above count for over 13 millions. The rest, as may be seen from the table, are divided into many small sections.

#### DIFFICULTIES OF GROUPING

To group these and even the larger sections of the Aborigines correctly as to their untouchableness is a complicated task. For instance, the Bhilalas above referred to should probably be counted out, for they are said to be regarded as a mixed race of Bhil and Rajput origin, but even here it would be necessary to find out with care how far this status is accorded to all Bhilālas. Of the Bhils we read in the *Gazetteer of India*, vol. viii, p. 101, "It is not easy to describe a tribe that includes every stage of civilization, from the wild hunter of the hills to the orderly and hard-working peasant of the lowlands. A further difficulty arises from the fact that the name Bhil is often given to half-wild tribes who do not seem to be true Bhils."

Yet another difficulty lies in the variety of occupations which may be comprised under one caste or outcaste. The Namasudras are often lumped as untouchable. But Sir H. Risley writes (*Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, vol. 1, p. 188) that they "work at anything as boatmen, peasants, tradesmen, and artisans," besides their menial occupations. This makes the information regarding occupation only approximate to facts. Broadly speaking,

by "peasant" is meant the small owner who cultivates his own or common land, by "cultivator" the labourer who may be a tenant but is more generally a regular dependent, by "shifting cultivator" the jungle dweller who moves his tillage from place to place as the land becomes exhausted, by "cooly" the regular hired labourer for cultivation or industry of any kind. But the earth-worker cooly may also be a scavenger or a field labourer.

In the case of Aborigines the information given in the reports regarding occupation is remarkably scarce. One would have expected the economic condition of these backward peoples to be of foremost interest to their able and benevolent administrators, but, as a matter of fact, a few jejune notes on livelihood and employment are often smothered by masses of detail regarding marriage and funeral customs and animistic observances.

Certain tribes of a somewhat higher standing have been included in this list, because they are designated in the census tables as animist—*e.g.*, the Mogēr and Mukkuvan of South India. The cult of the Wangars of Nepāl is designated by Risley as "a lax Hinduism, tempered by survivals of an earlier cult." This and other tribes stand on the dividing line between Animism and Hinduism.

Only a minority of the animist tribes are reached by Christian missionary effort. Among the larger ones, definite impression has been made upon the Santals, the Kols, the Mundas and Oraons, and the Karens, and to some extent upon the Bhils and Gonds. Among some smaller tribes, such as the Kharias of Assam and the Todas of the Nilgiris, effective work has been done. It would seem that the infiltration of Hinduism is more in evidence among these peoples than the propaganda of Islam, though this last is not absent.

#### CHIEF GROUPS OF THE DOMICILED UNTOUCHABLES

Among the 30 million of these people the largest groups are

Throughout North India		Chamar	11,305,713
Panjab	Chuhra	846,589	
	Megh	174,218	
			1,020,807
United Provinces	Bhangi	667,031	
	Bhar	454,427	
			1,121,458
Bengal	Hari	454,174	
	Dhanak	842,409	
	Mochi	561,777	
	Namasudra	2,087,162	
			3,945,522
Bombay	Bhil	626,158	
	Bhilala	49,201	
	Dhed	118,518	
	Mahar	3,342,680	
	Mang	700,069	
			4,836,626
Madras	Madiga	1,931,017	
	Mala	2,135,329	
	Paraiyan	2,448,295	
			6,514,641
			28,744,767

Less than 3 millions remain divided among the minor unclean castes. The "mass movement" towards Christianity has been most in evidence among the three South Indian groups and among the Chuhras of the Panjab. Next to them would come the Bhangis of the United Provinces, the Mahars of Bombay, and the Namasudras (erstwhile Chandals) of Bengal. A large number of converts have been made from the Chamars, but they form a small fraction of the whole great community. A very large proportion of the Domiciled Untouchables remain as virgin soil for missionary and philanthropic effort.

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**ABORIGINAL TRIBES OF INDIA AND BURMA BEFORE DOMICILED**  
(DESIGNATED IN CENSUS RETURNS AS "ANIMISTS")

Name	Locality	Occupation	Number
Bhil	Bombay, Baroda, Central Provinces	Hunters and cultivators	1,006,764*
Bhulala	Central India	Hunters and cultivators	89,612*
Bhurya	Bihar and Orissa	Cultivators and hunters	854,449
Chan	Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, United Provinces	Labourers, fishermen, cultivators	155,926
Chodhra	Bombay, Baroda	Nomads	68,504
Dubla	Bombay, Baroda	Nomads and labourers	168,846
Gadala	Madras	Cultivators, coolies, hunters	45,773
Gamta	Baroda	Nomads	59,508
Ganda	Bihar and Orissa, Central Provinces, Berar	Watchmen, weavers	304,826
Garó	Assam	Shifting cultivators	187,351
Ghasi	Central Provinces	Grass cutters, groomers, musicians	134,976
Gond	Central Provinces and Central India	Shifting cultivators, hunters	2,917,150
Gonr	United Provinces	Shifting cultivators, hunters	183,404
Ho	Bengal (Chota Nagpur)	Hunters and cultivators	420,571
Irula	Madras	Hunters, coolies	100,659
Jatapu	Madras	Cultivators, coolies	93,273
Juang	Bihar and Orissa	Cultivators	12,845
Kachari	Assam	Shifting cultivators	231,912
Khand or Kandh	Bihar and Orissa, Madras	Hunters and cultivators	673,346
Karen	Burma	Shifting cultivators	1,102,695
Katkari	Bombay	Cultivators, labourers	91,841
Kawar	Central Provinces	Cultivators and labourers	233,423
Kharaya	Bihar and Orissa	Shifting cultivators	148,358
Kharwar	Bihar and Orissa	Peasants and labourers	147,231
Khasi	Assam	Cultivators	120,933
Kotna	Bombay	Nomads	79,129
Kol	Central India, Central Provinces	Cultivators and migratory labourers	344,790
Kolam	Central Provinces	Cultivators	24,976
Kora	Bengal, Bihar and Orissa	Earth workers and cultivators	99,319
Korku	Central Provinces, Central India	Hunters, cultivators	177,734
Korwa	Bengal, Orissa	Shifting cultivators	52,799
Kothya	Madras	Cultivators and artisans	19,801
Koyi	Madras	Shifting cultivators, labourers	203,763
Kuki	Assam	Cultivators (?)	88,370

Kurawan	Madras, Mysore, Travancore	Labourers	224,211
Kurumban	Madras, Mysore, Haidarabad	Wandering shepherds	947,619
Lalung	Assam	Shifting cultivators	39,219
Lushai	Assam	Shifting cultivators	80,484
Mahli	Bihar and Orissa	Hunters of small game	88,704
Malayan	Madras	Exorcists, beggars	14,675
Mal Paharia	Bengal, Bihar and Orissa	Hunters and shifting cultivators	54,069
Mangar	Bengal	Cultivators, traders, soldiers	32,790
Megh	Assam, Bengal	Shifting cultivators	115,056
Mikir	Assam	Shifting cultivators	105,077
Mina	Central India, Rajputana	Peasants, watchmen, marauders	639,908
Miri	Assam	Shifting cultivators	57,792
Moger	Madras	Fishermen	43,097
Mukuvan	Madras	Fishermen	21,300
Munda	Bengal, Bihar and Orissa	Landholders and peasants	574,434
Murung	Bengal	Cultivators and soldiers	12,393
Naga	Assam	Cultivators and traders	220,034
Nagesia	Central Provinces	Cultivators	52,712
Naik	Bombay, Baroda, Rajputana	Shifting cultivators (?)	125,524
Nihal	Central Provinces	Cultivators (?)	12,493
Oraon	Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Central Provinces	Cultivators and labourers	751,983
Panika or Pan	Bihar and Orissa, Central Provinces	Weavers and cultivators	796,973
Pardhan	Central Provinces	Cultivators, musicians, criminals	118,677
Poroja	Madras	Cultivators	98,598
Rabha	Assam	Shifting cultivators, labourers	79,756
Rajwar	Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Rajputana	Field labourers	192,613
Rona	Madras	Cultivators, traders, soldiers	39,166
Santal	Bengal, Bihar and Orissa	Cultivators	2,138,310
Sauria Paharia	Bihar and Orissa	Shifting cultivators	64,617
Savar	Bihar and Orissa, Madras, Central Provinces, Central India	Cultivators and nomads	582,342
Tipara	Bengal	Shifting cultivators	139,765
Turi	Assam, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa	Basket makers	99,378
Varli	Bombay	Shifting cultivators, labourers	192,609
Yanadi	Madras	Labourers	121,839
Yerrana	Coorg	Hunters and labourers	18,264
Yerukala	Madras	Vagrants and criminals	88,319
		Total	19,680,667

\* A minority of Bhils and Bhillās classed under Domiciled Untouchables

## CASTES INCLUDED AMONG DOMICILED UNTOUCHABLES

Name of Caste.	Locality	Occupation	Number
Bhangi	United Provinces	Scavengers	667,031
Bhar	United Provinces	Labourers	454,427
Bhil	Bombay, Baroda, Central Provinces	Labourers and cultivators	626,158*
Bhilala	Central India	Labourers and cultivators	49,201*
Chamar	Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Bombay, Central Provinces, Panjab, United Provinces, Central India, Central Provinces, Rajputana	Leather workers and shoemakers	11,305,713
Chuhra	Panjab	Labourers and scavengers	846,589
Dhanak	Bihar and Orissa, United Provinces, Panjab	Labourers and cultivators	842,409
Dhed	Bombay, Baroda, Rajputana	Labourers and scavengers	118,518
Dom	Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, United Provinces	Scavengers and vagrants	898,541
Halal Khor	Bihar and Orissa	Scavengers	20,607
Hari	Bengal, Bihar and Orissa	Scavengers	454,174
Katia	Central Provinces	Labourers and watchmen	41,997
Madiga	Madras, Haidarabad, Mysore	Leather workers	1,931,017
Mahar	Bombay, Central Provinces, Haidarabad	Field labourers	3,342,680
Mala	Madras, Haidarabad	Field labourers	2,135,329
Malayan	Madras	Field labourers	64,973
Mang	Bombay Central Provinces, Haidarabad	Leather workers	700,069
Megh	Panjab, Kashmir, Rajputana	Weavers and leather workers	174,218
Mihir	Central Provinces	Scavengers	25,526
Mochu	Bengal	Leather workers	561,777
Namasudra	Bengal	Labourers, peasants, traders	2,087,162
Paraiyan (Pariah)	Madras, Travancore	Labourers and scavengers	2,448,295
Pulayan	Travancore	Field labourers	262,416
		Total	30,058,827

\* The major part of the Bhils and Bhilalas are enumerated under animists

# THE ASIATIC REVIEW

*APRIL, 1920*

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## THE TURKISH QUESTION

BY THE RIGHT HON AMEER ALI

THERE are a hundred million Moslems under the rule of our Sovereign. In India alone there are eighty-two millions, in Egypt, if I am not mistaken, some twelve millions. Although the Shiahhs do not regard the Sultan as their Caliph, and in India number only about ten millions, in India they appear to be absolutely united with the Sunnis in their present feelings with regard to Turkey. It has been wrongly represented in England, and I believe on purpose, that the Shiahhs at this moment are not actuated by the same sentiments which animate the vast Sunni population. So far as I know there is absolute unanimity throughout the Moslem world on the question of the retention of Constantinople and the province of Thrace in the hands of the ruler of the Turkish State, who is the religious head of the vast Sunni congregation, amounting, at the lowest estimate, to over two hundred and twenty million people. The feeling which is surging over the whole of India regarding Turkey and the Turkish Caliphate is a factor for consideration, which no statesman, in my opinion, can ignore.

British administrators, who have been in direct touch with the people of India, can estimate its intensity, and have already raised their voice against the danger of trampling upon it. They have shown in emphatic terms the fatuity of the idea that it is a factitious agitation. Those who

wish the British public to disregard the living sentiment of their Moslem fellow-subjects are wilfully shutting their eyes to an extremely grave situation that has arisen within the Empire in the past fifty or sixty years. They are wilfully trying to delude the people of England to suppose that this living sentiment is of no significance, that it is a mere "shadowy terror."

At the gravest crisis in the war, when doubts and apprehensions had grown up in Moslem minds as to the designs and intentions of the Allies respecting Turkey, Mr Lloyd George, speaking in the name of the British nation and the Empire as a whole, said "Nor are we fighting to deprive Turkey of its capital nor of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace, which are predominantly Turkish in race." These words, deliberately and solemnly uttered on January 5, 1918, had the effect of allaying the panic which had arisen among the Moslems, who had lavishly given their wealth and unstinting help to the British cause, their doubts and apprehensions were removed. They accepted the declaration of the Prime Minister as a solemn pledge given by, and on behalf of, the British Empire that Constantinople, Thrace, and Turkey Proper would be left intact and uninterfered with. To raise an outcry against the fulfilment of this pledge after full advantage of it had been taken by Great Britain, would be regarded by the Moslem world as the greatest breach of faith. Moslem soldiers laid down their lives in the cause of England in the firm belief that the word of England would never be broken, and if at this juncture, at the demand of a section of the press and people of England, the pledge is to be broken, the effect, to my mind, would be disastrous.

I have stated the point of view from which I look at the question as a British citizen. I think it right to say a few words regarding Turkey. It is extraordinary that Englishmen do not see the absurdity of the fulminations against Islam and the right of the Ottoman Caliph to the religious headship which his family and his house have held



for over four centuries. The fact remains that the Sunni world, which includes by far the largest proportion of Moslems, accepts him as *de jure* and *de facto* Imam and spiritual head. Constantinople has been the capital of the Caliphate and of the Turkish Empire ever since 1453. It is now covered with Moslem institutions, with Moslem shrines, mosques, mausolea. It has become a Moslem city, and is regarded as a sacred city, sacred by its associations and traditions to the Moslem world. It is certainly not so sacred as Mecca and Medina, but in the eyes of Islam, from the shores of the Atlantic as far towards the East as the Pacific, it is loved and venerated next to the Holy Cities, it is lovingly called Islambol, which is the name by which it is commonly known. This is not a new word. It has existed ever since its capture by Muhammed II, and a reference to it will be found in the well-known work of Professor Grosvenor, the American author.

Adrianople is also regarded as a holy city. To drive the Turk from Constantinople and Thrace, which is, as Mr Lloyd George has stated, predominantly Turkish in race, would be a degradation to the Caliph and would be regarded as an insult to Islam. Is it to be wondered at, then, that the threat should create immense and vehement feeling in the Moslem world? The French, with their practical common sense, realize this. It is strange that in England, which holds in her hands the destinies of three to four times as many Moslems as France does, there should be such violent animosity where the feelings of the King's Moslem subjects are concerned.

There is another point. The Turks have been called cruel rulers, and they have been accused of committing terrible crimes. On the other hand, the Turkish rulers gave to the Jews, when they fled from the gibbet and the stake of Christian Spain, a generous asylum. They guaranteed to their non-Moslem subjects the fullest toleration, and secured them the freest enjoyment of their com-

## *The Turkish Question*

munal and religious rights    Muhammad II , who captured Constantinople, granted them a charter, which has been renewed time after time    Greeks, Armenians, and Jews have prospered in their dominions, and have enjoyed the rights and privileges from a time when the word toleration was unknown in Europe    Even at the time of Alexander Pope, the poet, the Roman Catholics in England had to pay double land tax    The Turkish capitation tax on non-Moslems was lighter in comparison to the burden of the revenue on the Turkish Moslems    The Turkish rulers have ruthlessly suppressed revolutions and risings fostered almost always from outside, but is there any other nation which has not been ruthless in repressing rebellion ?    What about Russia ?    Fair-minded people must remember that there are always two sides to every question, and Turkey has not been allowed a hearing up to this time

## CONSTANTINOPLE AND ARMENIA

### *Interview with H E BOGHOS NUBAR PASHA*

WE found His Excellency at the Carlton Hotel very much absorbed in Armenian affairs, as was to be expected. But he proved quite ready to give, for the benefit of the readers of the ASIATIC REVIEW, an account of what the interests of Armenia were, and how these interests could be secured.

When the subject of the Golden Horn was broached, he weighed his words with the utmost care. "Unfortunately, the question of Constantinople has sometimes been connected with that of Armenia. But these two questions are distinct from each other. Constantinople concerns the interests of the Allied Powers. Yes, there above all the European interests are at stake. The Powers have had to weigh the respective merits of the two solutions, whether, that is to say, the Turks should remain in Constantinople or otherwise. It was not for the Armenians to take up any position with regard to this question, and we have carefully avoided doing this."

"And what, your Excellency, are the vital interests of Armenia?"

"They may be stated quite briefly. To unite in one republic Erivan with those provinces of what was Turkey which contained a majority of Armenians by race before the war. That is our aim. And to enable this Armenian republic to live, we ask for an outlet on the Black Sea, which is absolutely vital to allow our new state to develop and prosper. No," he added, "I will not give the name of any particular port. I will confine myself to what I said, an outlet on the Black Sea."

"And what is your attitude with regard to Cilicia?"

"There we have always accepted gladly the provisions of the Sykes-Picot agreement. By that agreement Cilicia comes under the protection of France. That means, as I understand it, that Cilicia will be liberated from the influence of Turkey, and at last be restored to tranquility. In fact, that has been distinctly promised to us, and that is why Armenian volunteers fought under French command in the Syrian campaign, and our aspirations have always been well understood."

"Do you anticipate any dangers in the north?"

"No, there the position is satisfactory. Our good friends the Georgians have been our neighbours for centuries, and our relations are very cordial. Besides, it is to our mutual advantage. We have a common interest to withstand the dangers of Bolshevism and Pan-Turanianism."

"And what would be your policy towards a reformed and a restored Russia?"

"That would depend on the policy they adopted towards Armenia. I do not think the Russians can have any pretensions to Armenia after they have been presented with the *fait accompli* recognized by the Peace Conference. As for Persia," he proceeded, "there again we can look forward to an amicable understanding—the Persians retaining their old Western frontier."

"Has the time passed for an American mandate?"

"As far as we are concerned, not at all. We should accept it most gladly. But it does not rest with us. The point is, are they now willing to do it? Even to-day we ask for the mandate of a Power under the League of Nations. That is our demand before the Supreme Council. I do not know whether the American Senate will revise their decision. But there is still hope that they will help in other ways. Perhaps they will be able to find another formula."

"What is your Excellency's view about the Greek claims in the Pontus region?"

"I am glad to say that we are on the best of terms with

the Greeks, whose experiences of Turkish misrule bear a tragic resemblance to ours Trebizond is in any case not one of the Armenian provinces, and we make no claims whatever in that district ”

Boghos Nubar Pasha is a veteran, but he has borne his years of indefatigable labour well His career at the head of large agricultural and irrigation works will be long remembered in Egypt, where his father was Prime Minister at the time of the British occupation And Armenia is indeed fortunate to have as the spokesman of her policy in this critical time such an able and experienced statesman, whose counsel will always be moderation, and to whom exaggerated claims are anathema

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## THE FUTURE OF THE ARMENIAN STATE

### *Interview with the ARMENIAN PATRIARCH at Constantinople*

THE Armenian Patriarch, who is responsible for the spiritual welfare of all the Armenians in Turkey, explained at once that life had been made intolerable for his fellow-countrymen there “And the blame must be laid at the door of the Turkish régime It is our earnest prayer to be liberated once and for all The problem of Constantinople has nothing to do with it For us the Turkish question is closed once the Armenian State has become recognized ”

“And what of the Kurds ?”

“It must never be forgotten that the Kurds have been our neighbours for centuries They are herdsmen, who tend their flocks on the hills They are illiterate, have not even an alphabet for their language But they have been instigated to cruelty from without We respect their desire for independence, and when they have been freed from baneful external influences we hope to be in good neighbourly relationship with them—as of old There is no reason why it should be otherwise We are on excellent terms with the Persians, the Armenians in Tabriz have

always been very well treated. The same is the case in Georgia. There the Armenians are largely the moneyed class. But the Georgians welcome them, and, in fact, the Mayor of Tiflis is usually an Armenian."

"And what are the internal problems of the new Armenian State?"

"There will be no land question—that is one thing! The land is owned by the peasants, who are on excellent terms with the dwellers in the towns. There is no Bolshevism. Every village has its primary schools, and secondary education will be immediately taken in hand. Then the Republic of Erivan is organizing a University. Besides there are mines—and here I should like you to say that European financial interests will be much more effectively safeguarded in an Armenian State than under the old régime. Can they not see that the civilized Armenian will have far more requirements under a settled government, and that concessions granted to Europeans will thereby become much more valuable?"

"What do you calculate is the present Armenian population?"

"I can read you out this table

Armenian Provinces	100,000	Caucasus	300,000
Cilicia	200,000	Syria	100,000
Constantinople	150,000	Persia	20,000
Smyrna	100,000	Erivan	2,000,000
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	550,000		2,420,000

"And you look forward to a prosperous future?"

"We shall need help at first. Our rich country has been brought to the verge of starvation. We stand in need of the first necessities of life. But our people are hard-working and intelligent, and these qualities reap their assured reward under good government."

## CORRESPONDENCE

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“A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR”

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### THE FUTURE OF TURKEY

SIR,

Knowing the interest which you take in the settlement of the Turkish Question, I hope that you will grant me the hospitality of your columns to refer to several points which, so far, do not seem to have received the attention which they deserve

The decision taken by the Supreme Council, and the policy supported by Mr Lloyd George in the House of Commons on February 26, in regard to the future of Constantinople are perfectly justifiable for several distinct reasons

I The British Government was absolutely pledged by the words used by the Premier, who said in his address to Trades Union delegates on January 5, 1918 “Nor are we fighting to deprive Turkey of its capital or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace, which are predominantly Turkish in race. We do not challenge the maintenance of the Turkish Empire in the homelands of the Turkish race with its capital at Constantinople” These words were bound to be considered as a pledge and not a mere inducement to Turkey to go out of the war, and they stand out as unique in their importance because

(a) They constituted, not an answer to a question in Parliament or a casual statement, but they formed part of a definite declaration of war aims—a declaration made when a statement of policy was widely demanded by public opinion throughout the British Empire

(b) The Prime Minister said at the time that "although the Government are alone responsible for the actual language I propose using, there is a national agreement as to the character and purpose of our war aims and peace conditions," and he claimed to be "speaking not merely the mind of the Government, but of the nation and of the Empire as a whole"

(c) Whilst the above-quoted statement of policy preceded President Wilson's address to Congress of January 8, 1918, it formed the counterpart of that address, which contained the "Fourteen Points" The twelfth of these "Points" included a statement that "The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty"

(d) The armistices with Turkey and with the other enemy countries were concluded on the basis of these declarations by the President of the United States and by the British Premier, and Mr Lloyd George was returned to power when the terms of the various armistices were already known

2 The Turks constitute the largest element in the population of Constantinople

3 It would undoubtedly have been resented by our fellow-subjects—the people of India—vast numbers of whom have fought loyally for the Allied cause and for the cause of freedom, had the Turks been driven from Constantinople and had the British pledges upon this subject been broken For this reason alone, and because it is our primary duty to work for British interests rather than for those of any other people or country, it seems that the policy adopted is justifiable and necessary

4 The setting-up of an international régime to *govern* Constantinople would have been far more difficult than the establishment of *control* of the Straits or even of the bands of territory by which they are bordered

5 The banishment of the Ottoman Government to Broussa, Konia, or Angora, would have decreased the



opportunity for Turkish intercourse with Western civilization

6 The control of the Turkish Government can be made much more real on the Bosphorus than were that Government to have its seat in a city located far from the sea, and therefore where the existence of the international fleet in the Sea of Marmora would and could have no direct influence

I think that the opponents of the Turkish retention of Constantinople have made a great mistake in confusing this issue with their advocacy of the cause of the non-Turks especially the Christians, of Asia Minor. Thus, whilst Constantinople constitutes the *pièce de résistance* of the Eastern Question so far as Europe be concerned, the future distribution and government of Asia Minor are, in fact, far more important to the various subject-races of Turkey. There must be an Armenia—an Armenia sufficiently large and strong to enable it to live, to develop, and to accommodate, not only the actual inhabitants of the areas concerned, but also those who may desire to immigrate into them from other parts of the present Ottoman Empire or elsewhere in the world. On the other hand, so far as the remainder of Anatolia be concerned, it would seem vastly preferable to leave all this territory to Turkey, among many other reasons because this would avoid the establishment of two rivals—Italy and Greece—as neighbours in Asia, and because, whatever may be the advantages possibly to be gained by the latter country at Smyrna, these advantages will be far more than counterbalanced by the creation of a new Cretan Question—a question which must react against the interests of the large number of Hellenes, who will in any case, and of necessity, remain domiciled in territories belonging to Turkey

Yours faithfully,

H CHARLES WOODS

February 28, 1920

## THE NEAR EASTERN CHAOS

BY LIEUT -COLONEL A C YATE

THERE is no question at this moment more prominently before the world's mind than the future of the Turkish Empire. We have seen it discussed from every conceivable point of view, and especially from the point of view of the Indian Moslem community, generally estimated at seventy millions—the bulk of whom, as some discerning cynic remarked, know little and care less about the subject. We Christians, professed or otherwise, in our ignorance are just aware that the great Moslem sect is the Sunni, and the next to that the Shi'a. The former embraces for the most part the Turk, Afghan, Indian, and African, and the latter the Persian. Two of His Majesty's Indian subjects, His Highness the Agha Khan and the Right Hon Syed Ameer Ali, have especially stood forward as the protagonists of the Indian Moslem in his sympathy with the Sultan of Rum and his claim to the Caliphate. It is difficult for us Christians to get into the back of the minds of these Moslems. General Tyrrell acutely remarked that he presumed that the sympathy of the Indian Moslem with the Sultan and his Caliphate was due to the fact that the Indian had the good fortune never to have come under Turkish misrule. We have witnessed marvellous specimens during this war of diplomatic ineptitude, such as the gift of Constantinople and the Straits to Russia, and of Cyprus to Greece—an ineptitude that would almost seem to justify the apotheosis of Sir Auckland Geddes at the expense of all the brain power of our orthodox diplomats, were it not that it was the Asquith Cabinet and not the Diplomatic Service that was responsible for those colossal blunders. What we

are now doomed to witness is the Supreme Council revoking its judgment on the Turk, while Armenia in vain appeals for protection. It is a deplorable spectacle, alike unworthy of the British nation as the greatest and most successful of all the peoples who have explored and assimilated the East, of France, which from the sixteenth century onward had sought to dominate the Levant, and, under Napoleon, had aspired to the acquisition of Constantinople and the invasion of India, and of the United States of America, which, having for a century maintained a great missionary and educational service in Asia Minor and Western Persia, and founded famous colleges at Stamboul and Beyrout, lack the inspiration and spirit to undertake the protection of the Christian communities which lie between the devil and the deep sea of the Turco-Persian borders, take they the form of Sunni or Shi'a. The Allied administration of this territory, where again "three Empires meet," viz., Turkey, Persia, and what was Russia, has been feeble in the extreme. This can probably be traced to that lack of unity which is so apt to be the radical weakness of an alliance, and in the post-war alliance the potentially strongest and yet the intrinsically weakest factor has been the United States of America.

When the Central Asian Society drew up its programme for the session 1919-20, it was obvious that the Armenian question demanded attention. To that end Boghos Nubar Pasha, the head of the Armenian delegation in Paris, was approached and invited to nominate an Armenian competent to lay their case before the Society. This His Excellency was so good as to do, and on December 17, 1919, at the rooms of the Royal Society, Burlington House, Mr Funduklian delivered an address which, whether viewed as a *résumé* of Armenian history or an exposition of Armenian sufferings, was a masterly performance. In the absence of Lord Carnock, owing to indisposition, the chair was ably taken by Col. Sir Thomas Holdich, ex-President of the Royal Geographical Society, and to the pertinence of his comments in the discussion were added those of Lord Lamington, Brigadier-

General Sir P M Sykes, Mr J A Malcolm, President of the Armenian Association, and Mr Athelstan Riley Did space admit, I would gladly reproduce here what was said on that occasion As far as I had opportunity of judging the daily and weekly Press paid no more attention to the opinions of these experts than they did a month later when, in the same place and before the same Society, Mr Roland Michell, for thirty years Commissioner of Limasol, stated the case for the retention of Cyprus, and in that was supported in the most emphatic language by two ex-High Commissioners of Cyprus, Sir W F Haynes Smith and Sir Charles King-Harman, and by Sir William Mitchell Ramsay It is indeed a fortunate thing in these days when a good cause can look for support to some more broadly-minded advocacy than that which the average editorial columns of to-day afford I am told that the retention by Britain of Cyprus is settled, and I am further told that the French Government has stipulated that Cyprus shall not be surrendered by Britain to Greece or anyone else, until France has been consulted In view of the French interest at stake in Syria and Cilicia, this is perfectly reasonable

Before I quit the subject of Armenia, let me invite those who take a real interest in its past history to refer to volume vi, pp 89-91, of Sismondi's "Histoire des Républiques Italiennes" The mercantile importance of Armenia in the Middle Ages is there duly indicated, and what is more curious, the identity in faith and doctrine of its Church with that of Rome asserted, and the assertion confirmed in the following note "L'Eglise d'Arménie avait été réunie à l'église catholique en 1145, 1190, and 1247" I do not by this mean to contend that there is any virtue in this *rapprochement* between Etchimiazin and Rome It would seem that the Armenian Church, even when most threatened by the sword of Islam, never acknowledged the Papal supremacy Christianity to my thinking stands on its own base, regardless of sect

The American Church can speak for the American nation

though the White House and the Senate are gagged. When the political tie between the two great sections of the Anglo-Saxon race is paralyzed by party dissensions or presidential aspirations, the ecclesiastical bond draws the twain into closer alliance, and extends their united sympathy both to the Greek and the Armenian Churches, and if to the Churches, then also to the peoples. We trust that this united effort will prevail. How can the Supreme Council maintain the Turk at Constantinople in the face of the renewed massacres in Cilicia? But, as the Rev Harold Buxton so clearly states in *The Times* of March 3, the great defaulter in this case is the United States of America. I quote the concluding paragraph of his most telling report, as an eye-witness of what has happened at and around Aintab, Marash, and Adana. "The question remains as to who is responsible for the new betrayal of the Armenians. It is natural enough to blame the French, and they bear their full share of the responsibility. But it was from across the Atlantic that we looked for a mandatory power for Armenia, if not for Asia Minor. The President gave us ample reasons to count on an American mandate. It was and is the only true solution. Without it, the same horrors will be repeated, and thousands of women and children will die a death of torture and agony. I maintain that no settlement of Turkey can be satisfactory without America in it. Can nothing be done even at this eleventh hour to stir America? Can she sit and watch the horrors unmoved?" Such an appeal ought to move a heart of stone.

With the Turk we have erred as with the German. We took no hostages, and when we did take them, then incompetent warders let them escape to Azerbaijan. Quite irrespective of official reports we have had private evidence of the Turkish brutality to our Kut prisoners. When Captain Keeling, whose romantic narrative of escape from Kastamuni had been read before both the Royal Geographical and the Central Asian Societies, told us what he witnessed on the march from Kut into Asia Minor, Major-General Sir Charles

Melliss confirmed his statements in the most emphatic language (Incidentally I may add that Captain Keeling, in addressing the Central Asian Society, stated that the assertion of *Truth* that Sir Charles Townshend could have fought his way out of Kut through the Turkish lines was an absolute and ignorant lie ) For that brutality, the very thought of which makes the heart sick, no penalty has been exacted, and now all those who know anything of the Middle East know that we are face to face with a situation in which lack of unity and great diversity of interest are very grave sources of weakness Let us glance for a moment at the rival ambitions that rack Asia Minor, The Caucasus, Mesopotamia, Syria, Kurdistan, and Arabia at this moment We have Italian and Greek, Turk, Tartar, Georgian and Armenian, Kurd and Nestorian, Arab and Frenchman, Denikin, with his face to the Bolshevik and behind his back the hostile Moslem, and Mustapha Kamal dominating all eastern Asia Minor, each and all of these fighting for his own hand, and the European Christian Powers not in unison to constrain or restrain the Asiatic, but rivals of one another There is nothing new in that In the sternest days of the Crusades neither prelate nor prince of Europe could put faith in his neighbour, and after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the Sultan of Rum was as often as not allied with one Prince of Christendom against the other

The chaos which prevails in parts of Europe and Asia is of that type which, so to speak, can only shake and shape itself into order We must frankly admit that the task imposed upon the Supreme Council has been one which transcends the ordinary standard of human provision and organization To see this we have but to concentrate our minds on events since the Armistice, and then add a heavy percentage for the difficulties and drawbacks of the American defection and the agitation of the Indian Moslem

## THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY REPORT

BY J D ANDERSON

IT is with no little diffidence and reluctance that I comply, as best I can, with our Editor's request that I should write a few words on the subject of the Report—it occupies five bulky volumes—of the Commission on the University of Calcutta. It is a Report which should be read by all who are interested in university education in all parts of the Empire. It has been very ably analyzed and discussed in *The Times Educational Supplement* by a writer who is evidently intimately acquainted with Indian educational problems. I doubt if I can add anything of interest or value to what is there set down. Moreover, since I was honoured (and a little frightened) by having this task allotted to me, the Educational Department of the Government of India has issued a Resolution explaining how the Report presents itself to the minds of the responsible authorities at Delhi, and how far they propose to give effect to the recommendations of the Commission in the legislative action which they intend to take. However, it is possible that not all readers of the ASIATIC REVIEW will see the Resolution in question, and so I may be excused if I venture to explain, to the best of my ability, what has been found to be lacking in the methods of university teaching in Calcutta, and how it is proposed to provide a tentative remedy.

In the first place may I venture to say that critics of the Report have been a little too ready to assume that there is something very rotten in the state of higher education in Bengal. If we are to judge the Calcutta University by its fruits, by the best results of its teaching, we need not despair. Educated Bengalis have not done badly in the world-wide struggle for distinction. A Bengali was the first to enter the Indian Civil Service, another was the first to

attain to the responsible post of a Commissioner of a Division, a third was the first selected to be Chief Secretary of another province than his own, a post requiring much tact, discretion, and knowledge of men. Another was the first Indian to be made a member of His Majesty's Privy Council, and we all rejoice that Lord Sinha's services "to his king and country" (to use his own words) were rewarded by elevation to the peerage. We all hope that a famous Bengali man of science may shortly be elected to the coveted honour of Fellowship of the Royal Society. I might multiply other instances of distinguished success in academical or political life. I must at least, mention the names of Sir Asutosh Mukerjee, lately Vice-Chancellor of the university, and author or instigator of many interesting additions to its curriculum, of Pandit Hara Prasad Sastri, and among juniors such already distinguished scholars as Mr Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Mr Kiran Chandra Mukherjee, Mr Jnanendramohan Das, and many others. A university that can boast such graduates as these has not wholly failed in the promotion of sound learning.

Again, though no one can be more conscious than I of the drawbacks of imparting instruction in a foreign language, let us at once admit that the teaching of English has had wonderful, and not altogether expected, results in the evolution of Bengali literature. In Europe we are familiar with the influence which foreign literatures exercise over the growth of indigenous literary expression. In Bengal there has been no mere aping of English style. But the quick wits and vivid imaginations of Bengali writers have seized with avidity on the various forms of literary art presented to them by English poets, novelists, essayists, dramatists. Not only men, but women also, some of the latter graduates of Calcutta, have written books, which manifestly owe their matter or their manner to what has been written by English men or English women. Let me repeat that there has been no mere imitation. In almost every case there is an individual style, and a style which is unmistakably Bengali.



Everyone, even here, recognizes the characteristic genius of a Tagore. But there are others also. One of the most remarkable novelists now living is Mr Sarat Chandra Chatterjee, whose gifts of humour and pathos are not only his own, but are part of his national heredity. What he has learned from English is simply a new vehicle of self-expression, the novel, and no one who has read his admirable tales will deny that he has bettered the lesson. I will not labour my point. I merely wish to assert, very earnestly, that, so far as the élite is concerned, Calcutta has been justified by the literary exploits of her children. She may well be proud of them.

But that, of course, is not to say that she could not, and should not, have done better. But here again we must discriminate and not be hasty to condemn. There have been two impediments. One, a necessary defect at the beginning, was too stringent control by the Government. The university was professedly and of set purpose an imitation of Western models, and specifically of the great University of London. Its teachers and professors and governing body were in 1857, the date of its foundation, and for many years later, without practical experience of the system they were set to copy. The other limitation was that of expense. Calcutta is still one of the cheapest universities in the world. Where this means a deficiency (as it too often does) of libraries, laboratories, and other essential aids to learning, no defence is possible. But for frugality and simplicity, there is something to be said for an Eastern climate. Even the now condemned system of living in messes and lodgings (which, after all, is the system still followed by the University of Paris, venerable mother of our own Oxford and Cambridge) had its advantages, as any reader of modern Bengali novels may see for himself. Some day soon, I am told, we shall all be reading Tagore's "*Nauká Dubi*" in a translation. Read it, and you will see that a Calcutta undergraduate's life in "*digs*" is not without its agreeable humours and compensations.

Yet, when all is said, the method of teaching in Calcutta had glaring imperfections, frankly admitted by all, not least by the most grateful *alumni* of the largest university in the empire, and (perhaps excepting one or two American universities) in the world. It was too large. It supplied higher education to a population roughly the same as that of the United Kingdom. It had, oddly enough, almost exactly the same number of undergraduates, some 26,000, as have all our universities put together. But there were, naturally, many differences. The proportion of women students was, of course, small. That was a defect which only time could remedy and is rapidly remedying. But the majority of the students were of the three great literary castes—Brahmans, Vaidyas, and Kayasthas. Not only were the lower, the indigenous castes, Namasadras and others, grievously lacking, but the Mahommedans, who in Bengal are more than half the population, were only present in small numbers. The number of undergraduates was not only ten times as great in proportion to the literate population as in the United Kingdom, but it was greater still in proportion to the three great castes which almost monopolized higher education. Now, none of these castes is, as a whole, very wealthy, and their sons were compelled to make their university education a stepping-stone to earning their livelihood. Here again the social and economical state of the country made it difficult for Calcutta students to take up technical training for professions, learned or other. The law, as we know, attracted many. Bengal is a litigious land, and Bengalis are acute and learned lawyers. Phisic and surgery attracted a few, but, save in Government service, medicine has not, till lately, had many prizes, unless in one or two of the larger towns, among a population which was content to accept the traditional and empirical art of heading as practised by *kavirajes* and even ignorant impostors. That, after all, is a stage from which we have not wholly emerged ourselves. Over 22,000 out of a total of 26,000 followed purely literary courses as contentedly as our own

fathers took *Litteræ humaniores* or the Classical Tripos in our own universities. These, we are told, correctly enough, "do not fit them for any but administrative, clerical, teaching, and (indirectly) legal careers." The economic state of the country was largely to blame for this. But that economic state is rapidly being altered, and, moreover, the outturn of merely literary students was growing more than could be absorbed by the limited professions of the country.

Worse, however, remains to be told. Admission to the university was regulated by a portentous matriculation examination, the largest and probably the worst examination of its kind in the world. It dealt with no less than 16,000 candidates every year, supplied by 700 high schools, whose whole purpose was to cram boys for this examination. From time to time attempts were made to raise its standard and widen its subject, or at least to mark candidates so as to ensure some sort of fitness for university instruction. The result, naturally enough, was parental cries of dismay, newspaper agitation, social pressure, appeals to a paternal and good-natured government. Even men who could see the evil of the system disliked the remedies applied, and we must admit that, so applied, at short notice and perhaps with some appearance of irresponsibility, they gave some just cause for complaint. Imagine yourself in the place of a Bengali father of small means who had put himself to great expense in sending his boy to the best school out of the 700 available, and you will sympathize rather than condemn.

But there could be but one result. Thousands of lads, generally about eighteen years old, were admitted when they were still quite unfitted for higher education. Hence the first two years of the undergraduate's life were spent in preparing for the "intermediate examination," which was, in fact, the true matriculation, since the two years were spent in learning or relearning what ought to have been properly imparted at school. The examination itself was terribly destructive and got rid of half the total number. They

were not wholly disappointed, it was true, since even permission to study for the intermediate could be made the door to the humbler forms of clerical employment India is (or was) a frugal land, and many an honest gentleman performs tasks for a pittance which his like would scorn in Europe But the schools became cramming shops for the matriculation, and the colleges of which the university is composed, lectured and crammed for the intermediate examination, and that in subjects which demanded a retentive memory rather than an ingenious and healthily developed intelligence The university, as such, confined itself to examining undergraduates belonging to the affiliated colleges which supplied its examiners It only taught graduates, in what we may call post-graduate courses

But the colleges, again, were not as our colleges at Oxford and Cambridge They were, in fact, exaggerated, enormous day schools without any of the facilities for games or instruction which our great day schools supply They had not any adequate libraries, and some pathetically amusing examples are given of the kind of rubbish which found its way to their shelves They were, as the Commission says somewhere, "barracks of lecture rooms" The same might, perhaps, be said (if we omit mention of libraries and laboratories) of the Sorbonne But the Sorbonne supplies the finest and most stimulating lectures in the world, given by men to whom lecturing and exposition are a fine art, to be practised with sedulous devotion The lectures in Calcutta were, frankly, cram lectures, intended to enable students to pass examinations rather than to evoke their latent love of learning That, with the study of text-books (largely learned by rote) was the sort of training the ordinary undergraduate got Think of the admirable material that must have been wasted, when you consider the performances of those whose natural talent and love of learning prompted them to supplement such arid nutriment by private reading and the friendly aid of harassed and overworked teachers. Tutors there were none Hostels were few and ill found

The colleges were of different sorts. Some, such as the famous Presidency College, with its 1,036 students, were Government institutions. Some, such as the Scottish Churches Colleges, were maintained by missionary societies. Others, of more modern origin, were supported by private liberality, or, more commonly, as a commercial speculation. Of its kind, the teaching was not wholly bad. But over them all was the university to which they were affiliated, and the whole education of Bengal was under the dead hand of a stereotyped form of literary examination. Besides the colleges in Calcutta itself, there were the country colleges at Dacca and elsewhere, similarly employed and at least as badly handicapped by want of equipment and books. Throughout, the teachers, lecturers, professors were few, badly paid, and, even in frugal Bengal, correspondingly wanting in that social consideration which is the teacher's right in all civilized countries.

Dacca is now about to possess its own university, and Bihar has its own. These will be what we are to call, it seems, "unitary universities," possessing no subsidiary colleges. Further than this, neither the Commission nor the Government is prepared to go at present in the direction of new universities. But both see the absolute necessity of getting rid of the intermediate stage of education. This might have been done by insisting on a higher standard of education in the 700 schools, and by altering the matriculation education. But to handle the reform of 700 schools at once, to provide equipment and teachers for them all, is a task to frighten any Commission, not to say any Government with a pocket which has a limit in size.

The Commission has invented a device, which has been accepted and acted on by the Government, and this, indeed, the Commission calls "the very pivot of our whole scheme of reform." They propose to create a new institution, to be called "the intermediate college." This will not only render it unnecessary to make too drastic a change in the 700 schools, but will supply a valuable means of disposing of

those colleges, metropolitan or other, which are not fitted to form part of the reformed university This intermediate college will admit boys of sixteen or older, who have passed the "high school examinations," an amended version of the old matriculation examination It will supply a course of two years to its students, who, if they pass a new "intermediate college examination," will then go on to the university proper Sometimes these new intermediate colleges will be, in fact, the upper classes of high schools Elsewhere they will be separate colleges, and, let us hope, the foci of future provincial universities Assam and Rajshahi and Chittagong ought soon to have their own universities Chittagong especially, with its nobly situated madrassa and its large and prosperous high school, has long been marked out as a future university town, standing as it does where Hinduism, Islam, and Buddhism meet, to say nothing of the large population of Portuguese Roman Catholics

When these changes are effected, Calcutta will still be as great in point of numbers as Oxford and Cambridge put together, and will still possess at least 6,000 pupils The Government resolution above quoted evidently aims at making the colleges of which it will be composed into something like the resident colleges with which we are familiar There will be three different classes of colleges The "incorporated" college will be, in fact, a department of the university, with its own buildings, financed by the university, and dealing with some particular subject, such as law or science Then there will be the "constituent college," a fully admitted member of the university, and, thirdly, the "temporarily affiliated college," taken experimentally and destined, in case of failure to come up to the new requirements, to be relegated to the class of "intermediate college," which is, in fact, an addition (perhaps not a wholly happy, if necessary, addition) to either Western or Eastern systems of education As to the provincial colleges, it seems likely that they will either in due course

become provincial universities, or will fall to the status of intermediate colleges.

Perhaps the most important part of the Government Bill to deal with the University of Calcutta is that which removes it from the direct supervision of the supreme Government of India to that of the Bengal Government. This follows naturally enough on the removal of the capital to Delhi. But it comes also at an opportune time when His Excellency Lord Ronaldshay is Governor of Bengal. It is well known that his Lordship is an expert in education, and has taken a deep and personal interest in the educational problems of the province over which he presides. He will make, as all will admit, an admirably competent and sympathetic Chancellor. Under him will be, for the first time, a whole-time and adequately salaried Vice-Chancellor. Of other proposed changes I have not left myself room to speak, but those who are interested in the subject will most conveniently read of them in the Bill now being drafted, when it becomes law.

I hope I have said enough to show how interesting a departure in education the Commission has inaugurated. Let me add that we must all hope that Calcutta will soon be able to supply all the educational needs of the province. It is good that the educational élite of Bengal should come to Europe for postgraduate study, just as we may hope that Calcutta may, before long, provide courses of learning for our own young Orientalists, whether trained at the older universities or at the new School of Oriental Studies, which has made so admirable a beginning under Sir E. Denison Ross. Already, under the fostering care of the venerable Sir Asutosh Mukherjee, some beginning has been made in this direction. There is no need, at this time of day, to defend the system of English education in India. It has given its proofs. But it must be admitted that in matters of Oriental learning, and especially in the study of the modern languages of India, the Indian universities have failed to supply means of study to their own children, and especially to foreigners. In these branches of learning they

should be (as they admittedly are not at present) pre-eminent, and should draw students from Berlin, Paris, and London. Some beginning has already been made, and the Calcutta University Press is about to publish chrestomathies of Prakrit and various modern languages, which will be received with gratitude and delight by Indianists all over the world.

I am painfully aware that this is a very brief and ineffectual summary of one of the greatest educational experiments of our time. I have had to omit much that is of importance and interest—as, for instance, the carefully prepared schemes for the better payment and instruction of the teaching staff, and the recruiting of the European agency that will still be necessary. Let us hope that some of our best teachers will welcome this opportunity for serving the Empire by helping to educate young Bengal. They will never regret the choice. Nowhere in the world will they meet more intelligent and lovable pupils, if they know how to win their affection and regard. Bengal, like the rest of India, is greatly changed. But the old traditional relations between *guru* and *śiṣya* still survive, and anyone who has taught young Bengalis of either sex will agree with me in saying that better, quicker, or more studious learners do not exist in any country than in Bengal. English teachers in Bengal can follow the example of one of the greatest and most inspiring members of their tribe, the late Professor E. B. Cowell, and learn while they teach. If he had one fault as a teacher of Sanskrit, it has been said, it was that he pronounced the classical language of India as his own teachers, the pandits of Bengal, pronounce it. That, to me at least, seems no defect, since it made the language of the Ramayana and Mahabharata a living tongue to him. Where he, the greatest Sanskritist of his day in England, learned, others may learn too, and it is heartily to be hoped that Calcutta, with the help of adjacent Navadvīp, one of the most ancient seats of Sanskrit learning in India, may become a world-centre of Oriental scholarship.



## THE INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT\*

BY JOHN POLLEN, C I E

OVER India, the most conservative country in the wide wide world, Britain has determined to introduce and gradually establish a democratic system of government on Western lines. She has rejected without consideration the suggestion that it would be better to proceed on Eastern lines, by restoring "India" to the descendants of her chiefs and kings, pledging them to set up Indian parliaments and to reign as limited monarchs under British suzerainty, and, instead of this, she aims at handing over the direction of domestic affairs throughout a vast population of various races, following various religions and speaking many tongues, to parliaments springing from and representative of all classes. This is a stupendous undertaking, and needs the cordial co-operation of Briton and Indian in a common purpose to render it a success. But if it can be accomplished successfully, it may result in United India's becoming a great, prosperous, and well-governed, self-governed country loyal to the British Crown and capable of rendering far-reaching services to all humanity.

Every one who wishes India well and desires to see her prosper and progress must hope that to the King-Emperor, and his people and servants, Indian and British, may be granted grace and strength in close co-operation to accomplish the mighty task now definitely set before them.

But the difficulties in the path have to be faced fairly and squarely, pitfalls have to be skilfully avoided, and obstacles courageously overcome. What these difficulties, dangers,

\* "A History of the Indian Nationalist Movement," by Sir Verney Lovett, K C S I. London John Murray, Albemarle Street, W. 1920

and pitfalls are Sir Verney Lovett has set forth without bitterness and in a spirit of true brotherhood and determined co-operation in his "History of the Indian National Movement"

He has extenuated nothing—nor has he set down aught in malice—but has told the story of the rise of Indian Nationalism as a plain unvarnished tale

However rapid the spread of this Nationalism may have been, he points out that Hindu society is still divided into castes and sub-castes to a great extent rigidly separated from one another by customary occupations and social status, and that, with very few exceptions, these castes neither intermarry nor eat together, that there are still in India many millions of comparatively ignorant cultivators and labourers who carry on most of the work of the country, and that, as the Honourable Mr Muhammed Ali Jinnah has recently declared, "India is still a vast continent inhabited by 315 millions of people, sprung from various racial stocks, professing a variety of religious creeds and in various stages of intellectual and moral growth"

And in the administration of such a country as this, Mr Jinnah admits, there stands out first and foremost the great fact that British rule in India with its Western character and standards of administration, "while retaining absolute power of initiative, direction, and decision, has maintained for many decades unbroken peace and order in the land, administered even-handed justice, brought the Indian mind, through a widespread system of Western education, into contact with the thoughts and ideals of the West, and thus led to the birth of a great and living movement for the intellectual and moral regeneration of the people", while Mr Mazumdar, for the Congress, further admits that the Government of the Crown, "actuated by its benevolent intentions, introduced, by slow degrees, various reforms and changes which gradually broadened and liberalized the administration and restored peace and order throughout the country," and finally succeeded in establishing "a form of adminis-

tration which in its integrity and purity could well vie with that of any other civilized country in the world, while the security of life and property which it conferred was, until lately, a boon of which any people might be justly proud "

These are deliberate public admissions, and not merely "conventional phrases about the blessings of British rule "

These latter-day Congress utterances merely accentuate and confirm the declaration of Mr Subramania Aiyar, who, in speaking to the first resolution of the first Indian National Congress in 1885, declared that "by a merciful dispensation of providence India, which was for centuries the victim of external aggression and plunder, of internal civil wars and general confusion, has been brought under the dominion of the great British Power        The rule of Great Britain has, on the whole, been better in its results and direction than any former rule    Without descanting at length upon the benefits of that rule, I can summarize them in one remarkable fact—that for the first time in the history of the Indian population there is to be beheld the phenomenon of national unity among them, of a sense of national existence" This was the declared opinion of this representative of Madras in his robust manhood, although, in his old age, he allowed himself to write to President Wilson denouncing *British misrule and oppression in India*, and declaring that "officials of an alien nation, speaking a foreign tongue, force their will upon us , they grant themselves exorbitant salaries and large allowances , they refuse us education , they sap us of our wealth , they impose crushing taxes without our consent , they cast thousands of our peoples into prisons for uttering patriotic sentiments—prisons so filthy that the inmates die from loathsome diseases "

This letter stands out in strange contrast, not only with this writer's own declarations at the first Congress, but with those of Dadabhai Naoroji (the founder of the East India Association, and the first Indian member of the British Parliament), who presided over the second Indian National

Conference in 1886 Dilating on the blessings of British rule, Mr Dadabhai Naoroji said

“Let us speak out like men, and proclaim that we are loyal to the backbone, that we understand the benefits British rule has conferred on us, the education that has been given to us, the new light that has been poured on us, turning us from darkness into light, teaching the new lesson that kings are made for the people, not peoples for the kings, and this lesson we have learned amidst the darkness of Asiatic despotism only by the light of free English civilization” This, like the declaration of the Maharajah of Ulwar at the Delhi War Conference, “that Britain has wished India well and has guided her destinies for 160 years,” is a true saying, and it is true, as Sir Verney Lovett maintains, that Britain’s sons in India, aided by Indians, have established and maintained order, have dealt with obstacles, have taken risks, and have worked indefatigably for progress. Necessity has trained them to carry out what is really practicable in the interests of all communities, and if their point of view were better understood “we should hear less of the doctrine that, unlike Britons at home, who are amiable philanthropists, Britons in India are specious oppressors” Sir Verney Lovett’s “History of the Indian National Movement” was in the press before the India Bill became law, so he could not deal with the latter in its final stage, but he hopes that the bitterness for which some circumstances are working may pass, and that His Majesty’s appeal will stimulate active perception of the public good. Never, he declares, has the message been clearer that the interests of Britain and India are essentially the same

From the recent utterances of Mrs Besant in India with regard to the Government of India Act, and from the new attitude she and Mr Jinnah have taken up towards the Extremists, it would almost seem that Sir Verney’s hopes may be realized, and it is clear that Mr Surendra Nath Bannerjea, at any rate, is determined to do his best to allay

the bitterness and, at the same time, to prevent the recurrence of the pain and humiliation which Mr Romesh Chandra Datt felt as he stood among representatives of free and advancing nations of the earth, rejoicing in their national greatness, and realized that he alone, as an Indian, had no place among them

Addressing the Rotary Club in Calcutta on January 31, 1920, Mr Surendra Nath Bannerjea said that the Indian Moderate party believed that the connection of England with India was a Divine dispensation ordained for the holiest and highest of ends, that India would never attain to the full height of her stature, or take her place amongst the nations of the earth, and fulfil her allotted portion in the evolution of humanity except by and through *her association with the freest Empire the world has ever seen*. He therefore appealed to representatives of the European Community, members of the Empire, friends of human freedom, to stand by Indians, to co-operate with Indians in securing the success of the great experiment, on which the honour of England is staked and on which the future of India so largely depends

It is true, as Sir Verney Lovett admits, that educated Indians have had some reason to complain of social barriers and that avoidable incidents occur from time to time. But the existing wall of reserve has been buttressed largely by the extreme sensitiveness and racial dislike often cherished by Nationalists themselves, who desire that no Indians of prominence should be associated with Europeans even in social matters, quite forgetting that in the India of the future the European will be present as well as the Indian, and that the desire of the Indians "to be in their own country what other people are in theirs," specially appeals to the fair-minded Britisher in India as well as elsewhere. "Mending of manners" on both sides is devoutly to be desired, for, as Lord Cromer has remarked, "it would be difficult to say which course of conduct has done more harm in dealing with Easterns—discourtesy and violence on the one

## *The Indian National Movement*

hand, or maudlin sentimentality and naïve credulity on the other” Both extremes should be scrupulously avoided, and in the spirit of the King-Emperor’s proclamations and appeals Indians should be regarded and treated as fellow-citizens and gentlemen, and inasmuch as trust begets trust, they should be trusted, unless and until proved unworthy of trust Close co-operation for a common purpose between Britons and Indians in a spirit of fair play is the key to the whole position and constitutes the best guarantee for the success of the great experiment approved by Parliament and undertaken by the Government of India

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

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### REFLECTIONS ON THE GOVERNMENT OF WILD TRIBES OF THE NORTH-EASTERN FRONTIER OF INDIA

By LIEUT -COLONEL JOHN SHAKESPEAR, C M G , C I E , D S O

IN presuming to discourse to you on the government of Wild Tribes, I do not venture to claim to be an expert in the art, but during a year's sojourn in bed, for which I have to thank the hated Hun, I have thought a good deal over my experiences and have been able to look at events more placidly than I did at the time, and to see better the other fellow's point of view. So when I saw our Hon Secretary's invitation to members to volunteer to read papers, I was bold enough to think that possibly my reflections might be interesting and even useful.

This paper is not based entirely on my own experiences, but also on those of others with whom I have discussed the difficulties inseparable from governing Wild Tribes, and of getting one's way with the powers that be.

Before we go any further, let us take up the question of how it comes about that Wild Tribes have to be governed. The governing of these folk is a troublesome, often thankless, and always expensive matter. Why, then, does the Government of India take it up? Well, certainly not because it likes it. In fact, the Government of India will never take over the administration of any of them until every other expedient has been tried. These Wild Tribes round the borders of our settled districts are restless folk with short memories. A raid on a peaceful village

across the border is accompanied with very little danger, and is almost sure to result in considerable profit, while the honour and glory attached to the killing of human beings is great—in fact, among some tribes, no girl will marry a youth till he has brought back a head, and among others the killing of an enemy is one of the qualifications necessary for the soul's passage to the happy hunting grounds. Therefore it is not to be wondered at that there are many volunteers whenever a raid into our territory is proposed. The raiders, starting probably from a village several days' journey from the border and travelling swiftly by little-used paths, appear suddenly before dawn, burst into the village, kill the men, old women and infants, capturing as many young women and children as they can, and, loading on them as much loot as they can carry, are well on their way home before the news of the raid has reached the nearest Frontier outpost.

Now, what can be done to punish such folk? Occasionally luck may be on our side—a British officer may happen to be sufficiently near to pursue the raiders, inflict some loss and recover the captives, but such luck is rare, and generally the raiders reach their village in safety, to be received with joyous shouts and much beer as befits such heroes. Then there are two courses open to us, either to sit still and strengthen the frontier outposts—a “wait and see” policy which is perhaps even more fatal on the Indian Frontier than elsewhere—or to organize an expedition to punish the offenders. Even if such an expedition is entirely successful, its effect is but small. A few villages and granaries are burnt, very few of the enemy are seen, and still fewer are killed. It is safe to say that the punishment inflicted by even the biggest of our expeditions is forgotten in less than a generation. What wonder, then, that raids recur with monotonous regularity, till the patience of Government is exhausted and the order goes forth to occupy and administer the country!

A military force enters the hills, and probably meets



with little serious opposition, as the tribes all feel sure that the force will soon retire as all other forces have done before. So when the unhealthy season begins the general and his merry men return home to enjoy the rewards of their toil, leaving a young Political Officer and a small garrison in a fort on a hill-top to represent that mysterious being the Sarkar, and to introduce *pax Britannica* among tribes which are pretty sure to be in a constant state of war among themselves.

Let us now consider the matter of governing Wild Tribes from two points of view—viz, that of the Wild Tribes themselves, and that of those who govern them. This latter point of view is really dual, for there is that of the officer on the spot, and that of the Government behind him. These two views often differ considerably.

The position from the Wild Tribes' point of view is this. Some have already made a sort of submission to the General sahib, but when they made it they hardly bargained for the permanent occupation of their country. Some think the sahib may be bamboozled into helping them in their quarrels, some stand frigidly aloof. All feel sure that the foreigners cannot remain long, they'll soon eat up all the food they have brought and then they'll go away. So all incline to wait and see what will happen.

Next to take the Government's point of view. First there's the bill to pay, which, like most of our bills, is bigger than it was expected to be—still, there has been little resistance. There seems a fair chance of all being well and that a spell of economy may enable it to recoup the heavy expenses of the expedition. It fully means to do its duty by its new subjects, but it has many other things to think of, many troublesome folk to deal with, many calls on its purse, and altogether it rather feels it has done enough for that portion of its charge for some time to come.

Now for the Political Officer's point of view. He is on trial, very much on trial. The Wild Tribes on one side are watching him very closely, and on their opinion of him

much depends, on the other side Government also is watching, certainly with no unkind thoughts—in fact, sympathetically, but still critically. And all is so new, so very new, possibly he has been previously employed on the frontier and may know something of the tribes close to it, but now he is in contact with many others. If he is lucky, he may know a little of the language of one of the many tribes he is expected to rule, but probably even his interpreter cannot speak more than two or three of the dozen different dialects used, and the interpreter himself is only an ignorant, semi-wild tribesman, who can be trusted to get drunk whenever he is urgently required to keep sober.

At first our young friend has not much scope for showing his capabilities as a governor, for, as I have said, his future subjects are like Brer Fox, lying low and waiting, but he'll have lots to do organizing the machinery of his little kingdom, for he is probably responsible for the whole show—supply, commissariat, transport, public works, posts and telegraphs, medical and sanitary arrangements. Fortunately he is probably not overburdened with instructions. To govern with equity and good conscience, untrammelled by rules, laws or conventions, were my first orders.

So there they are. The Wild Tribes shy and fidgety like unbroken colts, Government anxious to do its duty, but burdened with many other cares, and the Political Officer zealous and eager, but with a great deal to learn, and much impressed with the importance and the difficulties of his post.

“Just you touch me, and see what you'll get” is the attitude of the tribes. The Political Officer is not anxious for a row. He knows Government wants to keep down expenses, and that if he can get along without asking for help from outside it will be counted unto him for righteousness, so if he is wise he will go cautiously. As a good rider, however fearless, tries the paces of a new and timid mount before taking him over jumps, so the

Political Officer extends his control little by little and tightens it by degrees. Let us hope that he has been supplied with a sufficient force, sufficient not only in numbers but also in quality, equipment and transport, and that it is entirely at his disposal. If he has a detachment from the Regular Army, he can trust to its being efficient and well equipped, but he will not be able to move it about as freely as if it were military police. The equipment, etc., of a police force will probably cause him much anxiety, but, on the other hand, the men will quickly get accustomed to the country and will become hardier, more useful, and require less mothering than regular troops, who only come for a short time and cannot be expected to take as much interest in the work as police, who are going to make the country their home. So, on the whole, let us hope that he has an efficient and sufficient force of military police at his disposal. I say at his disposal, for it is all-important that he should be able to move them about without asking anyone's permission. Fifty men on the spot to-day may *prevent* an outbreak occurring, but once it has occurred it may take many hundreds to quell it. Let us also hope that our young Political has sufficient European officers to help him. I always reckoned a good British officer as equivalent to a hundred rifles. A keen youngster from a good public school, sound in wind and limb, can generally be trusted to make a good Frontier Officer if wisely treated.

Though things will probably remain fairly quiet for a bit, trouble is sure to come, go he never so warily, a time will come when our Political has to fight or lose his prestige, and once this is lost, the sooner he packs up his traps and quits the country the better for all concerned. What will cause the trouble? Well, it may be that a truculent chief prefers to settle his quarrels in the old way, by raiding his neighbour's village, to laying the case before a fair-skinned boy of half his age, or declines absolutely to pay any house tax, or supply any labour, or to come in to answer a charge

brought against him by a lesser chief, or even by one of his own subjects. There are numberless causes of quarrel. If our Political is wise, he will so manage matters that the quarrel shall be over a matter of first importance, and he will select the most powerful opponent available. For when it comes to justifying his action in the eyes of Government, there must be no question as to his having been right to fight, and by selecting a powerful opponent he will considerably lessen the chances of having to fight again. With the same object, he will make sure that the fight shall be to a finish, and he will do all in his power to make the punishment real, he will not be satisfied with merely storming stockades and burning empty villages, which can easily be rebuilt. He will consider carefully what form of punishment the enemy will feel most, and that he will inflict, not out of any feeling of anger or hatred, but simply because he knows well that it is the surest way to prevent a recurrence of the trouble. A Lushai once said to me, "Fighting you is like a man cutting the mist with a dao—the dao goes through, but it leaves no mark, we ambush you, and shoot more of your men than you do of ours, but it makes no difference—you go on, and when the rains come you go back to your comfortable forts and we are left in the jungles with no houses, no food, and no land ready for cultivation. Who will fight you again?" Then I knew my policy had been the right one.

One point he should never overlook—he must never negotiate a peace. No chief must be able to say, "We both got tired of fighting, so we agreed to stop." Once a chief elects to fight, there must be no terms but unconditional surrender. This does not necessarily mean a very long war, for if the war be carried on wisely, the hostile chief will gradually lose his followers, and become a fugitive of so little account that he may be ignored till an opportunity occurs to capture him—perhaps by a rapid night march. Even if he has to wait five years, as I did once, it is better than negotiating a peace.

In imposing punishments it is necessary to distinguish very clearly between offences committed before and those committed after submission. Theoretically, after any area has been taken over, all its inhabitants become automatically British subjects, but I never treated a chief as a rebel unless he had formally made his submission previous to the outbreak of hostilities. Theories our young friend will do well to abjure. In dealing with his Wild Tribes let him stick to facts, especially when the time comes, as it very soon will, for him to decide what he shall call on his people to pay and to do. In explaining matters to them, let him be quite candid. He will do well to keep always before them that he is not there for his own pleasure, that Government did not occupy their country just for fun, but in consequence of their folly in continually raiding peaceful villages. Now that the Sarkar has taken possession of their country, the wisest thing they can do is to obey his orders. He must be very careful not to pamper them, but, on the other hand, he must steer clear of needlessly giving offence. He must study his wild folk till he really understands their point of view and can "think black." Evenings spent round the beer-pot are by no means wasted, much useful knowledge can be picked up.

It is impossible to give any infallible rule for acquiring the necessary influence over these Wild Tribes. Colonel Lewin, the Pioneer in the Lushai Hills, gained such an influence over the people, that forty years after his departure he was spoken of as the greatest of the *sahibs*, yet lesser men, who tried to imitate him in his free-and-easy fellowship with those he had to govern, failed miserably. Let a man be honest, straightforward and sympathetic, not easily excited, but patient and persevering and ready to learn, anxious really to know the folk he has to govern, and he will find that they will respond, and gradually learn to trust and love him.

It is, of course, most important to get as many of his subjects to co-operate with him as possible. Let him

begin with the Chiefs or village Elders, or Priests, whoever are the acknowledged leaders. Let him be very careful not to undermine their authority. Their rule and administration of justice may be rough and not quite according to our ideas, but the people have been accustomed to it, and let him meditate seriously over the problem of governing without these recognized rulers. He and his few assistants, with all the will in the world, will never be able to cope with the work unaided. You may think that it will be easy to avoid interfering. I can assure you it will be difficult, almost the most difficult task in governing such tribes is to ensure to the individual a reasonable amount of justice, without utterly ruining the prestige of the native rulers. These rulers, be they chiefs or elders, will feel, coming under our rule more than anyone else, however gently they are treated, their position must suffer to some extent. Before, they were probably autocrats to a very considerable extent, this they no longer can be. It is only natural that they should feel the change acutely, especially the older and more influential among them. There will probably be some old and obstinate irreconcilables with whom nothing can be done, but with patience, by sympathetic and tactful handling, the majority of the chiefs may be won over. Some compensations may be found for their lost autocratic powers, and though it will be long before they cease occasionally to bemoan the departure of the good old days, yet they will see the wisdom of abstaining from opposition, and should gradually become useful assistants in the governing of the country, and their value cannot be overestimated.

In the administration of justice our young friend must beware of introducing any legal procedure, pleaders, vakils and such like must on no account be admitted into his district. If he finds that any of the folk he has to govern really believe that the swearing of a false oath will bring down on them God's wrath, surely he will be wise to make full use of this belief, and if he finds that a section has faith

in an ordeal, he will be unwise to discredit it Let me give you instances

My friend the Hon Mr W J Reid, now Commissioner of the Assam Valley, when he was in charge of the Naga Hills, had a complaint laid before him by the Elders of a certain village that they suspected that men of a neighbouring village had stolen their cattle, they had no proof, but they asked him to call on the Elders of the suspected village to swear on the lives of the whole village that no one had stolen the cattle These Elders, on being told of the accusation, returned home and took an oath of each householder on the lives of his household that none of them had stolen the cattle, and having done this, they came back and in the presence of their accusers, with all due solemnity swore the necessary oath, whereupon their defamers paid up the customary fine and the case was apparently over, but after a very short time the victorious elders returned with woebegone countenances and reported that three men having died in their village, they knew that someone had sworn falsely, and finally three men had confessed to the theft They now tendered four animals for each of those stolen and demanded permission to expel the thieves from the village, not for being thieves, mind you, but for having sworn a false oath The three men were taken to the village boundary and driven over with only a cloth apiece, wives, children, houses, land and all they possessed were forfeited, and if they ever recrossed the boundary they were to be liable to imprisonment In old days they would have been liable to death In that particular only did Mr Reid deviate from the tribal custom

Once, just as the complainant was about to take an oath before me on the lives of all his family, the latter forcibly withdrew the case and the complainant, saying they refused to have their lives risked

A curious scene comes to my memory The sun has just risen, and it is bitterly cold, we are grouped round the sides of a deepish pool in a small river, two men stark

naked are standing shivering in the water. On a big stone, where the two shivering mortals can see him, stands a young British officer with his hat raised. The shivering ones are heroes in their own way: they are the head men of two villages who are about to uphold the claims of their rival villages to certain lands by the ordeal of diving. One is an expert swimmer, the other, as he plaintively explains, hates water. "Is your claim just?" asks the young officer. "Certainly" replies the poor unwilling diver. "Then fear nothing, God will protect you," is the cheering reply. As the sahib's hat goes down both head men duck under the water. The expert, vain in his own strength, swims about below the surface while the other squats down and grasps a huge boulder. The water is so clear that every movement is apparent. In a very short time pride has a fall: a considerable portion of the swimmer's body emerges, and with a yell his opponents claim the verdict and rush into the water, whence they drag their nearly exhausted champion. "I told you God would protect you," says the sahib, "and you see He did." Such methods of settling cases may not be in accordance with High Court rulings, and they certainly do not make the legal profession a paying one; on the other hand, they are approved of by the people, and they do not encourage or tempt people to lie. Where such customs do not exist, or in cases unsuitable for such methods of adjustment, a magistrate must trust to his common sense, he must not be hampered by any rules of procedure, and let us hope that should any sentence of his be appealed against, the officer disposing of the appeal will remember that the opinion of one who knows the people he has to deal with, and who has heard the evidence and seen the witnesses, should never be overridden because the standard of proof may not be up to that insisted on by a High Court. The effect of the release, by order of some superior power, of a criminal, whom all know to have been justly convicted, is most prejudicial to



the prestige of the local officers, and greatly increases their already difficult task

Besides the customs connected with the administration of justice, our young governor will find many others of which at first sight he cannot approve, but let him not be in a hurry to attempt to alter them. Let him remember that they have grown up gradually, and the fact that they exist is *prima facie* evidence that they are suitable to the conditions and the stage of development which his people have reached. The more extraordinary a custom appears to him, the more carefully should he study it from all points of view, and the more carefully should he observe its working before interfering with it. He will often find that there are many safety valves which effectively prevent evil resulting from a custom which at first he may think very objectionable. If after due consideration he decides that a change must be made, he will be wise to remember that there are other ways of killing a wasp than sitting on it. Much depends on how he proceeds, and his success or failure will depend on the degree to which he has learnt to understand his people.

The number of subjects which early force themselves into prominence is too great to be dealt with in this paper. One of the first to be tackled is communications, a good system of roads with rest camps at convenient distances is absolutely necessary and will go far towards settling the district. A well-laid-out headquarter station, too, is important, laid out with a view to possible expansion and carried out in such a way as to impress the natives with the idea of the permanency of his sojourn, for the notion that the foreigners will soon retire dies hard, and till it is dead he will find it a great obstacle to progress. For roads and buildings labour will be needed, and must be got as much as possible locally. Probably at first it will have to be impressed. So many days' labour a year from each house will be one of the terms to which every village must agree. Impressment of labour is open to objection, but in many

cases it is unavoidable, and it has its uses. And it must be remembered that such a district as I am dealing with brings in practically no revenue, and has been occupied at a great financial loss solely because its inhabitants have refused to abstain from raiding the adjoining settled districts. It is therefore only just to make the natives, as far as they can, supply the necessary labour, etc., so as to keep down the cost of the administration, which has to be met out of taxes levied on the settled districts. While insisting on the supply of labour and of rice for his garrisons, a wise ruler will take every possible precaution to avoid the system being abused, and do all in his power to make it as little irksome as possible. He must look into every detail, and punish very severely anyone guilty of oppression or extortion. Let him always remember that in the eyes of his people he only is responsible, and that if corruption and extortion and oppression thrive they put him down either as a knave for winking at it, or a fool for not detecting it.

Education should be thought of early. Here again beware of theories, and stick to facts. Let nothing be taught which is not useful. A sound system of translation of the local tongue is a *sine qua non*. For some time reading and writing and simple arithmetic should suffice. Better many such schools than one school devoted to turning out over-educated, bumptious youngsters, too proud to work, a curse to themselves and everybody.

The question of the admission of missionaries will soon crop up. Good sensible missionaries are of great value but they should not be given assistance by Government. In their own interests they must be left to make their own way with the people, when the people realize that these sahibs are not connected with Government they will be much more inclined to confide in them. A Government officer, however much he may gain the love and respect of his people, remains a ruler, one whose duty it is to punish offenders and to exact Government dues, whereas wise

missionaries may earn the title of "The Natives' Sahib," as they have done in the Lushai Hills. Once established they will naturally take the lead in educational matters, and when the time comes for something more than the simple schools of early days they will be ready to start them, so that the district may be self-supporting in the matter of clerks and minor officials in all departments, and specially capable youths may be sent to colleges to qualify for higher posts. A school for the sons of chiefs may soon be necessary, but care must be taken that the students are not unfitted for the posts they are destined to occupy, by over-education and pampering.

Technical education should be started at once, not by founding an expensively equipped school in which theoretical instruction forms a big feature in the curriculum, but by placing likely lads in the District Engineer's workshops and giving the head carpenters, smiths, and stone masons small bonuses for instructing them.

You may smile when I suggest a newspaper as a necessary aid to civilization, but I found it very useful. In the first place, reading matter in the local language will always be scanty, and at first almost non-existent, therefore a monthly paper is sure to be read by the few scholars in each village. A tale or two, all the local news, reports of any cases which it is thought may be useful as examples, any orders the Superintendent may wish widely known, will be found to provide quite enough copy.

The medical officer and his assistants must be pressed into the service of civilizing the wild folk. A sympathetic and competent doctor babu at a distant outpost will do much towards establishing friendly relations with the people, and a clever surgeon has unlimited opportunities of relieving pain and helping to reconcile the savage to the occupation of his country. Of course, as in every other branch, the customs of the people must be studied.

At Aijal, with a view to the impending visit of the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, our M O laboured

hard to get a female ward added to his hospital. It was finished just in time, and all the ladies were duly placed therein on the morning of the inspection, but the great man's back was hardly turned before they were all back in their old quarters with the men. "We don't have separate rooms in our own houses. What can the Doctor sahib mean by trying to keep us separate here?" said the ladies.

The difficulty of getting the people to believe in the permanency of our stay has already been referred to. Another point on which it is difficult to convince these simple and at the same time shrewd folk is that their sahib and the sahib ruling the next district are servants of the same King. When that great man, Sir Bretram Carey, who died, alas! a short time ago, came over from the Northern Chin Hills to assist me in quelling my rebellious Lushais, one of my loyal chiefs asked me casually whether Carey and I came from the same village. Not quite appreciating the reason which prompted the question, I said, "No, our homes are some distance apart." Another Chief then said to my questioner, "You see I was right. It is as with us, each sahib has a village of his own. Our sahib and the Burma sahib are friends this year, but next year they may quarrel, and then they will not help each other." Here in London such a remark only sounds stupid, but it expresses a very common belief among wild folk who come in contact with us for the first time. They are very observant, and being themselves rigid followers of tribal customs, they attribute any differences they observe in the habits, modes of dress, or procedure of different officers to their belonging to different tribes. And this notion is all the more natural when, as in the Chin Lushai Hills, two adjoining districts are under different Governments. It is important to impress on the people the unity of purpose of all Government officers, and too much stress cannot be laid on constant meetings of officers of adjoining districts. At these meetings all disputes between persons on opposite sides of the border should be settled in open

court, the two officers sitting together. The chiefs or head men of one district should be introduced to the officer in charge of the other, and be suitably entertained, so that they may go away with the notion that the sahibs are really brothers who will always support each other. These wild folk are very astute, and will always play off one officer against another if they can. One of the chief offenders, to punish whom General Tregear's column was sent from Chittagong in 1889, was known there as Jahuta. This astute individual went to meet General Symons, who was coming from Burma, with presents and offers of submission and promises of loyalty, and for a time seemed likely to escape his well-merited punishment, as General Symons did not know that the obliging and friendly Jahwit was the same as Jahuta the raider into Chittagong territory.

I need hardly say that such districts as I am dealing with cannot be governed from an office chair at Headquarters. Every part of the district must be visited at least once a year. As far as possible cases must be settled on the spot and in the village of the defendant. This is important. All these folks are litigious, and the temptation to prefer frivolous complaints will be lessened if the complainant has to trudge to the village of the defendant to get his complaint inquired into.

A matter for very serious consideration is the provision of outlets for the energies of the people. You cannot expect a community of enterprising head hunters suddenly to change into smug agriculturists, but the Khonoma men, who fought the hardest of all the Naga tribes, and the Siyins, who held out so long in the Chin Hills, have developed into enterprising traders, travelling right across India in search of particular beads, etc., to sell which they tramp from village to village throughout the hills. A son of a Lakher chief obtained a cross-cut saw through the kindness of Mr Whalley, at that time Subdivisional Officer at Lungleh, and amassed quite a fortune, being able to supply planks with profit to himself at rates which

revolutionized the local market. Encouraged by my versatile friend Lieutenant-Colonel Cole, the Lushais have embarked on potato cultivation and poultry farming, much to their advantage. To make people anxious to work you must show them the value of money by bringing articles which they want within their reach, especially within the reach of the ladies of the community, therefore, shopkeepers should be encouraged and assisted to establish themselves at all your posts, but on the money-lender you must keep a very tight hold.

Before I close, I venture to say a few words regarding the duty of Government to these backward districts. As I have inculcated sympathetic treatment of his subjects by the District Officer, so I plead for kind treatment of him by the powers that be, and speaking from my own experience, I can say that he generally gets it. The life of an officer in one of these frontier districts is not a very easy one, especially in the early days, and he has many difficulties that can hardly be appreciated by those at Headquarters, therefore, I plead he should not be too strictly dealt with for errors of procedure or for occasional errors of judgment, provided only that his heart has been right. Also I plead that he be not burdened with correspondence or called on to justify everything he does. Let him know clearly the general lines on which you wish him to administer his charge, and then leave him a free hand as to details, and above all do not weaken his hands by reversing his decisions, unless they are obviously wrong and the matter is serious. If you cannot trust him, have him out of the billet at once, but do not move your frontier officers more often than you can help, and always remember that personality counts more in these districts than cleverness and knowledge of codes.

As regards money, it is false economy to starve a new district in the matter of roads and buildings. Good roads and buildings save lives in a bad climate, and facilitate administration and control. It is sometimes argued that

in taking over one of these wild tracts, we should be content to police it, without making any attempt to develop it or civilize the people, which are expensive operations. Such a policy, however, is radically unsound, and involves the permanent retention of a large garrison, to overawe the warlike savages, whom a more broad-minded policy would have converted into peaceable, easily controlled folk.

It is unwise to introduce Departmental control too soon, as it means binding the hands of the local officers with cords of regulations. For years it is best to leave them free, let them gradually, by working in the spirit while disregarding the letter of rules and regulations, accustom their people to wearing the yoke of civilization, so that their necks may not be galled.

Continuity of policy is all-important, therefore do not change your officers till a firm foundation has been laid, and should the permanent incumbent have to go on leave do not allow his *locum tenens* to alter his system. Nothing unsettles a new district so much as constant changes in procedure. Unfortunately, the hill districts are a *cul-de-sac* as regards promotions to the higher offices, and therefore an ambitious man must seek a transfer in due course, but even if he climbs very high up the ladder of official promotion, I am sure that he will always look back on those early years among his wild folk as the happiest in his life, when each morning brought its surprise, pleasant or the reverse, and his days were crowded with fresh interests and new problems, when he first tasted the dangerous delights of responsibility and power.

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Monday, December 15, at the Lincolnsire Room, 7A, Tothill Street, Westminster, at which a paper was read by Lieut Colonel John Shakespeare, C M G , C I E , D S O , entitled "Reflections on the Government of Wild Tribes of the North-Eastern Frontier of India" Sir J Bampfylde Fuller, K C S I , C I E , occupied the chair The following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present Sir Frank C Gates, K C I E , C S I , Sir C Sankaran Nair, C I E , Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Herbert Holmwood, Mr P C Lyon, C S I , C I E , and Mrs Lyon, T H S Biddulph, C I E , and Mrs Biddulph, Mr C E Buckland, C I E , Mr A Porteous, C I E , Sardar Khan Bahadur Rustom J Wakil, I S O , Lady Katharine Stuart, Mrs Hope Shakespeare, Mr T C Goswami, Miss Webster, Mrs and Miss Shakespeare, Miss Vertue, Major Wilkins, Mr Gerald Ritchie and Mrs Ritchie, Mrs Edward Ritchie, The Rev Dr Durham, Mr M C Chagla, Mr S S Gnana Viran, Mr J B Pennington, Mr John C Nicholson, Mr G Owen Dunn, Colonel and Mrs A S Roberts, Mr R Grant Brown, Miss Horne, The Miss Sorabjee, Miss Sykes, Miss Swainson, Mr F C Channing, Mr W Kerr, Mr R W Kettle, Mr E B Havell, Mrs Gaussen, Mrs Haigh, Mr G M Ryan, Mr M Houghton, Mr D L Patwardhan, Mrs Collis, Mr E S Bates, The Rev W L Broadbent, and Mr Stanley P Rice, Hon Secretary

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing the Lecturer, said that Colonel Shakespeare was a specialist in the governing of wild tribes, having spent many years in ruling them, with very great success Years ago he had had the pleasure of working in collaboration with the Lecturer in Assam—a province surrounded by wild tribes—and he could safely say that in the semi-political, semi administrative work involved in the control of tribal areas Colonel Shakespeare was surpassed by none If he were asked for the secret of Colonel Shakespeare's success he would say it was because, behind a mild—and indeed, a gentle—demeanour, he concealed an inflexible purpose, in fact he had the iron hand in the velvet glove, the hand of the successful colonel, the successful schoolmaster, and of him who successfully drove a young and skittish horse

The wild tribes upon which the Lecturer was to address them were almost his own discovery, he was one of the earliest Englishmen to become resident in their hills, and the Lushai Hills district might practically be called Shakespeare land, for it might be said without much exaggeration that he had created it When he first went up into that tangle of bamboo-covered hills there was little except a few scattered villages, but before he left he had made roads, established schools, and created a headquarters



station in the middle of the jungle—a miracle of neatness, with an excellent polo ground. The wild tribes of Assam contributed several labour battalions to the service of the war. Colonel Shakespear himself sought active service, and added to his many distinctions the melancholy one of appearing before them that evening on crutches. He had great pleasure in calling upon Colonel Shakespear to speak for himself. (Hear, hear.)

The lecture was then read, and received with loud applause.

The CHAIRMAN. Ladies and gentlemen, I see on the agenda paper "The Chairman now addresses the meeting." I wish he had not to, for I should like first of all to hear what others have to say. I hope there will be some discussion on the paper. Our first thought will be that we have been listening not to an essay but an autobiography. Colonel Shakespear's notes are of difficulties he has met and the feelings he has felt during many years when he presided over the Lushai Hills district, a district of which he himself was practically the master. It is not given to many Englishmen to be able to look at an area on the map surrounded by a line of colour and feel that "I made that," but this is a feeling which Colonel Shakespear may experience. (Hear, hear.) He went amongst the Lushais when they were what are vulgarly called "savages." That is to say, they had a different code of morality from our own, with them homicide was a means of winning distinction. It is an extremely difficult thing to get people to change their methods of achieving honour. They cling to their ideals, however inconvenient. I learnt, myself, in dealing with the tribesmen of the Naga Hills, how hard it is to get people to realize that there were other means of winning pride than that of taking heads. I was amused one day, in visiting a chief, to find that he had compromised on the question. Interdicted from taking heads, he had collected a number of pumpkins which, with some splashes of colour, served to decorate his house front in the traditional fashion. He was quite proud of them.

Coming to these tribesmen from the outside—from other parts of India—I was particularly struck with their great intelligence. We call them "wild tribes" with a vague idea that they are monkey-like. Far from it. They reason extremely well, and are by no means slow in learning. One of the largest villages in the Naga Hills had, many years ago, rebelled, and there were disturbances, which led to military action. The magistrate of the district was killed. It was necessary to give the people a severe lesson, and amongst other things the Government decided to locate a small fort in the village. It so happened that when the fort was laid out, it included part of the village cemetery, since this occupied the crest of the hill on which the fort had to be placed. This hurt the villagers' feelings very greatly, it was a constant thorn in their side, and whenever I visited the district a deputation presented itself, praying me to have the fort dismantled and its guard removed from the village. I thought that, as a matter of fact, the time had come for its withdrawal, but not liking to make the concession without demanding something in return which would show that it was not made in weakness, I told them half in jest that

I would take the fort away as soon as a dozen children in their village could do a sum in compound long division ! "What is that ?" they asked I told them that it was arithmetic "Very well," they said, "but you must send us a schoolmaster", and they were quite contented when I promised to do so Two years later, on a visit to the village, I inspected the school, and found twelve children who had learnt enough in this time to qualify as propitiation, so I did my part In truth, these hill people are clever enough, but we do not appreciate their cleverness because it runs on in an imaginative line To govern them successfully you must be imaginative also, you must, so to speak, get back into the Bible They think in Biblical fashion, and the judgments which they appreciate are such as those of Solomon Colonel Shakespear's anecdote about ordeal by diving sounds absurd, but it represents ideas that have influenced ancient history very profoundly To illustrate their point of view, I will relate another experience of my own Making a visit one day to a tea planter, who was exceedingly successful in the management of his labour force, I found him paying his coolies, sitting at a table in the tea garden by the side of a tank I noticed that from time to time, before paying a coolie, he took two or three annas from his wages, and threw them into the water I naturally asked him why he did this "They are fines," he said, "for non attendance or idleness" "But why, I asked, "throw them into the tank?" "Because," he replied, "they must not think that I profit by fining them or want their money" It was what the French call "un beau geste"

Shortly after that troubles arose with some tribesmen on the northern Assam frontier An Englishman, who was expert in elephant catching, had illegally crossed their boundary in search of elephants, and had camped well within their territory without taking the precaution of "squaring" the chief They raided his camp one night, burnt one of his tents, and looted his camp kit The Englishman made a complaint to me, and I went into the case He was clearly to blame—and much to blame—for crossing the boundary, but the tribesmen had also acted very wrongly in taking the law into their own hands instead of seeking justice from the Government I was in a difficulty, but I remembered the lesson I had learnt from the tea planter I fined the elephant hunter five hundred rupees, and I asked the District Magistrate to summon the tribesmen to meet him on a cliff which overhung the river Subansin, on their border, to explain to them that they had been wronged by the Englishman who crossed their border, but, on the other hand, that they had behaved very badly themselves in offering violence instead of complaining to me of the occurrence The Englishman had been fined, and, had they complained to me, the money would have been given them in compensation The five hundred rupees was then to be shown to them, and thrown into the river This was done, and I had no more trouble whatever with these people Indeed, I was told that they spent the whole of their time ineffectually diving for the money This illustrates what they understand and respect To ordinary civilized English people a procedure such as this smacks of Ali Baba

or the pantomime, but to an imaginative mind it is seriously impressive. If you are picturesque, you will convince them, if you are conventional, you will not (Hear, hear)

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I invite discussion, and I hope that some contributions to the subject will come from amongst you

Lady KATHARINE STUART said she would like to say how very greatly she had enjoyed the Lecturer's account of the wild tribes. It had, however, occurred to her to wonder whether, looking at the thing from the tribes' point of view, they were being asked to accept something they did not understand and from which they accordingly shrank. Indians had said things to her which led her to think that that was, in part, their attitude of mind towards Western civilization. She thought it a splendid idea put forward in the lecture and also by the chairman to hold out knowledge as an inducement to them to *civilize themselves*. If you saw two children pursuing one another and approaching a precipice you would not advance towards them in a menacing manner, you would seek to allure them away from the danger by a counter attraction. Christianity when practised in all the beauty of holiness could offer such a counter attraction. The "excellence of the knowledge of Christ Jesus"

"Who taught mankind on that first Christmas Day

What 'twas to be a Man to give, not take,  
To serve, not rule, to nourish, not devour,  
To help, not crush, if need, to die, not live"

These wild tribes were child intelligences, and if the Apostle said, "To the weak became I as weak that I might gain the weak," might we not apply the principle and become a child in order to gain the children—take part in what to us was "a pretty play" and so forth? Our civilization was very imperfect, there was still a good deal of fear mingled with the love, but we were told to "be perfect," and therefore the perfect love that casteth out fear was the ideal at which to aim—we must not be satisfied to come short of it. That "civilization perfected is fully developed Christianity" is the whole truth in the judgment of the poet.

The Society of Friends had dealt faithfully with wild tribes according to the Christian ideal and with great success according to our faith it should be unto us. Human nature was a nobler thing than we took it to be perhaps, and would respond to nobleness on the part of the Western brother. God had manifested Himself to us in the form of a servant, a physician, a shepherd, a carpenter, and we could, without loss of prestige perhaps, become less the governors and more the servants of those we desired to see "lifted up for ever."

She felt how much Colonel Shakespear had done in that direction and what a blessing he must have been to those people. She hoped progress would continue.

Mr CHANNING said that as speakers did not seem very numerous, although his service in India was in a very different part, he would like to say a few words. He had been greatly interested in the lecture, and very much struck by the thorough sound sense of the recommendations

made. The particular subject he would like to speak of was that of ordeal. Some of those present who had never studied the English criminal law perhaps did not know that ordeal was not a matter solely confined to the East, but was an old method of settling criminal cases in England, and it was only about one hundred years ago that this method of deciding criminal cases was finally abolished by Act of Parliament. Ordeal was not an incident of prosecutions by the Crown against the accused, but of a charge brought by the person injured or his heir. He had, himself, had to decide cases by ordeal. Some forty-five years ago, when he was a Settlement Officer, there was a boundary dispute between his district and a native state where the boundary had never been settled, it was marked as disputed in the old maps. He and the political officer of the state spent a long time over the matter, but could not come to any decision. As it was getting dark one of the natives from one village said if a particular man of the other village would take the image of the god in one hand and a bottle of Ganges water in the other, and would walk from one undisputed boundary mark to the other, they would accept that boundary. It was a very serious thing for the man who had to walk the boundary, as, if a cow or a son of his should happen to die it would be considered a punishment from above, but he accepted. It was getting dark, but they got torches and they walked along the top of a rocky hill behind the accepted referee and in that way they settled the boundary, and there was never any dispute about it. There is a story that Sir Henry Lawrence, as a young man, in another case where there never had been a boundary fixed decided it in this way. Each side chose a man, the right leg of one was tied to the left leg of the other and they started off. They had to get to another pillar, and whatever line they took that was the boundary. As a matter of fact in that kind of dispute it was far more satisfactory to the people to decide things in that way. (Hear, hear)

The CHAIRMAN I will now ask the Lecturer to say a few words in reply.

The LECTURER in reply said I am glad to say there are not many criticisms to answer. Regarding the remarks of Lady Katharine Stuart, I quite agree with all she says, but it is hardly the place of the Governor to be a missionary, and, as I have said, the best thing you can do for the missionaries is to give them a fair field and no favour. If you support the missionaries, so that it looks as if they are your men, you take away half their appeal to the people. (Hear, hear) I have had cases of missionaries who were sent up with the forces of the State behind them and plumped down in the village, where the people were ordered to send so many children to the school. They sent the children to school, but they sent nothing else, and not a soul would go near him. With us missionaries were told, "You come up and the Government will protect your life and property, but nothing else." In one case they sat for six weeks on the banks of a river waiting till they could get someone to volunteer to carry their loads up to the top of the hill. Nevertheless the Deputy Commissioner said No, I am afraid I cannot help you, you must get up

yourselves Eventually they got there, and managed to get a house built Then there came up the question of their going out to visit, and they said, "Cannot you help us?" and I said, "No, I am afraid I cannot, you had better stay where you are till someone asks you" As a matter of fact, they had amongst their possessions a magic lantern, and one day were giving an entertainment, and a young chief from an adjacent village came in and saw this magic lantern, and he said "Why do you not show this in my village?" They said "How are we to get there?" He replied "There are twenty young men there, come along to-morrow," and out they went, and the fame of this chief who had a magic lantern in his own village was so great that the next day they were carried off somewhere else, and once the narrow edge of the wedge was in they were welcomed all through the hills, and were perpetually touring The best thing the Government can do is to protect the missionary and give him a fair chance, but not to let it be supposed that he is their man, so as to give no excuse to the people for thinking they are compelled to be Christians That British rule is not objectionable to the people, may I quote an incident about Sir Bampfylde At a great Durbar he had in the Naga Hills, when there were some fifteen hundred wild men, dressed up in their war paint, dancing round, at the end of it three miserable creatures were dragged forward and threw themselves down on the ground and embraced Sir Bampfylde's feet Those men were not appealing for justice, but they simply wanted to know what crime they had done that when a large number of neighbouring villages had been taken under Sir Bampfylde's rule they had not been included They were beyond the border, and had not been included, and came and besought Sir Bampfylde to be included (Hear, hear)

Sir Bampfylde gave me the credit of the formation of the Station Headquarters, but I do not claim that credit That is entirely due to Lieut Colonel G H Loch He was an engineer by inclination, and happened to become a soldier, and he was sent there as Commandant of military police, and he went there and found the place a ridge of hills fairly well cleared, and with nothing but timber houses built, and the actual jungle that grew there Most of it was tea trees He was, as I say, an engineer and builder, and he said "Why do not we have stone houses?" and Mr Davies, who had been in the Naga Hills, said "Why, we have not got stone houses yet where we have been for ten years" Colonel Loch said "More disgrace to you," and set to work to build himself a stone house He then went to the Government and said "May I build a stone barracks? I will sell this house to the Government for what it cost me, 6,000 rupees, or for whatever your man says it is worth" P W D measured it up and said it was worth 7,000, but the Government only gave him 6,000 Then he got permission to start, and, with such sepoy as he could teach, he built the whole of the station in solid stone He was the only man I have ever known who managed to get sepoy to work willingly He had a most wonderful system of each man doing a certain amount of work On Saturday everyone did eight hours' digging or building, whatever it was, and as he came home one day he said "You

know, I think I am a very good man. If you notice, Saturday is always fine, and now there are 800 beggars here praying for a wet day, and I am the only one praying for fine weather." The polo ground which has been mentioned was originally a ridge or spur running out from the main hill, and this was the married quarters. They were much too near to the bachelors' quarters, so Colonel Loch said, "Away with them!" and he put them right away on to another branch of the hill, and he cut this big spur down, and when he had finished he had 150 feet of filling on one side, and 50 feet of sheer cutting on the other side, and it cost the Government nothing. As a matter of fact, he did it out of the canteen funds, because the men worked hard all day and got so thirsty and then went and satisfied their thirst, and the profits of the canteen went into the parade ground.

Ladies and gentlemen, I thank you all for the kind way in which you have received my lecture. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

Mr GERALD RITCHIE said it gave him very great pleasure to propose a hearty vote of thanks to Lieutenant-Colonel Shakespear for the statesmanlike and wise paper that he had just read. (Hear, hear.) He was not going to discuss the paper, but he wished to say a few words of a personal character, for which he hoped he would be excused. He desired to refer to Colonel Shakespear's father, Sir Richmond Shakespear. It often happened that Anglo Indians were oblivious of the services of those who had gone before them, and he thought this was a good opportunity of recalling to their memories the services that Sir Richmond rendered to India. Sir Richmond was well known for having made perhaps as momentous a journey as was ever recorded in Indian history, from Khiva to Orenburg in Russia in 1840, taking back with him 416 Russian subjects to be restored to Russia. That wonderful journey has been recorded in an article in *Blackwood* (June, 1842), which he was not aware had ever been reproduced, but it was well worth reading. When he reached Orenburg he went to St. Petersburg, and received the thanks of the Czar, and then came to London, when Lord Palmerston wrote to him and offered him a knighthood, which he accepted. He was about the youngest lieutenant of the Bengal Artillery who had ever had that distinction. Then Sir Richmond was General Pollock's assistant during the Afghan War, and in the little book that he held in his hand there was a grateful letter, dated Cabool, September 24, 1842, from Lady Sale, Sir Vincent Eyre, and many others of the captives, declaring their profound recognition of Sir Richmond's efforts on their behalf. He was not going to go through all Sir Richmond's great career, but he wanted to read what William Makepeace Thackeray, his first cousin, said about him. Thackeray, in his article "On Lett's Diary" in the *Roundabout Papers*, wrote the following words, which, if they would allow him, he would like to quote

"And now, brethren, may I conclude this discourse with an extract out of that great diary, the newspaper? I read it but yesterday, and it has mingled with all my thoughts since then. Here are the two paragraphs, which appeared following each other

"Mr R., the Advocate General of Calcutta, has been appointed

to the post of Legislative Member of the Council of the Governor-General'

" 'Sir R. S., Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, died on the 29th of October, of bronchitis' "

" These two men, whose different fates are recorded in two paragraphs and half a dozen lines of the same newspaper, were sisters' sons. In one of the stories by the present writer, a man is described tottering 'up the steps of the ghaut,' having parted with his child, whom he is despatching to England from India. I wrote this, remembering in long, long distant days such a ghaut or river stair at Calcutta, and a day when, down those steps, to a boat which was in waiting, came two children, whose mothers remained on the shore. One of those ladies was never to see her boy more, and he, too, is just dead in India, 'Of bronchitis, on the 29th October', and the first house in London to which I was taken was that of our aunt, the mother of his Honour, the Member of Council. His Honour was even then a gentleman of the long robe, being, in truth, a baby in arms! We Indian children were consigned to a school of which our deluded parents had heard a favourable report, but which was governed by a horrible little tyrant, who made our young lives so miserable that I remember kneeling by my little bed of a night and saying, 'Pray God I may dream of my mother'. Thence we went to a public school, and my cousin to Addiscombe and to India. 'For thirty-two years,' the paper says, 'Sir Richmond Shakespear faithfully and devotedly served the Government of India, and during that period but once visited England for a few months and on public duty. In his military capacity he saw much service, was present in eight general engagements, and was badly wounded in the last. In 1840, when a young lieutenant, he had the rare good fortune to be the means of rescuing from almost hopeless slavery in Khiva 416 subjects of the Emperor of Russia, and, but two years later, greatly contributed to the happy recovery of our own prisoners from a similar fate in Cabul. Throughout his career this officer was ready and zealous for the public service, and freely risked life and liberty in the discharge of his duties. Lord Canning, to mark his high sense of Sir Richmond Shakespear's public services, had lately offered him the Chief Commissionership of Mysore, which he had accepted, and was about to undertake, when death terminated his career."

" When he came to London the cousins and playfellows of early Indian days met once again, and shook hands. 'Can I do anything for you?' I remember the kind fellow asking. He was always asking that question of all kinsmen, of all widows and orphans, of all the poor, of young men who might need his purse or his service. I saw a young officer yesterday to whom the first words Sir Richmond Shakespear wrote on his arrival in India were 'Can I do anything for you?' His purse was at the command of all. His kind hand was always open. It was a gracious fate which sent him to rescue widows and captives. Where could they have had a champion more chivalrous, a protector more loving and tender?"

" I write down his name in my little book, amongst those of others dearly loved who, too, have been summoned hence. And so we meet and part, we struggle and succeed, or we fail and drop unknown on the way. As we leave the fond mother's knee, the rough trials of childhood and boyhood begin, and then manhood is upon us, and the battle of life, with its chances, perils, wounds, defeat, distinctions. And Fort William guns are saluting in one man's honour, while the troops are firing the last volleys over the other's grave—over the grave of the brave, the gentle, the faithful Christian soldier."

## *Reflections on the Government of Wild Tribes*

That was the true description of Sir Richmond Shakespear With regard to his son, my cousin, whom he had known for a very long time, he first knew him when he went out to India in the Canadian Regiment He afterwards started on the career which Sir Bampfylde Fuller had described, and which he need not go through again The last time he saw him he was in hospital, and he wished to congratulate him on being out and about again Many of them, old civilians, wished they could have been in the ranks of those people long past the age of service, who had served, as Colonel Shakespear did, during the late war (Hear, hear) They could all congratulate themselves that he had been able to come forward and read them such an excellent paper He was a chip of the old block He and his father before him had advanced the prestige of the Indian administrator

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and gentlemen, now I come to the last thing on the agenda, "The chairman closing the meeting," and I beg to close it

The proceedings then terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman for presiding

The following note has been received from Colonel Shakespear

"Sir Bampfylde Fuller, in his remarks after the reading of my paper on 15th inst, gave me all the credit of subduing and civilizing the Lushais I regret that I did not in my remarks after the discussion point out that, though as regards the South Lushai Hills I may fairly claim to have done the bulk of the work, as regards the Northern Hills the subjugation had been completed before I was sent there The work done by Captain Brown, the first Political Officer—who was killed there—by the great McCabe, by the late Mr Davis, and by Mr Porteous had overcome all resistance, and when I took over in 1897 the combined North and South Lushai Hills I had only to concern myself with problems of development I would not like to be considered ungrateful to those, the fruits of whose labours I was privileged to reap "



## THE FRIENDS OF INDIA, WISE AND OTHERWISE

BY F R SCATCHERD

MEMBERS of the East India Association will know that I have been announced to speak on "India and her Friends" for nearly two years, and I have hitherto refrained, hoping someone else would raise a protesting voice against the unwise, and leave me free to speak only of the wise friends of India, many of whom are to be found in this Association of which I have the honour to be a member, and without whose guidance and counsel I could not have carried on the work of editing the ASIATIC REVIEW during its Editor's absence in khaki. He is now back at his post again, but I have gladly accepted the invitation to remain on the editorial committee, and here and now I desire to thank all those who bore with my unaccustomed but gladly rendered service during a stressful period. Especially do I thank Mr Leitner, Dr Pollen, and Mr Pennington.

I do not apologize for the lack of form in this paper (it is not a literary effort), nor for its lengthy quotations, necessitated by its very nature and object, that of dotting a few I's and crossing a few T's for certain perverse folk who are always reversing the process.

### PART I

It has been my good fortune to come into touch with many of the social leaders and reformers of the day. Two of the most ardent have also been friends of India, working for what they no doubt believe to be the best interests of that country. Yet I am bound to regard them as typical examples of the unwise friend.

I allude to Mr H M Hyndman, the Father of British

Socialism, the veteran lecturer, writer and reformer, and to Mrs Besant, the successor of Madame Blavatsky, and one of the foremost of women orators. Neither one nor the other will attribute to me any personal motive for directing attention to the statements both have been, and are, making in the press and on the platform.

I will pass over the tragic years of the war, I will draw a veil over the effect produced on the international mind by such statements, how they formed a target for cleverly timed, well-directed attacks upon British honour, British integrity, British good faith. How at national and international congresses my lack of statistic and economic facts kept me speechless during such broadsides, and paralyzed action in what was at times an almost single-handed conflict against the enemies of the sacred cause of true liberty and democratic freedom. And when I was furnished with the necessary truth to meet the untruth, a hearing was invariably refused by those very people who claimed to stand for the rights of minorities and of free speech.

You will believe me that it is with no light heart that I criticize thus a personal and esteemed friend like Mr Hyndman, whose services during the war have been invaluable, and whose knowledge of transport and shipping, if put to use, might have saved the country millions. But after his eloquence at Northampton\* carried the resolution in favour of the "emancipation" of India, involving the speedy exit of all "carpet-baggers and sun-dried bureaucrats," I can hesitate no longer, because these misstatements and distortions give a handle to those reactionary forces which would delay the progress of much-needed reform in India.

That I may not do Mr Hyndman injustice, I will confine myself to statements taken from his article "British Misrule in India," published in *Justice*, August 14, 1919, or other writings.

\* National Socialist Congress, August, 1919

These so-called friends of India are saying, in so many words, that "not even the crimes of which Prussianized Germany has been guilty transcend in infamy the cold economic and social ruin which we ourselves *deliberately* inflict upon the inhabitants of the vast Empire of Hindustan" ("British Misrule in India," *Justice*, August 14, 1919)

No one at all familiar with the history of British India would deny that our record is stained with many a deed that might not unfairly be called "infamous", but the question of importance here is whether we have "deliberately brought economic and social ruin on its inhabitants" (The word "deliberately" must, I suppose, mean "of malice aforethought", yet even Mr Hyndman could hardly mean that)

Is it even true that we have inflicted "economic and social ruin" on the inhabitants of British India, deliberately or otherwise? Mr Hyndman has, as he says, been pointing this out for more than forty years, and repeats that we have been

"draining out of British India each year an amount equal to *considerably more than* £30,000,000 without commercial return",

and this from a country whose

"agricultural population is already so poor that its *annual* production does not exceed 15s a head"

"No matter," he proceeds, "what benefits we might confer in other directions (and having studied the subject carefully for nearly fifty years, he can detect extremely few), this drain of produce from the poverty-stricken ryots is a crime of the first magnitude" ("British Misrule in India," *Justice*, August 14, 1919)

One would be inclined to agree if the facts were as stated, but how does Mr Hyndman arrive at his 15s a head as the value of the gross produce of British India?

The population of British India in 1911 is given as 244 million odd, so that the value of the average gross

produce, according to Mr Hyndman, would be £183,000,000 sterling, and yet in the year 1910-11 there were actually exported goods to the value of £137,000,000, and in 1911-12 £10,000,000 worth more, leaving about £40,000,000 for the subsistence of the whole population. This seems to be a *reductio ad absurdum*, but no doubt some of the exports came from Native States.

It will be seen from Leaflet No XXIX of the East India Association ("Truths about India," p 165) that Mr Hyndman's figures about the "drain" have already been challenged, and that he has never thought fit to explain them. This new figure seems to require even more explanation, and it may be worth while once more to draw public attention to the refutation of his indictment published so long ago as 1912.

"Since the issue of the second edition of our Leaflet No I, dealing with the alleged drain from India, Mr Hyndman has, at p 419 of his autobiography, thought proper to reiterate his favourite indictment to the effect that 'we drain out of India upwards of £30,000,000 a year,' without any commercial return whatever, and this terrible extortion of wealth by way of economic tribute is the chief cause of the impoverishment of the 240 million inhabitants of British territory, and the consequent famine and plague from which they suffer.

"This charge was repeated in a letter to *The Times*, and it was with reluctance that the leading journal published a letter in reply asking for the facts and figures on which the indictment was based.

"As no answer, direct or indirect, has been accorded to this challenge to produce proofs, and as Mr Hyndman declines to examine and, if necessary, correct the figures given in our Leaflet, all that can be done is to discuss his figures as they stand. He refuses to give or even to discuss details of the home charges, but in his 'Ruin of India by British Rule' (being the report of the Social Democratic Federation, dated 1907), he specified 'pensions, interest, home charges, dividends and remittances to the capitalist and landlord classes with their hangers-on,' as the component parts of his £30,000,000, and these agree pretty fairly with the details given in our Leaflet No I,

from which it appears that about half the drain (according to our view, or one-third according to his) consists of interest on money borrowed at, say,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent in order to increase the produce of the land in India tenfold by irrigation, and to provide her with railways

"Some Indian critics object to railways as draining away the produce of the country, but it seems from p 8 of the paper alluded to above that Mr Hyndman admits the benefit India has derived from railways, and that benefit is surely a real 'commercial return' for the money borrowed on extraordinarily easy terms, just as the enormous increase of wealth due to irrigation certainly is

"The rest of the home charges must be defended on different grounds as the unavoidable cost of a foreign government, but then it can easily be contended that, even admitting this 'drain,' the Government of India is still the most economic of civilized\* governments when what it does for the country is fairly considered. The lamentable poverty of India may be admitted, every country is poor which depends entirely on agriculture, but poverty is a comparative term, and even Mr Digby had to admit that 60 millions, or about one-sixth of the population, were tolerably 'prosperous'. It may be doubted if a much larger proportion in any country could be fairly so described, and, in many ways, poverty in India is not as cruel as, for instance, in Russia, where millions suffer from famine of which we hear little or nothing

"But if there is a drain out there is also a drain in, and we should like someone to calculate the drain of wealth into India 'without commercial return,' and then strike a balance

"The following facts show that the 'drain in' must be considerable, and should not be lightly disregarded

"'During the last seventy years India has absorbed 2,250 million ounces of silver, or more than one-third of the whole world's supply during that period. In the last decade she absorbed 720 million out of 1,826 million ounces produced in the whole world' (Mr Sarma on p 524 of the *Hindustan Review* for December, 1911). Now 720 out of 1,820 is nearly 40 per cent. Is this a proof of increasing poverty? It does not, of course, prove increasing prosperity among the lower orders, but surely some of this inrush must filter down to some of the workers and go to raise wages to the rate to which everybody (except, perhaps, Mr Hyndman) knows they have risen since he

\* See *Whitaker's Almanack* for 1910

so confidently predicted the 'bankruptcy of India' in 1878. That such bankruptcy is still very remote is shown by the facts noticed recently in a leading article in *The Times*, under the heading 'A Romance of an Indian Port' (Karachi), and by the fact that India exported last year more wheat than was exported from any other country in the world."

That India is still equally absorbent, not only of silver but of gold, is proved by recent statements in the press.

"What is the cause of the silver shortage?" asks the *Daily Express*, August 27, 1919, and proceeds thus to answer the question.

"The price of silver went ahead still further yesterday, rising  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. an ounce to 61 $\frac{1}{4}$ d., the highest quotation since 1867."

"The price of silver has been going up and up."

"The cause is undoubtedly the persistent hoarding going on all over the world. This is particularly the case in India, where it is stated that since the war began the natives have hoarded something like £20,000,000 worth of silver."

Curiously enough in *The Times* of October 23, 1919, Dr. Gilbert Slater points out that

"Since January 1, 1916, India has coined 1,300 million silver rupees, besides greatly inflating the paper currency, and has absorbed much more silver than all the mines of the world have produced in the same period."

"'Gold Drain on South Africa' is the heading of a telegram from Johannesburg last September. Details regarding the heavy export of British and Kruger sovereigns to India by Greek and Indian speculators show that £1,000 in gold in Delagoa Bay is worth £1,060 in Union banknotes, the sovereign in India being worth 23s to 26s.

'Many thousands of pounds are exported daily through Delagoa. One Indian drew his bank balance of £14,000 in gold for this purpose. The Union has become so short of sovereigns that the traffic has been stopped—Exchange."

It may be asked, why refer to these oft-refuted fallacies? But one is forced to do so, as Mr. Hyndman is quoted by

reformers and also agitators throughout the world, and returns to the charge in his interesting book, "The Awakening of Asia," in which he writes as if nothing had happened in the last forty years, and calmly ignores every attempt to present the truth about India in general, and himself in particular. His statements are so characteristic of extremist critics of the British Administration that it seems desirable to deal with them in some detail.

He seems almost to regret the failure of the Mutiny, and, though speaking of it as a "national rising" inspired by hostility to English rule, he is yet constrained to explain its failure by the fact that the "agricultural population over the greater part of India did not sympathize 'sufficiently' with the revolt to join in"—as much, perhaps, as he seems to think they ought to have sympathized!

He would not, I fear, admit that the ryots generally—that is, three-fourths of the population—not only took no interest in the so-called rebellion, but were often ready to shelter Europeans whenever they dared. Doubtless if the sepoys had been successful, the ryots would have accepted their rule, or whatever sort of rule emerged from the welter, with their usual philosophy and sound common sense, they "let the legions thunder past" and went on with their business of growing food.

On p. 211\* Mr Hyndman says the rulers—*ze*, the District Officers—"keep as far aloof from the people they govern as possible." On this point I consulted Mr Pennington, and this is what he said:

"I cannot answer for all the civilians in India, and possibly some of them are almost as exclusive as some of our high-caste Indian assistants, but having been a district officer for nearly twenty years I can say with confidence that in Madras the statement is simply untrue, and to speak of civilians generally as 'unsympathetic carpet-baggers' is ludicrous.

"Even the common gibe (which he adopts and circulates) that competition-wallahs generally 'lack nowadays

\* "The Awakening of Asia"

that indescribable quality of the sahib or gentleman,' is far too sweeping. Many of them are members of old Anglo-Indian families, and even those who have risen from the ranks (like Sir Thomas Munro) have been amongst the most successful and popular officials we have ever had.

"Mr Hyndman does not give the names of the witnesses he cites on pp 212 and 214, but whoever the last may be, it is not true that Englishmen in Madras 'live totally estranged,' etc, though, of course, it is true that they cannot often even yet mix socially with Indian ladies, but that a vast majority of the better sort of Europeans are on excellent terms with most of the Indians they meet in office and on business in Madras, at any rate, is absolutely certain.

"Mr Hyndman makes a great deal more of the Guikwar incident at the Durbar than it deserves. Personally I believe it is capable of explanation and I am sure the Guikwar is much too shrewd and well-mannered a man to be deliberately guilty of stupid rudeness.

"One might object as much as Mr Hyndman to the 'loan' of 100 millions on account of the war, but to say that India was 'compelled' to lend the money, when it was proposed by a non-official member of the Viceroy's Council, and voted unanimously in the first enthusiasm of the war, is a very unfair way of looking at the transaction."

It would take too long to discuss Free Trade as it affects India, it is evident Mr Hyndman has either never read Mr McMinn's monumental paper on "The Wealth and Progress of India," or even Sir Arundel Arundel's and Sir Raymond West's valuable contributions to the discussion, or, *more suo*, prefers to ignore them all.

Nor can one discuss education at great length, but his figures on p 218 are hopelessly wrong at the present time, and it does not appear where he found them.

The simple arithmetic of Indian education as given in the last Statistical Abstract shows that there were nearly 8 million children under some sort of instruction in 1915-16, and that they cost about  $7\frac{1}{2}$  millions sterling, or about £1 a head, so that to educate the whole population of a school-going age would cost at least 80 millions, and



would require 2 or 3 million teachers. Then again, 8 millions sterling spread over 240 millions would mean thirty persons for each £1, or 8d a head instead of a 1d, as given on p 218, and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of the population are under instruction, not 19, as stated.

Mr Hyndman goes on to say that the "improvement" (I suppose in numbers and amount spent) is "almost nominal." Yet the same report shows that the amount spent has nearly doubled in the ten years from 1906-7 to 1915-16, whilst the number under instruction has increased from 4,946,240 to 7,275,504.

It is difficult to see what can be the object of publishing such foolishly erroneous statements, since the veriest tyro can discover their inaccuracy. Yet they are repeated *ad nauseam* by self-constituted critics of Indian affairs—e.g., Mr S. Satyamurti only the other day spoke of the grant for education as  $4\frac{1}{2}$  instead of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  millions.

Whatever may be thought of our record in education, it is abundantly clear, as has already been said, that the Indian Government is still the cheapest civilized government in the world, (excluding China), considering what it does for the people. (See "Truths about India," pp 99, 160, and 162.)

Mr Hyndman says that the official class has always pretended that the inhabitants of Hindustan are quite incapable of governing themselves, but that is not exactly what the officials say.

It is not a question of governing themselves at home or even in local affairs, but of carrying on the government of an immense *continent* full of all sorts of jarring elements—a very different business from that of governing any homogeneous colony—and the example of the successful administration of many "protected" Indian States, always under the watchful care of the Government, is no criterion of what would happen if the Government of India were intrusted to the uncontrolled domination of Indian Administrators, however able and conscientious they might be.

Mr Hyndman, indeed, tells us that the great majority of the cultivators do not agree with our view of Indian administration, and that the worst rule of Indians by their own people is preferred to the best management of foreigners. This may be so, but proof of the statement is lacking, and when he goes further and asserts that annexation to the British Empire in India has never been welcomed by "the people," he is on much more doubtful ground. He seems to have forgotten the outcry that was raised when it was proposed to hand back Berar to the rule of the Nizam.

## PART II

Those who are so fond of insisting on the undoubted poverty of the masses in India as a stick wherewith to beat the English Government never, so far as I know, remind people that the circumstances of the Indian peasant are in many ways very different from those of the Westerner.

They never, I think, draw attention to the plain fact that the Indian villager generally *pays no rent*, an item in the Englishman's budget which costs almost as much in our great towns as the very inadequate food they can afford to buy, and that again, even in our own country, is far less than they ought to have, though they may not often be allowed to die of actual starvation. Nor, in the south of India at any rate, do they suffer from the cold as they do in this country.

The mass of the people in every country is miserably poor. Even in England an enormous majority die "paupers"\*

Miss Rathborn, a lady of great experience and intelligence, declares that "widows and their children are in many parishes kept (under our system of out-relief) in a state of chronic starvation" ("Widows' Pensions," p. 9).

The truth is that we know very little of how the poor live anywhere.

\* *I.e.*, live from hand to mouth, and die without property. Messrs Booth and Rowntree state that about 30 per cent (instead of 40 per cent as in India) suffer from insufficient nutrition.

Mrs Besant and her Indian friends have been giving addresses all over the country Mr Wadia has been among the speakers To Mr Wadia, as a Parsee, one or two questions might be put He said at Letchworth (and Mrs Besant has repeated the statement) that "India, from being the richest country in the world, has become, *under British rule*, the poorest "

Now the Parsees were in India centuries before the British

Were they, in those pre-British days, the wealthiest people in the world (or even in India) ? and are they now the poorest ?

If they are now among the wealthiest, is that in spite of British rule, or in consequence of it, or why ?

Can he, as a Parsee, estimate the commercial value to the Parsees of the hundred years of peace they have enjoyed under British rule in a country which had never known abiding peace for at least seven or eight hundred years ?

Does Mr Wadia remember the history of Thuggee ? and was the strangling "noose of the Thug" (to quote Mrs Besant) good for commerce ? or was it not a good thing the British suppressed it ? Mrs Besant, speaking at Letchworth, thought she had proved her statement that *India was the richest country in the world before the arrival of the British*, by referring to the fact that it used to absorb most of the gold of the world

When it was pointed out that some years ago it was estimated that India still absorbed 40 per cent of all the gold produced in the world, *or more than double her share in proportion to her population*, Mrs Besant replied to the effect that *that* "wealth" did not go to the poor peasant, but to the English exploiters of India's riches

Do she and Mr Wadia consider that in pre-British days wealth used to go to the working classes, the "untouchables," for instance ? and that none of the wealth of India now goes to the Parsees and other *Indian* merchants and lawyers ?

As to the incidence of the Land Revenue, we understood Mrs Besant to say that it sometimes amounted to 50 per cent of the *gross* produce

This might be so in some cases where the crop partly failed and the full rent was exacted. With due respect to her allegation, however, we must suppose that Mrs Besant really meant the *net* produce, because that is the basis of the assessment in Madras.

But, even so, has she observed that the Land Revenue of the whole of India has frequently of late years, amounted to less than one-eighth of the value of the *surplus* produce actually exported? and that in the Congress organ *India* it was reported, as the result of a number of surveys by Indian students under the supervision of Dr Slater, Professor of Economics in Madras, that the Land Revenue in those villages amounted to about 5 *per cent* of the *gross* produce?

Is she aware that the average assessment per acre all over India, inclusive of the charge for water which sometimes increases the value of land far more than a hundred-fold, is just 1s 8d an acre and 1s 8d a head? Pure sand without water will produce nothing. Irrigate it, and you will soon reap two tons of rice to the acre.

Has she calculated the amount spent in the shape of fees paid to lawyers every year? and does she know that it has been estimated at 25 millions sterling, or *more* than the whole Land Revenue which is said to be so oppressive?

Does she know how much is spent upon the temples? Mr Pennington says he found, when he was in India ten years ago, that about twenty lakhs of rupees—say £130,000—were being spent on the repair of *one* temple, certainly a very large one, at Rameswaram. This wealthy country would think twice before spending even £100,000 on repairing St Paul's, but then we are a more materialistic people, and certainly not so lavish in some ways—*e.g.*, marriages.

It is most misleading to compare (as Mr. Wadia does)

the £2 a head average income with the average of any Western nation, and, as Dr Gilbert Slater shows, that average was probably an under-estimate even when it was made, and ought now to be about £5, at any rate in Madras. There is, of course, a much larger proportion than elsewhere of extremely poor people in India, where probably at least 70 per cent of the whole population are agriculturists who are everywhere badly paid, but, as often pointed out, in India agricultural labourers are largely paid in kind, and the rise and fall of prices affect them but slightly.

Mr Wadia's attention might profitably be directed to the words of an authority whom he is bound to respect *India*,\* the organ of the Indian National Congress, in an important article dealing with the economic conditions of "Some South Indian Villages," falls foul of just such persons as is Mr Wadia, "the political reformer" who will take any economic argument that comes his way and "will tell a British audience that the average Indian income is under £2 per annum."

*India* characterizes this statement as to the average income as "incredible" to the point of "stupefaction" to the British hearer, and protests that its effect may lead to the supposition that the Indians are "primitive savages."

This attempt to measure the situation in terms of money, is most dangerous, says *India*, and it adduces Professor Slater's conclusions as to the justice of stating the income of the people in the form of the commodities they can afford to consume.

The cost of a two-roomed house is an item of typical value in this respect (*vide* p 217 of Professor Slater's book). Beyond the labour of the tenant and his wife the total cost of the house was only 131 rupees 5 annas.

Well may *India* exclaim as to the sighs of envy that might be drawn by "house-famined England."

\* *India*, August 19, 1919

For Mr Wadia's benefit a few more statements may be summarized from this same article.

The food statistics of the Agricultural Department of the Madras Presidency show that the land produced enough grain to allow each person 24 ounces per day. Hence other causes than insufficient production enter into the under-nutrition of the people.

On the other hand, the milk-supply worked out at less than one gallon per head per annum, and nearly all of that was known to be consumed by *adult Brahmins*. The purchase and wearing of jewellery and ornaments of gold and silver are explained as being not only a method of elementary banking and investment, but a serious method of inducing confidence in creditors!

An American millionaire once told the writer that his only ground of complaint against his wife was her refusal to wear sufficiently expensive clothing and jewellery at the time of those crises when he specially desired her to look lavish, so perhaps the Indian villager is no cruder than the rest of us in his method of creating a feeling of security.

"The excessive fragmentation of holdings in India seems even more complicated than is the case here. Instances are given of a man holding plots of land, surrounded by the land of others, so tiny that a plough will not even rest upon them, and Professor Slater goes so far as to suggest legislation upon the lines of the English Enclosure Acts

\* \* \* \* \*

"As to the incidence of the Land Revenue, these detailed studies and the conclusions deducible seem in grave conflict with the usually accepted views upon the subject. The Land Revenue is put as low as  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of the gross agricultural produce. A strong case is, however, made out, and it appears the only method of disproving it is to collect and collate more and yet more information."

According to our critics India was on the verge of bankruptcy forty years ago, and is so still in spite of all evidence to the contrary. I oppose to them the opinion of Sir

Alfred Chatterton, whom I met some time ago, when he kindly gave me permission to quote from a letter of his. Sir Alfred Chatterton, who knows what he is talking about, says that handloom weavers were never so prosperous. He writes

“ I am going back to India, so that I am afraid I have no time at present to deal with the misrepresentations of the Industrial Commission which are being circulated with a view to create political capital. In no part of the Report, unless it be in the Pandit's minute of dissent, is there anything that could be taken to indicate that the Commission were of opinion that ‘from a great industrial country, distinguished for artistic workmanship, it has become a poverty-stricken land ’ ”

“ In the chapters on cottage industries the following occurs ‘ There is no real ground for the belief that they are generally in a decadent condition ’ In the same chapter it is stated that the hand-loom industry turns over 50 crores of rupees a year, and *personally* I hold the opinion, based on a long study of the industry, that it was never so flourishing as it is to day. The enormous quantities of brass, copper, and aluminium absorbed by India tell a different tale from that promulgated so steadily by the critics of Indian administration ”

Then take the evidence of Capt Petavel, an economist of European reputation, and now Lecturer on Reconstruction to the University of Calcutta, who cautiously says the “ economic future ” (of India) is “ one of hope ”

Mr Hyndman has probably never seen Capt Petavel's essay on the subject or even his five lectures delivered before the University of Calcutta, entitled “ Man and Machine Power,” which were printed and published by that University at the instance of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, C S I., and circulated to every leading University in the world. Mrs Besant and her friends must have heard of him, even if Mr Hyndman has not.

Mr Hyndman, Mrs Besant and her friends, as far as there is any truth in their statements, are still living in the last century.

Sir Stanley Reed, who is described by the *Daily Herald*

as "the very liberal editor of the *Times of India*," states that conditions in India have been completely revolutionized since he went out. He says

"In 1897, India was poor and the population was subject to famine and unemployment. Now every industry is short of labour. There has been a marked change in the financial power of India, and an enormous change in the whole social outlook. There was a desire for a higher standard of living and education, and for a higher standard of social surroundings. There was a wish among Indians for a larger share in the government of their own country—not for selfish ends. Indians in every walk of life wished that India should take her full stature amongst the 'Dominions of the Empire'."

It is in the desire to hasten that day that I have ventured to put these few remarks before you.

These "other than wise" friends of India are indeed builders of castles in the air of the free and prosperous India that will arise, when India shall become once more the arbiter of her own destiny. But these same castle-builders are also the fabricators of such a tissue of half-truths, of facts torn from their context so as to convey actual untruth, that one is forced to be very doubtful as to the stability of an edifice erected upon such slender foundations.

Such people never face side-issues. They are of those who imagined, if Great Britain betrayed her trust with regard to Russia, that Germany and others would respect Russia's attempt to work out her own salvation! Their shibboleth is as old as that of Cain, the traditional first murderer. When you point out that the premature withdrawal of British control, faulty though it may be, would leave India a prey to more merciless exploitation, they cry, "What is that to us? Are we our brother's keeper," and this in the name of peace, freedom, and human brotherhood!

By all means let us build castles in the air. As Thoreau has said, that is where they should be. But in the name of sanity and common-sense let the foundations



be truly laid, foursquare with the eternal principles of  
*Justice and Truth*

### PART III

Few people in this country are aware of the circumstances which induced, one might almost say "compelled," Mrs Besant's meteoric entry on the stage of politics. The following extracts are from the late Dr Nair's book "The Evolution of Mrs Besant," which is full of original evidence and which should be read, unpleasant as it is, by everyone who desires to understand Mrs Besant, and the real genesis of the extremist form of Home Rule agitation in India.

I met Dr Nair here in London shortly before his death, and was impressed with his sincerity of purpose and the sense of duty which impelled him to bring forward the painful evidence adduced in the volume from which the following resumé is taken. Only redundancies are omitted, and the words are those of Dr Nair all the way through.

"The effect of the lawsuits in which she had been involved was to render the Theosophical Society practically useless as an advertising medium for Mrs Besant.

"The Theosophical Society had been exceedingly reactionary on most social questions connected with the Hindu community, with the one exception of early marriage. Mrs Besant had occupied herself with defending observances even many Hindus had given up as hopeless to defend. But when she started the social reform movement within the Theosophical Society, she tried to capture as many followers as possible.

"Another movement started by Mrs Besant was to establish a rival institution to the Young Men's Christian Association. Mrs Besant started a Young Men's Indian Association. But these were only preliminaries to her ultimate objective, which was to capture the Indian politicians and enrol them as her worshippers."

Dr Nair here quotes from an article by Mr Lovat Fraser in the *Edinburgh Review* as follows

\* See Note at end of discussion

"She exalted Indian spiritual ideals at the expense of Western materialism, which is not a difficult process, and by gulling the unthinking and the credulous with stories of a golden age of India, *which never existed*, she managed to attract a fairly large following"

Dr Nair proceeds

"She praised everything Indian and ran down everything European till the Indians stood revealed as so many martyrs suffering untold tyrannies at the hands of the British barbarians. She told the Indians at a conference at Chittore that, being a white woman, she could say and do things which the Indians themselves could not say and do, and could thus undertake a vigorous political agitation on behalf of the Indians. The idea of a white woman, immune from the rigours of Government action, undertaking all the risks while the Brahmins reaped all the rewards, was an arrangement which suited the peculiarly selfish instincts of the Madras Brahmin

"It also suited Mrs Besant. She knew that the risks she ran were very little, while the programme sketched out opened up a magnificent avenue for self-advertisement. Thus was she launched on her political career—the knight-errant who was to ride abroad redressing Indian wrongs, and receiving the homage and adoration of the 'down-trodden' Indians whom it was her special privilege to lift up to their rightful position of citizens of the British Empire

"Armed with the necessary weapon of political warfare, a daily newspaper, she launched on that campaign which was to make Indians free and herself the uncrowned queen of India

"Mrs Besant's first big move in Indian politics was to bring about a union between the Extremists and Moderates of the National Congress, in other words, she wanted the active co-operation of Mr B C Tilak and his followers in her Indian political campaign. Her first attempt in this direction failed, and following this failure we find in the columns of *New India* a threat that if the Congress still remained in a condition of masterly inactivity, it would be well for young people to take action, not in opposition to the Congress, which must always be regarded as the head of political activities in India, but as supplementing its work in a field which it does not wish to occupy at present practically an ultimatum to the Congress from

Mrs Besant to say that 'if the Congress will not take up Home Rule, I shall'

"Then followed in *New India* a series of articles on the 'Resurrection of Asia,' and it claimed that India should be given Home Rule as a sort of defensive measure against the advance of China. These articles foreshadowed the development of China as a great military power with the consequent danger to India of a Chinese invasion. *New India* pleaded that India should be enabled to stand on her own feet in order to repel the Chinese invasion.

"Then, on August 3, 1915, *New India* expressed the opinion that the people of India should agitate for self-government and should fight for freedom, exclaiming, 'Who will join hands with us?'

"On August 17, 1915, *New India* proclaimed that in the reconstruction of the Empire lay the opportunity of India for freedom, and on August 21 'A Britisher' wrote in *New India* that—

"'The chief hindrance to the acquirement of self-government for the Motherland is not its Rulers, not the Anglo-Indian press, it is the inactivity, the torpidity, the painful indifference of the Indians themselves'

"On September 7, 1915, *New India* announced that Mrs Besant had gone to Bombay to ascertain Sir Pherozeshah Mehta's views on the political situation, in other words, to discuss with him the question of Home Rule.

"On September 13 she gave an interview to an Associated Press representative in Bombay, when she talked of India's right to self-government, and said that after the Congress had formulated a scheme which she should like to call Home Rule for India, the country will be stirred on behalf of it.

"On September 15 she wrote on the Congress and self-government and advised Sir S. P. Sinha, the President of the Congress of 1915, to claim Swaraj.

"There was an attack on Sir Pherozeshah Mehta in which she said that the gentleman had so long dominated Bombay that it was doubtful if anyone else there had the courage to lead, while he himself was too ill to be depended upon, that a vigorous policy was above all things wanted in the Bombay Congress of 1915, and that up till then Bombay had given no sign of preparing anything in the way of a Home Rule scheme.

"On *September 25, 1915*, the Home Rule League was born with Home Rule for India as its only object

"At first it was announced that Mr Dadabhai Naoroji was the President of the League, but that venerable gentleman promptly disclaimed any connection with the newly born organization

"Sir Pherozeshah Mehta died in November, 1915, and almost the last obstacle which stood in the way of the capture of the National Congress by the Home Rulers was thus removed

"Home Rule activities continued under the energetic guidance of Mrs Besant

"What took place at the Bombay conference presided over by Sir S P Sinha, how he checkmated the impulsive eagerness of Mrs Besant to get the Congress committed to the Home Rule propaganda, are well known to Indian politicians

"But after the Congress of 1915 with the semi-detachment of Sir S P Sinha from Congress activities, Mrs Besant made more headway With the deaths of Mr Gokhale and Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, with the partial retirement of Sir S P Sinha, there was hardly an old Congress leader who could stand up and fight the increasing agitation for catastrophic changes Moderate Congress leaders, like the snakes in Ireland, committed political suicide to save themselves from destruction

"The Congress of 1916 under an old and respectable figurehead was captured by the Besantine clique The increased irritation felt in certain Muhammedan quarters, mainly due to certain events which were developing in the Moslem world-politics, threw them into the lap of Besantine politicians, and since then we have had the spectacle of the so-called Congress and Moslem League posing as the representatives of the whole of India

"Mrs Besant, who is supposed to have received a mandate from this ill-assorted combination of the Congress and Moslem League, went full steam ahead Our readers need not be reminded of the fury and vigour of her political activities in this Presidency in the year 1917 With the increase in the vigour of her political agitation, the courage of the Madras Government seemed to ooze out The more diplomatic the Madras Government became, the more dramatic became the political situation created by Mrs Besant She seemed to expect deportation or internment, but the Madras Government moved not.

"She published her farewell address to the people of the Madras Presidency, wrote her last Will and Testament, and stood ready for her exit from the political stage, but the Madras Government would not let the curtain down. The situation was ludicrous. The agitation was resumed and things went on for some time longer, when, to the amazement of a few and to the amusement of all, the Madras Government proceeded against Mrs Besant under the Press Act. What an anticlimax that Press Act prosecution was!

"Then later came her internment. As a prelude, His Excellency the Governor came down from the hills and granted an interview to Mrs Besant at Government House, Mount Road. Nothing could have been better from Mrs Besant's point of view. The interview was exceedingly dramatic, and Mrs Besant walked out of Government House like a tragedy queen, injured and oppressed by a cruelly autocratic Government.

"We have heard that British politicians waxed eloquent on English platforms about the cruelty of making Mrs Besant rot in jail, while the High Priestess of Home Rule went comfortably up to the queen of hill-stations, drove in her own motor-car from the railway station to her bungalow, and there, in the company of her own political colleagues, lay reclining on the hills like gods together, nursing her grievances against the Madras Government and posing as a martyr for all India to admire and weep over, while her followers went all over the country, as if to say, 'If you have tears, prepare to shed them now'.

"The interned queen held durbars at Gulistan with the Home Rule flag floating outside, waving its challenge to the Madras Government to come and haul it down if they dared.

"Mrs Besant, going through the precautionary measure of internment, used it as an advertisement, and with such effect that the Viceroy forthwith took her as a partner in the creation of a calm political atmosphere for the special benefit of the Secretary of State.

"How she accomplished this task, and what sort of calm political atmosphere was the result, are matters of common knowledge.

"We have a shrewd suspicion that she has scored both over the Madras Government and the Government of India, and that she has come out of her internment stronger than when she went in. She has succeeded in converting the Theosophical Society, which was originally a religious

society, into a political one In a letter to the Government of Madras she said

“‘The Theosophical Society cannot identify itself with any special creed, religious, social, or political, but it can and ought to stand for the sacred right of free speech, for all opinions which do not incite crime, and can see that His Excellency’s instinctive attack on religious liberty shows the true spirit of autocracy and hatred of all freedom

“‘It has therefore allied itself in this struggle in *entente cordiale* with the National Congress, the Moslem League, and the Home Rule League in one solid body united in resistance to autocracy and in defence of the liberty of the people, and I, as President of the Theosophical Society, will conclude no separate peace’

“Mrs Besant may consider with pardonable pride that her election as President of the Indian National Congress of 1917 was a great personal triumph She entered the arena of Indian politics only in 1914, and within three years to have been able to wear the martyr’s crown, and to win the blue ribbon of native Indian politics, is a record in political progress

“This crowning success of Mrs Besant’s brief Indian political career was brought about by methods hitherto foreign to the Indian National Congress To pack the reception committee with new members, *whose subscriptions were paid by anonymous patrons* who remained behind the screen and pulled the wires, is more the method of Tammany Hall than of the Indian National Congress

“But the Congress whose Presidentship she secured by such means was only the ghost of the Indian National Congress, which by years of steady work carried on with moderation and sagacity, with a single eye for India’s political advancement, had at last secured recognition as the common political platform for educated India To attain this position the Congress had, with considerable difficulty, to purge itself of disruptive elements in Indian politics

“To bring back these forces of political extremism and disorder, and to drive out the more sober and steadying influences which have been the making of the Indian National Congress, was the main work of Mrs Besant

“With the ascendancy of Mrs Besant in the control of the Indian National Congress, its national and representative character disappeared The work that the leaders of

the Indian National Movement did in thirty years Mrs. Besant has undone in three. She has successfully played the part of the 'Pied Piper,' and enticed the schoolboys to follow her as a tumultuous, shouting crowd. The older Indian politicians, who had hitherto exercised the function of a brake on the Indian political movements, frightened at the possible development of political hooliganism on the part of the immature crowd and its harebrained leader, deserted their post in the most cowardly manner. Mrs. Besant once wrote that —

“ ‘A woman who fought her way out of Christianity and Whiggism into free thought and Radicalism absolutely alone, who gave up every old friend, male and female, rather than resign the belief she had struggled to in solitude, who, again, in embracing active socialism has run counter to the views of nearest male friends—such a woman may very likely go wrong, but I think she may venture, without conceit, at least to claim independent judgment’ ”

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“The German Crown Prince, when remonstrated with by the Kaiser about the heavy German losses at Verdun, is reported to have replied that he was brave enough to bear the German losses with fortitude. Mrs. Besant, when her attention was drawn to the broken-up home and outraged friendships, claims independent judgment. A woman's whims elevated to the dignity of independence of judgment may break a loving mother's heart, may break up a happy home, may bring a world-wide society which others have built up with tact and industry to the very verge of ruin, but it is time to cry 'halt' when the political future of a great country is attempted to be sacrificed at the altar of the vanity which seems to be insatiable. The conduct of those Indian political leaders who bartered away the interests of their country for the flattery of an adventuress who preaches patriotism to Indians while belittling the achievements of her own country and countrymen, will receive the censure of history and the condemnation of posterity ”

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Lincolnshire Room, Great Tothill Street, Westminster, on Monday, January 19, 1920, when a paper was read by Miss F R Scatcherd, entitled "India and her friends Wise and Otherwise" Sir J D Rees, Bart, M P, in the chair The following ladies and gentlemen, among others, were present Sir William Ovens Clark, Colonel C E Yate, C S I, C M G, M P, Brigadier General H A Iggulden, C I E Colonel C L Swaine, I M S (retired), the Rev Dr Durham, the Baroness Barnekoff, Captain and Mrs E C Cox, Lady Kensington, Mr Duncan Irvine, I C S (retired), Mr N C Sen, O B E, Mr F C Channing, I C S (retired), Mr W Coldstream, K I H, Mr J B Pennington, I C S (retired), Mr G Owen Dunn, Mr F H Brown, Mr H Charles Woods, Mr G A Tweedie, I C S (retired), Mrs A M T Jackson, Miss Lloyd Pierce, Miss Grey, Mr K J Tarachand, Mr M M Allorge, Miss Sykes, the Rev Frank Penny, Mr Frank, Miss Dunderdale, Mrs Walsh, Mr S R Rao, Mr H F Dunning, Miss Shaw, Miss Beadon, Miss Barneby, Miss Spiers, Mr H L Leach, Miss Dunbar, Mrs Collis, Mr G M Ryan, Dr Mir Anwaruddin, Mrs Bartholomew, Mr H R J Hemming, General and Mrs Cadogan Baillie, the Hon Mrs Grant, Mr and Mrs H M Gibbs, Mrs White, Mrs Hedley Thomson, the Rev W L Broadbent, Miss Harley, Mrs E F Kinneir Tarte, Miss de Robeck, Mrs Stephenson, Captain Campbell, Miss J Cadman, Miss Shephard, Mr Fardell, Mrs Hooker, Miss Powell, Lady Maud Parry, Mr C L Parker, Mr S S Gnana Viran, Mrs Nast, Mr Bradley, Miss Hopley, Mrs Barbara McKenzie, and Mr Stanley P Rice, Hon Secretary

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and gentlemen, I very much regret that the absence of Lord Lamington has led to my occupying the chair to day

Being in the chair, I cannot be called to order, but I promise not to abuse the rules of order to any very great extent

At the same time there is one subject, not arising out of the paper, which is very difficult for any gathering like this of people who are interested in India and in Mahomedans to ignore While we are met here to day the question of the future of the Turkish Empire and of Constantinople, a question in which India is so vitally interested, is probably being debated in Paris It is a question of such vital importance to all friends of India, that I cannot help saying how much I hope the solution will be such as will not cause pain and disappointment to the people of India, and in particular to the Mahomedans of India, whether or not they take a great interest in the Sultan of Turkey as the Caliph of Islam, as to which I have some little doubt I think quite as much as need be has been made of that

- for report

But as a student of Mahomedan languages, and a



frequenter of the company of Islam, I firmly believe that the Mahomedans in India, and the Mahomedans all the world over, are very proud of the position of the Sultan as head of a great Power situated in what Gibbon described as a place destined by Providence to be the seat of a great Empire, and I believe the expulsion of the Sultan would be deeply regretted, if not warmly resented, by the Mahomedans of India. I hope and pray that a satisfactory solution will be arrived at on that subject, because I am not one of those who think we ought to have on our hands all the minor nations, like Armenians, Serbians, Albanians, Montenegrins, and so on to think of, but that it is about time we thought of our own interest and our own pockets (Hear, hear)

Miss Scatcherd has written a very interesting paper. She has commended to Mr Hyndman and others the study of some very useful figures, and I am quite sure that Mr Hyndman and others will totally disregard her advice in this respect, and will continue to repeat those figures which best maintain their own arguments. There is one criterion which no one seems willing to apply to these questions, that is the difference in the expense of living in a country where you do not require expensive housing, clothes, or food, and in a country where things are only procurable at almost impossible prices. That is a point which is invariably avoided by all hot reformers, who never seem to me to be the wisest people in the world. Another point which is totally neglected by all those who bring accusations against British rule in India is that British India is not charged one penny for the services of the British Navy, without which the country would have been the prey of every pirate and every invader for the last hundred years or more, as it was before the period of British supremacy. I think nobody who knows the country personally can have any doubt, whatever figures may be brought forward, that India has progressed very much in material prosperity in recent years. There was a very admirable paper published in the ASIATIC REVIEW \* for this month, in which it was shown that on an average of three years before the war the trade showed that there was a balance due to India of some 50 millions. It is not a sign of poverty to have a balance due to you, and I think in England we should be extremely glad if the account were of the same character. I am disinclined, even if I had time to enter into any argument upon these figures, but it seems to me that both sides can derive equal comfort according to the faith that is in them. There is one remark I would make upon one set of figures which are continually quoted and thrown at the heads of those who venture to defend our rule in India, and that is the question of the land assessment. You know that it was a recommendation of the Joint Committee on the India Bill, in which my honourable and gallant friend, Colonel Yate, and I are so interested, that this in future should be more of a legislative than an administrative matter. It may well be that that should be so, and it will deprive critics of the opportunity of mis

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\* W H Moreland on "Some Thoughts about the 'Drain' in India," ASIATIC REVIEW, January, 1920

representing the matter Half the net is a light assessment Half the gross would be exceedingly heavy assessment. If you allow for cultivating expenses anything between 25 per cent. and 50 per cent, obviously, when you deduct all that, and when a man gets half for himself of what is left over everything, he is doing pretty well, and I think the tax-payers of this country would be rather glad to be in the same position as the Indian ryot in this respect As regards Mrs Besant, I should like to make one remark, and I hope to carry the audience with me I have never devoted much time or ink to the defence or praise of Mrs Besant In point of fact I described her as a storm-petrel in petticoats in the House of Commons, but I am bound to say that in my judgment this is not the time for raking up or for bringing forward criticism of Mrs Besant, or of anybody else It is the time to follow the example set by our most gracious Sovereign Let us have a spirit amnesty, not only an amnesty by proclamation, among ourselves Mrs Besant at the present moment is pretty moderate, and has been helping in the legislation which has just been put through, and which, whether we like it or not, we must all wish to make the best of Mrs Besant has, in this respect, been a moderate critic, and has exercised a helpful influence, and therefore let us not bring up anything she has said in the past Let us extend to her a spirit of amnesty, and I would suggest to Miss Scatcherd that she should leave out Part III of her paper, which is concerned with Mrs Besant

Sir J D Rees then read a letter from Dr John Pollen, C I E, late Hon Secretary of the Association, and member of the council, to the following effect

*January 16, 1920*

MY DEAR MISS SCATCHERD,

Although the doctors still insist that I must keep quite quiet, I feel I must send you a line to wish you all success in the reading of your paper (which Sir Arundel fittingly describes as "excellent")

Its main object is to make good blood instead of bad blood by bringing out some fundamental truths about our administration in India In these days, when so many seem to take an insane delight in blackening every blot in that by no means blotless record, it is well to insist upon the fact that most of the pages are clean, and that since 1857 there has been no deliberately harsh or unjust Government in India Mistakes have no doubt been made, but that only means that the Government has been a human Government

I have always held that, such as it is, it rests and has rested, not on conquest, but on the consent of the governed, and that is the only sure foundation on which any Government can rest

I am glad that you bring out clearly that the land assessment is, on the whole, *light*, and is certainly not the cause of the poverty of the ryot, and that on the average the people of India, although poor inhabitants of a very rich country, are not so poor compared with the poor of other countries as is often pretended.

As one who from the early days of his service has always been "Pro-Indian" and used to being reproached by some Mandarins as being "too

much in with the Indians," may I thus place on record my hearty appreciation of your thoughtful and tactful paper

(Signed) J POLLEN

THE HON SECRETARY, in appealing for new members of the Association, said that Dr Pollen, who was unique in his power of getting members, during the time that he had acted as Secretary, had increased the membership of the Association from about 60 to 500, and it was his (the speaker's) ambition to raise it very considerably more than that, although he had not the same opportunities as Dr Pollen had. He appealed to all present to try to obtain as many new members as possible. They did not merely want people who were known to be interested in India, as were the members of the Association, but those who had not yet manifested any particular interest in India. He was sure there were many who, if they were asked, would be pleased to become members of the Association. (Hear, hear.)

THE CHAIRMAN read letters which had been received from Lord Burnham, Lady Astor, M P, and others, expressing their regret at being unable to be present at the lecture.

The paper was then read.

THE CHAIRMAN Ladies and gentlemen, we are so accustomed nowadays to the eloquence of women that it does not even call for comment. I am sure we have heard a most interesting paper, delivered in a good manner, and, what is most important, in an audible voice. I am very pleased that Miss Scatcherd has kindly taken to heart the remarks I made about the spirit of amnesty. She spoke of the statements made in English papers going all over the world, and that is my reason for mentioning one statement made in her own paper. Whether any class of people are capable of governing themselves is a matter about which diverse opinions are held at this moment, even among those people who are occupied in governing in our own Parliament. Whether people desire to be governed by their own people or are satisfied with the government of foreigners is a matter upon which present events in Egypt are throwing a lurid light. When Miss Scatcherd says that the majority of people in this country die as paupers I think that is rather a misleading statement. I believe the people in this country are better off at present than in any other place in Europe. One might read her statement to mean that most of our people die as paupers in receipt of relief. She spoke of the £100,000,000 loan, and rightly said it was proposed by an Indian member of Council. I think it went even further than that. I think the vote was taken of the Indian members only, and that they all voted in its favour. As to the aloofness of British officers from the Indians, I think the boot is upon the other leg. It is the Indians who keep rather aloof from the Europeans. I state a fact and I am not blaming Indians for it. As to the land revenue, our old friend, Mr Pennington, could tell us that in his district of Tinnevely irrigated land sells for more than twenty years' purchase, which is considered to be a good price in this country. But I do not wish to occupy time devoted to debate, and will call on Colonel Yate to address this large and representative assembly.

Colonel C E YATE, M P , regretted that the Chairman should have invited the Lecturer to omit Part III of the paper, and hoped that every body in the audience would read that part carefully when it came out in the journal, because what was said there ought to be well known throughout the country generally. He was one of those who wished to see Indians with a greater share in the management of their own country. The misrepresentations, though, which had been made about the British Government in India had been very serious, and had done a great deal of harm, especially of late. In the days of the Mutiny, they must remember it was a mutiny of soldiers against the Government, but the people of the country, as a rule, were with the Government, and Europeans were often assisted and saved by the people of the country. In the recent Punjab revolution, however, they had seen mobs, not from the country but from the great towns, excited to unexampled violence and fury, but the Government in this case had the soldiers with them in putting down the mob who were trying to murder every European, man, woman, and child, and to destroy every bit of Government property equally with that of the Indians who were serving the Government. They all knew with what difficulty the murderous mobs were prevented from carrying out their fell designs, and he was glad to see in how many cases Indians had come forward to help Europeans who were in danger. He much regretted that some of those who came to this country made misrepresentations with regard to the British Government in India, and the Lecturer was to be congratulated on the plucky manner in which she had brought some of these erroneous statements to light. In reference to the question of the Sultan of Turkey, he expressed the hope that the Conference at Paris would come to a satisfactory conclusion, and that a settlement would be arrived at whereby the Sultan of Turkey would remain in Constantinople as an independent ruler. (Applause)

Mr H CHARLES WOODS, commenting on the remarks of the Chairman and Colonel Yate with regard to Constantinople, hoped that a solution satisfactory to the feelings of Moslems would be arrived at. There were three aspects of the Turkish question that were not sufficiently noticed in this country, though a great deal of ink had been spilt upon that subject. Firstly, it did not seem to matter very much whether millions of non Turkish Moslems were historically correct or incorrect in believing that the Sultan was their Caliph. What mattered was whether or not they did, in fact, regard him as their spiritual chief. Secondly, as he (Mr Woods) believed one of the claims of the Sultan to the Caliphate rested upon the fact that he was the most important Moslem Prince of the day, it appeared that if he were removed from Constantinople it might have an indirect effect upon his claims to the Caliphate. And thirdly, while Constantinople was undoubtedly the *pièce de résistance* of the Turkish question from a European standpoint, the future of the Asiatic part of the former dominions of the Sultan was really the all-important question from the Christian point of view. If the Sultan were removed from Constantinople, neither the Armenian nor the Greek question in Asiatic Turkey would be thereby solved. These questions required solutions more fundamental and more

far reaching even than the question of Constantinople—solutions which must secure to the subject peoples security and safety in the future

Mr TARACHAND regretted that Miss Scatcherd had omitted Part III of her paper, because in his opinion a great deal of harm had been done in India by Mrs Besant. She had started as a disciple of theosophy, and had then developed into an Indian politician. Her followers were members of the society which she had founded, the Order of the Star in the East, and they were only incidentally members of the Home Rule for India League.

Mr HAROLD F DUNNING said he had been some years in India, had mixed extensively with Indians, and had discussed with many of the principal ruling Princes in India questions regarding India, with the result, he was convinced the question was largely one of education.

The cause of most of the little disturbances we have had in India is directly attributable to part knowledge of facts. People such as Mrs Besant went to India, convinced the uneducated (most of Mrs Besant's followers belong to this class), but they did not convince the educated Indians. The educated Indian, with few exceptions, was perfectly satisfied with the British rule, though, of course, there were points with which he did not agree (and this, most people will allow, is inevitable). He knew he was getting on much better under British rule than if Indians had remained their own rulers, having regard to the many castes, contentious factors, and differences of opinion in India itself.

With regard to the question of the aloofness of the British officer (by this he meant those deputed by the Home Government to control certain areas), it was certainly the opinion in India, and not without just cause, that these representatives did not take the opportunity presented of studying Indian questions from the Indian point of view, and were much more aloof than they need be.

On the motion of Mr Owen Dunn, hearty votes of thanks were by acclamation accorded to the Lecturer and the Chairman.

The Chairman having thanked the meeting on behalf of the Lecturer and himself, the proceedings terminated.

[NOTE BY THE LECTURER —I refrained from replying on account of the lateness of the hour, but was willing to omit the reading of Part III, which I added rather for general information, finding Mrs Besant needed a whole paper to herself. Certainly the "Evolution of a Reformer," as illustrated by the life history of "A. B.," might justify the Chairman's doubt as to reformers being the "wisest people in the world." At the request of those disappointed this time, I will deal with Mrs Besant's career, as it affects India, on another occasion, here or elsewhere.]

The term "pauper" was not used in its technical sense, but only meant that the vast majority live from hand to mouth, and die without leaving any property behind worth mentioning —F. R. SCATCHERD.]

## BURMA

BY SIR HARVEY ADAMSON, K C S I

WHEN I landed at Bombay in 1877—an Indian civilian on my way, as I thought, to the Northern Provinces—I was considerably perturbed to find on reporting myself at the Secretariat that I was posted direct to Burma. My acquaintances in Bombay were unable to give me any information about Burma, but their countenances betrayed the apprehension that they and I were parting for ever. On my way across India I happened to travel with a knowledgeable officer of my own service. He told me that the mosquitoes in Burma were as large as his fist. He corrected the depressing influence of this remark by assuring me that from an official point of view Burma was the best of all Indian provinces for promotion. “Why?” I asked. “Because,” he replied, “no one has ever been known to live five years in Burma.” Even at the present day the average Englishman, though he knows very little about Burma, will at least be positive that it is a place with a dreadfully malarious climate. I am happily in a position to tender myself as an exhibit to rebut these inexactitudes about the climate of Burma. I lived thirty-eight years in Burma, was scarcely ever ill, and enjoyed every day of my time there. The truth is that there are unhealthy stations in Burma as in every province of India, but that on the whole the climate is as salubrious as any in the East. In some respects it is less trying than in most parts of India, because the monsoon breaks early and the hot season is shorter and less fierce than in India, and also because at all times of the year one can be assured of a fairly cool night in Burma. A night punka is never a necessity, though it may often be a welcome luxury.

As for mosquitoes, one soon gets acclimatized to these

unpleasant creatures, and in any case there are few places in Burma where they are more offensive than in Calcutta. I grant that there are a few obscure stations where they are very odious, and these have given a bad reputation to the whole province. I have a vivid recollection of my first visit to Maubin. We had been playing tennis, and were sitting enjoying a peg in the twilight, when Boom-buzz! a sound like an aeroplane invasion, and everyone rushed to the nearest house, which, like all houses in Maubin, was built like a meat-safe, with every window, door, and crevice lined with sheets of perforated zinc. The sound came from clouds of mosquitoes which were wending their way across the river from the jungle opposite, a nightly occurrence. Strange to say, Maubin is a very healthy spot, the mosquito not being of the *Anopheles* variety.

Burma was an unknown land in the remote days to which I have referred, and it cannot be said that she has yet emerged into the full blaze of publicity. Happy, they say, is the country which has not a history, but unfortunately a country which has no history does not excite very much interest in other countries. Burma has had to solve many problems, and there are many still to solve in connection with development, irrigation, revenue, education, crime, self-government, and a host of other subjects. But these are all purely domestic affairs of an unexciting nature that do not draw upon her the eyes of the world. I daresay that if Burma had done something desperate—if, for instance, she had adopted India's chequered course of political agitation—she would have been much better known to the world than she is. But happily her progress in the arts of civilization, though it has not been slow, has been peaceful, and consequently she has not attracted the attention which is due to her merits. As an illustration I may cite your own Association. The East India Association has been in existence for many years, and over a hundred papers on Indian subjects have been read to large audiences. But though Burma forms a considerable slice of East India,

being in fact little less in size than the combined areas of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, and the United Provinces, only two papers on Burmese subjects have ever been presented. Do not suppose that I am attributing blame to your office-bearers for neglect of Burma. I know from experience how assiduous they are in roping diffident individuals into the service of the Association. The result seems rather to be due to want of self-assertion by Burma itself. There are many retired officers of the services of Burma and many merchants who could find much of interest in their experiences to relate to an audience in this country, but they appear to have imbibed the unobtrusive spirit of the country of their adoption.

Burma is the farthest east of the provinces of the Indian Empire. It stretches from Tibet in the north to far down the Malay Peninsula in the south, and from Assam and the Bay of Bengal in the west to China and Siam in the east. It has an area of 231,000 square miles, more than three times that of Bengal, but it has only about a fourth of the population of that province. The scenery of Burma is varied and very beautiful. There is a greenness in it which is restful and pleasing to the eye after the parched sombreness of India. The delta is, of course, flat, and its rice plains do not differ in appearance from rice plains elsewhere, except that they are ever and again relieved by picturesque stretches of forest-land. As one proceeds farther north the views become more charming. The rugged mountains, the hills clad with verdure, the broad rivers, the magnificent forests, the glittering pagodas, the cosy villages, and the gaily dressed crowds make most pleasing pictures. The coastal scenery is especially picturesque. There is no prettier spot on the whole earth than the Mergui Archipelago—

Whose islands on its bosom float  
Like emeralds chased in gold

The tourist to the East usually lands in Bombay, travels through the north of India first, and reserves Burma, if he



ever visits it at all, for the end of his tour. Consequently he generally experiences some discomfort from heat in his journey through Burma. He is reversing the natural order. He should begin with the south and gradually work north. His best plan, if he desires a good climate at all stages, is to sail from England in November direct for Rangoon—preferably by the Bibby Line, which is as luxurious and comfortable as any P and O—and, having seen Burma, to take steamer for Calcutta or Madras and continue his tour northward.

The casual traveller will find much to interest him in Burma. The extent to which he can see the country depends, of course, on the time at his disposal. If he has only a fortnight to spare he can travel by rail from Rangoon to Myitkyina in the extreme north, halting for a couple of days at Mandalay, and return by river, a delightful trip which can be done with every comfort. If he has more time on hand there are many opportunities of leaving the beaten tourist's track and gaining a larger experience of the country, its villages, and its people. Thomas Cook and Son, Rangoon, will provide him with itineraries. It will repay him to visit Maymyo, that most charming of hill stations, where it is never too hot and never too cold, and where one is not perched on a precipice as in Indian hill resorts, but can drive, ride, and play polo or golf on level ground. If our tourist is a sportsman he can be sure of a good bag of snipe at various points on his route, or if he aspires to big game he may be able to secure an elephant, or a bison, or a saing—a species of wild ox peculiar to Burma—but big-game shooting requires some previous arrangement. If he is a golfer he should, in passing through Rangoon, visit Mingaladoon, the best golf links in the East. If he has scholarly tastes he can explore the ancient relics of Buddhism at Pagan and other places. If he has no predilection in particular he will find in the bazaars and pagoda fêtes and indigenous sports, such as boat, pony, and bullock races, and in the arts of the country, such as silver

work, gold work, lacquer work, wood carving, and silk weaving, much that will be new and interesting to him. And above all he will discover the charm of the people of Burma.

Ten millions of a population of twelve millions are pure Burmese. The Burman is nearer to the Chinese than to the Aryan in type. He is short in stature but sturdy and well built, and has a fair complexion for an Oriental. The women are pleasing in figure and features, and although a stranger from the West might hesitate to call them beautiful, he would readily admit that they are comely and animated and attractive, that they know how to dress tastefully, and that they have the manners of a lady.

With a fertile soil and a rainfall that never fails, life is easy for the Burman, and he has no acute struggle for the means of existence. Consequently he is not given to hard work, unless the object interests him. He is generally a good-natured, careless, happy-go-lucky individual who takes no trouble about the morrow. Men and women are well clad, and they delight in gay colours and silk attire. There are few poor and no beggars. On the other hand, there is no aristocracy of wealth. There are no great landlords, no hereditary aristocracy, and no tribal chiefs. One man is as good as another.

It is a common fallacy that the Burman is lacking in courage. The truth is that he is naturally brave, but makes no cult of bravery. He is not ashamed to admit fear or to run away from danger. In the years following the annexation of Upper Burma, when the whole country was in the throes of rebellion, the Burmese fought bravely, amidst every possible discouragement, with flint-lock guns and soft iron swords against rifles and bayonets. It is only during the late war that the Burmese have become soldiers of our army. I have heard from a British officer who was present in Mesopotamia how the Burma Sappers and Miners threw a bridge across the DIALA, under heavy fire, with their comrades falling around them, as steadily and skilfully as if

it had been an operation of ordinary parade The Burman is lavish in expenditure, and is not given to hoarding money Lightly come and lightly go is his fashion Any wealth that he may have accumulated he spends in charity, builds a pagoda, or a monastery school, or a bridge, or a rest-house, or digs a well, for by works such as these he believes that religious merit will be credited to him The amount thus spent every year in Burma is enormous The Burman gives in charity far more in proportion to his wealth than any other people Unfortunately he is very conservative in this respect, and cannot readily be persuaded to give for other than his stereotyped religious charities

The Burmese are Buddhists by religion, and their form of Buddhism is very pure They have no caste distinctions, no bigotry, and no enmity to other creeds Religious persecution is unknown There are no priests properly speaking, but there are thousands of monks, who live in the monasteries outside every village, and may be seen in the early morning begging their food on the streets These monks are simply a community of anchorites searching for the truth They never interfere in secular affairs, or in matters of state, or express an opinion on such The reverence in which they are held by the people is very great The Burman kneels while he addresses them, or when they pass him on the road

There are no dark places in the lives of the Burmese as there are in the lives of other Orientals All is open to the light of the day in their homes and their religion The women mix freely and openly with the men and take their full share in social and domestic matters, just as their European sisters do Nothing more free than a woman's position in the married state can be imagined By law she is the mistress of her own property and her own self She is gifted with a shrewd common sense, and has a very keen idea of what she can do best, and what things she should leave to her husband She is an industrious housewife, and an excellent shopkeeper Speaking broadly it may be said

that the retail trade of the country is in the hands of women

The Burmese are a very adaptable people. They are not hidebound by custom, as many Oriental races are, and they are ever ready to take up new ideas when they think that any practical advantage can be obtained from them. For instance, the co-operative credit system, which was introduced to their notice only a few years ago, has readily gained acceptance, and it is now not rare to find villages which have co-operative banks managed by the cultivators themselves, and very efficiently, too. In Burma, as in England, a man feels no constraint to follow his father's trade. The son of a cultivator may be a cultivator, or a clerk, or a trader, or even a member of the provincial civil service, and need never fear that the lowly origin of his father will be cast up against him.

The monk is the schoolmaster of his village, but this is aside entirely from his sacred profession. Every man has attended a monastery school as a boy, and spent a part of his boyhood as pupil or acolyte. He has lived there with the monks, and learned from them the elements of education and a knowledge of his faith. There are very few Burmese who cannot read or write. For want of practice the art may be lost, but it has been acquired. The education is not very deep—reading and writing Burmese, very simple arithmetic, and a great deal of religion. Every Burman knows by heart large portions of the sacred books.

But while primary education, such as it is, is almost universal, higher education is very backward. No Burman has yet passed the competitive examination for the Indian Civil Service. Burma has no University, though it is on the eve of obtaining one, and has hitherto been dependent for the higher learning on Calcutta University. It may be doubted whether the total of Bachelorships of Arts acquired by Burmans has yet amounted to four hundred. If the Bar be excepted, the Burmans who have qualified for the learned professions might be counted on one's fingers, and

even in the legal profession no Burman has gained any very marked pre-eminence

In the times of the Burmese kings the central Government was weak, but local government was strong. From the governors in the provinces you came straight down to the village and its headman. Each village was a self-governing community. And so it remains, as far as may be, under British rule. The headman holds his appointment from above as a matter of form, but he is chosen by his fellow-villagers as a matter of fact. Some of the principal taxes are assessed and collected by the villagers themselves. The Government merely fixes the total. The villagers then appoint assessors from among themselves, and decide how much each household should pay. A coolie might pay two rupees and a trader as much as fifty. So well is the assessment made that complaints against the decision of the assessors are unknown.

Though there is much to admire in the life and character of the people, the Burmese have all the faults of an excitable and impulsive race. They are inveterate gamblers, and betting is the soul of every sport. They are as fond of a row as the Irish, and they are easily provoked to wrath and too ready to use the nearest weapon, be it a club or a knife, on the slightest provocation. They are especially prone to committing crimes of violence. Dacoity, or gang robbery, is a national failing, and is regarded by the young blood as a form of sport. Some of these dacoities are terrible crimes, involving not only murder, but the torture of old or young, men and women, for their treasure. When a Burman sees red he can be very savage. Another fault in a Burman is his immense conceit. He is willing to yield the palm to a European, but regards himself as far superior to any other Oriental. The Burman rustic is credulous and superstitious to a degree. Petty rebellion against the British Government is not an uncommon event, and it is always based on superstitious credulity. Any daring adventurer, by the exercise of some deceptive

sleight of hand which is attributed to magic, by the twisting into a meaning of his own of some obscure prophecy, and by the pretence that he is the reincarnation of a king, can win the confidence of hundreds of ordinarily sensible men who are ready to follow him in any mad enterprise of rebellion, fully persuaded that when the first shot is fired supernatural tigers and elephants will rush from the jungles and ensure victory. This is not an exaggerated picture. I can recall at least three occurrences during the time that I was Lieutenant-Governor of Burma between 1910 and 1915.

With many virtues and not a few vices the Burmese are a most likeable people. I have never met anyone who lived among them who has not felt their fascination. They are full of fun and laughter, and are ever hospitable and kindly. The stranger who visits their homes is always welcomed. I recall many pleasant hours spent under the banyan tree in villages where I was a complete stranger, conversing with the Burmans who sat around me, listening to their gossip and laughter—for there is never a crowd in Burma without laughter—and regaling myself with the milk and honey and cheroots which their hospitality had provided for my entertainment.

I will now turn to a different aspect of my subject—Burma as she appeals to the merchant and capitalist. I have time only to give the briefest review of her rich material resources in agriculture, forests, and minerals. Agriculture takes the first place. The plains of Burma comprise wet zones in the south and north, and a dry zone in the middle. The pre-eminence of Burma as a field for agriculture lies in the fact that the rainfall has never been known to fail. In the wet zones one agricultural year may be a little better than another, but there is never a bad year. In the dry zone the rainfall is more variable, and there are occasional seasons of short crops, but scarcity amounting to famine, which is so common in India, never occurs in Burma.

The annually cropped area of Burma exceeds fifteen million acres. Most of it depends solely on natural rainfall. Less than 9 per cent is irrigated, chiefly by large Government canals in the dry zone. More than two-thirds of the cropped area is under rice. Burma is the chief granary in the world for the export of rice. Burma rice forms the bulk of the Western world's supply, the annual export approaches three million tons. The methods of cultivation are primitive, and are exactly the same as they were hundreds of years ago. Even the use of manure is almost unknown except in the rice-plant nurseries.

Other agricultural products are sesamum, millet, beans and pulses, ground nut, cotton, maize, wheat, gram, rape, chillies, sugar, tobacco, betel-nut, fruits of numerous kinds, and rubber. Most of these are capable of large expansion. Rubber is a comparatively new industry, the tapped area scarcely yet exceeding twenty thousand acres. In the south, especially in the Tenasserim division, the soil and the climate are very suitable to its growth, and when the country becomes better provided with means of communication large extensions may be expected.

From this brief summary it will be seen that agriculture in the plains of Burma has already made large strides, but that there is ample room for further progress. It is probable that the supply even of rice can be much increased by the use of manure, and the adoption of intensive methods of cultivation, while other agricultural products have a field open for expansion in area cultivated, selection of seed, introduction of new staples, and improved methods of cultivation. The uplands of Burma, chiefly the Shan States, are still for the most part virgin soil. They are suitable for wheat, potatoes, tea, and other products of a temperate climate, and present a large field for future enterprise.

Next to agriculture in importance come the forests of Burma, which are more remunerative than those of any other Indian province. They are the storehouse of teak,

from which the world's requirements of this valuable timber are supplied. They comprise 30,000 square miles of reserved forests and 120,000 square miles of unclassified forests, and, so far as teak is concerned, they are worked in accordance with the most approved scientific methods. Teak forests are exploited partly by departmental agency and partly by private enterprise. In the latter case the forests are leased to timber firms, which fell and extract trees selected and marked by the forest officer, and use them for the supply of their saw-mills.

During the war timbers other than teak have been exploited on a large scale for military purposes in India and Mesopotamia. There are enormous quantities of such timbers, for which a remunerative market has not yet been found, but which will probably find a sale in Europe when freights have been reduced to a normal rate. Indeed, many of these timbers may be more useful in the West than in the East, because the chief objection to their use in the East is that they are subject to depredation by white ants.

The forests of Burma contain much wealth in minor forest products, none of which has yet been largely exploited except cutch. Among minor forest products may be mentioned bamboos, canes, fibres, barks, wood oils, cardamoms, myrobalans, and lac. Vast quantities of gums, resins, dye-stuffs, and tanning materials are still waste products. The attention of the Forest Department has hitherto been directed mainly to teak. In other timbers and minor produce a large field is still open for the development of the forest wealth of Burma.

Burma has also immense mineral resources, much of which is potential, as it is still in the ground.

Will Burma ever become a gold field? It would be rash to predict that it will, but there are indications that it may. Gold is washed down by many streams, and there are some who make a precarious livelihood by extracting it from the silt. Dredging for gold was carried on by a com-



pany in the upper reaches of the Irrawaddy, and though commercial success was not attained the company had a vitality of twelve years, and not a few thousand ounces of gold was won. An attempt was made to win gold from quartz, which was abandoned after the extraction of 1,250 ounces. These are indications that there must be much gold in the province, but it has not yet been discovered in remunerative quantities near the surface.

Coal, chiefly of inferior quality, is found in many places, but some of it, in localities at present commercially inaccessible, has been reported by the geological survey as being about equal in quality to Raniganj coal.

Tin has for long been worked in the extreme south of Burma, but, unfortunately, it occurs in a locality devoid of means of transport. It is believed that it will some day be worked with commercial success. Jade stone is found in considerable quantities in wild tracts in the extreme north of Burma, and is worked by native methods. It finds an unlimited market in China.

Rubies, spinels, and sapphires of first-rate quality occur at Mogok, where the Ruby Mines Company carries on its work. The introduction of the artificial ruby, which at a short distance is undistinguishable from the real stone, has militated against the company's success. Judging from the quotations of its shares on the Stock Exchange, the company appears to be coming into a new era of prosperity.

Burma has immense wealth in petroleum. The annexation of Upper Burma in 1885 brought into prominence the oil wells of Yenangyaung, which had long been worked by the Burmese by primitive methods that drew oil only from the higher strata. This field and others that have been discovered are now worked by British companies, and give an annual yield of 300,000,000 gallons.

Wolfram is found chiefly in Tavoy district, and before the war the whole supply went to Germany, from which country all tungsten used in England was obtained. The war gave an impetus to its extraction, and in 1917 as much

as 4,000 tons was shipped to England. The Tavoy field produces one-third of the world's output.

Silver, lead, and zinc are extracted from the Burma Corporation's mine at Bawdwin, which promises to be one of the big mining propositions of the world.

Of all these mineral products oil is the only one that has yet reached a great commercial success. But other mineral resources are very promising, though they are at present mainly in the prospecting stage of development.

The progress of commercial development in Burma is sorely retarded by the absence of adequate means of communication. Nature has given the province a fair complement of waterways, but to serve an area nearly twice the size of the United Kingdom she has only 1,600 miles of railway. Her deficiency in roads is even more marked. The total length of roads is put down on paper as only 2,000 miles, and most of these are not worthy of the name, and are fit only for bullock-cart traffic. Burma has hitherto been the Cinderella of Indian provinces, uncared for by the distant Government of India, who have turned a deaf ear to her requests that a larger share of her revenues should be devoted to her own development. The first requirement of the province is more railways and an adequate system of roads to carry the produce to the railways and rivers. The lack of transport facilities is a deterrent to the influx of capital, without which the great potential resources of Burma cannot be developed. She may be expected to have a great commercial future when the Government of India wake up to the fact that in a country rich in material resources expenditure on communications is as productive of wealth as any other outlay of capital.

A lecture on Burma confined to a limit of forty minutes must necessarily be an incomplete production. I have been able only to sketch some prominent features of the province and its principal race of inhabitants. My hope is that I may have induced some of you to seek a deeper knowledge of an interesting country and a delightful

people. I will conclude with a word on constitutional reform, a subject which is of considerable interest to the province at the present time.

Burma was excluded from the Indian Reform Scheme for the reasons that her people are in a different stage of political development, and that as yet the desire for elective institutions had not arisen. A promise, however, was given in the Montagu-Chelmsford report that Burma should have an opportunity of participating in the reforms so far as they were applicable to her circumstances. This promise awakened the national pride. It was felt that Burma could not be contented to remain in a condition of tutelage while other provinces were obtaining a large measure of independence. It also aroused considerable apprehension. It was feared that if the opportunity were not seized, Burma might come to be ruled by an Indian Government largely controlled by Indian politicians. Perhaps the latter was the more powerful influence, for Burmans have always been strongly averse to having Indians placed in authority over them.

There are not a few reasons why the path to self-government may be expected in the long run to be smoother in Burma than in India. I have mentioned some of these in describing the character of the Burmese. Burma has no caste system and no religious cleavage. Her monastic institutions ensure the diffusion of a limited type of primary education. Her people readily adapt themselves to new conditions, and are not hidebound to custom. Her women are free and untrammelled. The masses are intelligent, and live up to a high standard of comfort. The people are so homogeneous that practically a single language will carry one throughout the country.

Notwithstanding these favourable conditions, Burma is at present far behind India in fitness for self-governing institutions. In India the demand of the educated classes for representative self-government has been agitated for more than fifty years, which has resulted in a considerable

development of political education In Burma, until the publication of the Reform report, no Burman had ever dreamed of self-government for his country, nor had any indication been given that even the intelligentsia desired it Political education in Burma is absolutely non-existent In India the educated classes, though not forming a large proportion of the total population, are numerous I have already commented on the backwardness of general education in Burma The standard of higher education is much lower in Burma than in India The educated classes, such as they are, are very few in number, and most of them are in Government service, and therefore ineligible for the field of politics, for almost the sole object of education among the Burmese hitherto has been to obtain an appointment in the Services There are English newspapers in Burma edited and managed by Englishmen, but the Burman Press has been entirely vernacular Until constitutional reform was mooted, it confined its attention to religious matters, and contained no criticism of the action of Government Not even in local public affairs have Burmans hitherto shown any interest In respect of political development and general education the intelligentsia of Burma are at least fifty years behind the intelligentsia of India

These are the considerations which the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Reginald Craddock, had in view when he formulated his scheme for the first step to self-government in Burma It gives a large measure of local self-government to both urban and rural tracts, provides a legislative assembly, on which all classes, communities, and interests are represented, mostly by election and partly by nomination, introduces all urban ratepayers and almost all rural taxpayers to the vote, and associates the people with the Executive Government by the appointment of nominated non-official chairmen to preside over boards for the conduct of business The effect of the scheme, if it comes into operation, will be to give to the representatives of the people a considerable influence, but no greater actual

power, in shaping the policy of Government than was given by the Morley-Minto reforms in the most advanced provinces. The popular assembly will, in its first stage, be a school in which the art of politics may be learned, rather than an authority exercising any direct power of self-government. The scheme is a tremendous advance on all that is past. I believe that it satisfies the elders in Burma, but it by no means meets the aspirations of the Young Burma party, who ask for at least as large a measure of reform as has been given in the most advanced of Indian provinces.

In what shape the scheme will emerge from the Government of India and the Secretary of State has not yet been determined. I do not blame Young Burma for its aspirations. It is in the essence of politics that there can be no progress unless there is an advance party asking for more than can be immediately granted. But wiser heads will reflect that there is danger in inordinate haste. It requires no great measure of education to exercise a vote, but if a party is to be entrusted with powers of government there must be in it a considerable leaven of men who possess general education and political experience. It is in this respect that Burma is at present behind India in its fitness for self-governing institutions. Burma has a hopeful future in the path of reform, but she has a long leeway to make up, and the initial pace must necessarily be slower than in India.

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the East India Association held at the Lancashire Room, 7a, Tothill Street, Westminster, on Monday, February 9, 1920, a paper was read by Sir Harvey Adamson, KCSI, LL.D., entitled "Burma." Sir Frederick W. R. Fryer, KCSI, occupied the chair. The following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, GCMG, GCIE, Sir Lancelot Hare, KCSI, CIE, Sir Frank C. Gates, KCIE, CSI, Sir Herbert Holmwood, Sir George W. Shaw, CSI, Sir William Owens Clark, Mr. A. Porteous, CIE, Mr. H. Darlington, CIE, Mr. N. C. Sen, OBE, General H. A. Iggulden, CIE, Lady Kensington, Lady Simeon, Mr. S. S. G. Viran, Captain Cox, Mr. P. V. Guiry, Mr. A. Eggar, Miss Vertue, Miss F. R. Scatcherd, Lieut.-Colonel G. V. Holms, Mr. Khin Maung Yin, Mr. K. M. Gyee, Colonel F. S. Terry, Colonel Des Vœux, Miss Des Vœux, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Sewell, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mrs. Slater, Miss McNauthy, Miss Lambert, Mr. H. L. Leach, Miss R. Shaddick, Mr. C. Leo Parker, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Miss Gordon, Mr. J. W. Parry, Lieutenant J. P. B. Jeejeebhoy, R.A.F., Mr. Ba Thein, Mr. C. W. Dunn, ICS, Miss Slater, Mr. Bonser, Mr. and Mrs. H. M. Gibbs, Mrs. Daly, Mr. N. C. Daruwalla, Mr. Keene, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mrs. Stevenson Howell, Mrs. White, The Rev. W. L. Broadbent, Mr. W. Frank, Mr. W. Kerr, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN said it was hardly necessary for him to introduce the Lecturer, as he expected he must be known personally to most of those present, and certainly by name to all. He had kindly consented to read a paper on "Burma," and he was sure the paper would be most interesting, as few people knew Burma and its people as well as Sir Harvey did, he having spent a good many years in the Province, and knew it from end to end.

The paper was then read, being received with great enthusiasm.

The CHAIRMAN: My lord, ladies and gentlemen, I am sure you have all listened with great pleasure to the paper, and we must all be glad that the Lecturer has been induced to abandon the unobtrusiveness of the people of Burma and to come forward and read this paper. I am only sorry that he felt obliged to curtail his paper so as to bring it within the limits of forty minutes, for we should all have been pleased to hear much more. As for myself, I cannot claim to have the intimate knowledge of Burma that Sir Harvey has. I only went to Burma in 1866, very much against my own wish, for I was persuaded that Burma was a very unhealthy country, and that I should probably never be well there, but I managed to remain in

Burma for seventeen years, and I was much better in health there than I was in India. I do not think the climate of Burma has had any deleterious effect on me. We must remember that Burma is a very recent acquisition of the Government of Great Britain. It was not till 1826 that we first got a footing in Burma, when we annexed the Province of Arakan and the greater part of Tenasserim, it was not till 1852 that we annexed the Province of Pegu, and it was not till 1866 that we annexed Upper Burma. When I first went to Burma the country was very much disturbed, and I spent out of the first year I was in Burma no less than nine months in accompanying military columns which were endeavouring to restore peace to the country. We were not at that time at all popular in Upper Burma, and I remember one of the high officials of the ex Government telling me that. He said he did not know whether we English thought we were wanted in Upper Burma, but if we did we were certainly very wrong. I told him that I thought that in any case the English Government was better than the Burmese Government had been in Upper Burma, where nobody's life or property had been safe for some time. He said "Yes, it is quite true your Government is better than ours, but then our Government was our Government and not yours, and we were an independent kingdom, and now we are nothing but a Province of India," which he considered a very low condition indeed. Well, Upper Burma was very quickly reduced to a state of peace, and I think within five years from its annexation Upper Burma was as peaceful as, if not more peaceful than, Lower Burma, and, as we have all seen, during the late war the Burmans have come forward with the most wonderful loyalty to assist the Government in their need. (Hear, hear) I always thought myself, and I was always told, that the Burmans were not a military people, and certainly there were some reasons for entertaining that idea, but we found we were quite wrong, and that the Burmans have a military genius, and can easily be brought to submit to discipline. They have distinguished themselves in many fields, not only as fighting forces but as labour units, so much so that even the Chins, who used to be nothing but savages, came forward to help us. I lately saw in London certain members of the Chin Labour Battalion, amongst whom was a Jemadar, and I was surprised to hear him speaking Burmese, and on asking him, "How did you come to learn to speak Burmese?" he replied "You were my teacher." I said, "In what way?" and he said "Well, you sent me to ten years' imprisonment in the Rangoon Gaol, and there I learned Burmese, and now I am a Jemadar, and I am very much obliged for the instruction you gave me!" Then he said, "The ten years' penal servitude I got was an act of great kindness, because my original sentence was a sentence of death, which you commuted to ten years"—so one sometimes does good without knowing it.

I quite agree with what the Lecturer has said about the want of communications in Burma. When I first went to Upper Burma we had no roads and no railways or anything, except the Irrawaddy flotilla, and I assure you that in those days Sir Charles Bernard constantly represented the want of roads and railways to the Government of India, but he had

the greatest difficulty in even getting sanction for an extension of the railway from Toungoo to Mandalay I was associated with him in those days, and I know how reluctant the Government of India was to allow any extension of the railways. The Government of India always kept us short of money in Burma, and although I frequently explained to them that the money spent in Burma would bring in very large interest it was very difficult to persuade them to even find the money which was an absolute necessity, and we are at present, as the Lecturer has pointed out, still very short of communications in Burma. You cannot develop a new country without money, and although Burma has developed very rapidly, it would have developed very much more if the Government of India had been more liberal, and not only would they have reaped a great reward from any expenditure in Burma in the shape of very large interest, but they would have had in the country more Europeans, who would have visited the country in search more particularly of minerals, for the minerals of Burma, I am sure, will repay any explorers. We have all seen what the oil-fields have been, and I know myself that there is a great deal of gold in Burma, for when I was there I went on a tour up the river Chindwin, and all the cultivators on the banks brought their revenue to me in gold, so much so that the sailors on board the ship made a good deal of money by exchanging rupees for gold, which we were told was washed from the sands, and if gold could be found from the sands, there must be places where it comes from, and I am sure there is a great deal of gold in that neighbourhood. There are also silver mines in the Shan States, which had fallen into disuse in my time because there was not enough silver found to pay the expenses, and also there was no sale for the lead which was mingled with the silver. I trust that the Government of India has by this time recognized the possibilities of Burma, and will do more to develop the Provinces.

Now I think the only thing which remains for me to deal with is the question of self-government. Sir Harvey has told you his views on that subject, and I heartily agree with him in what he said. I believe that the Burmans, so far as the ordinary peasant and cultivator and mechanic goes, are better educated up to a certain point than the same class of people in India. Of course, my experience of India is rather remote, but when I was in the Punjab there were very few people who could read and write, whereas in Burma everyone can read and write, and if there is any measure of self-government in Burma, I think that the women should certainly have a vote, because the women take part in all the business in Burma, and in many cases you may say the most prominent part. Many Burmans, when they used to come to see me when I was in Burma on matters of business, often asked if they could bring their wives with them, because their wives understood the business better than they did, and that was generally the case, because the women as a rule were very keen business women who took a great interest in their husbands' work. In fact, I well remember in the early days some Burmese judges liked to have their wives on the Bench with them, and I think the wives did the



principal part of the work But, lest you may think that Burma is a paradise for the women, I ought to mention the fact that the women do the principal part of the hard work as well Going up the river in a steamer, you find that the women load the wood, and the men sit on the banks smoking cigars, so that there is something perhaps not quite so favourable in the life of the women there as one might be led to suppose I think, as far as Burma goes, that they should have self-government of some sort, but as the Burmans are quite distinct in race and language and in religion from the Indians, I do not see why they should not have a model of their own, and, as the Lecturer has told you, the Burmans would intensely resent any interference by Indians in their affairs, therefore why should they model their lives upon the Indian system, instead of adopting one of their own? I hope the Burmans will in time find what are called intellectuals, who will be able to take a part in the work of their administration, and that Burma will not be left behind in any way by India (Hear, hear, and applause)

Sir FRANK GATES said that he renewed his recollections of the delightful Province of Burma with the greatest pleasure The picture that had been drawn for them seemed delightful, but he remembered about twenty years ago meeting some friends who had just been reading "The Soul of a People," and who remarked to him how lucky he was to live in that delightful country amongst those delightful people, and he replied "Alas! Paradise has not yet descended upon earth" But, although Burma was not Paradise, still it was a very alluring and pleasant place, it had its drawbacks, but the people soon came to be beloved by those who dwelt amongst them

The Lecturer had told them that the art of criticizing government was still in its infancy in Burma That did not make the work of a Government official any less pleasant Still, he remembered a Burmese newspaper, which had a brief existence some thirty years ago, in which criticism of the Government did take place, and one phrase which appeared in it he well remembered, and that was to the effect that the performances of the Chief Secretary to the Government in those days were like those of a buffalo trying to play a harp (Laughter) However, such was the undeveloped political sense of the Burmans that the newspaper ceased for want of support He thought the really important point about Burma's development at the moment was whether it should go on with India or should be separate He was not one of those who thought that the connection with India had been a disadvantage to Burma on balance Of course, the disadvantages were patent the difficulty of getting money, and the liability to have projects overruled by a distant authority On the other hand, if Burma had been a Crown Colony, with no powerful neighbour near by under an obligation to render assistance, he doubted if its progress would have been so rapid The Government of India was a large organization, supplied with experts in various branches, and, what was perhaps most important, especially in the beginnings of things, it was possessed of the force able to restore law and order It must be

remembered that the initiation of order in Upper Burma was rendered possible by the services of the Indian Army and the Indian military police. If the Government of India in its new development still retained a shape which rendered possible Burma's continued connection with it, he would rejoice, but if the changes were going to eventuate in a Government of India largely shaped by caste prejudice and by such Oriental modes of thought as were as alien from the Burman as from the Englishman, then he thought it would be time for Burma to separate

He need not expatiate on the healthfulness of Burma, because they had seen the Lecturer and also the Chairman. The latter had been able to spend seventeen years in this country after seventeen years spent in Burma, and many years in India before that. So they would agree that the climate of Burma could not be deadly to the European. Of course, it varied, Burma had several climates. With regard to the absence in Burma of large landed estates, that was only because Burma was in an earlier state of development. The large landed estates existed, but whether they would be permanent or not remained to be seen. Fortunately, the law of inheritance in Burma was such as to oppose obstacles to the persistence of a large estate. If the disadvantages of large landed estates were avoided, so also were the advantages missed, the result being that there was no class in Burma possessed of inherited wealth, and therefore with leisure, able to devote itself to the service of the public in a way which might be expected from a public spirited leisured class. Thus the development of Burma was likely to be on lines somewhat different from that of India, and different from that of any Western country. They would all follow with interest the future development of the Province, and would all pray that the result might be such as to continue the happiness of the Burman at the same time as he proceeded with his education, both literary and political. (Hear, hear)

Mr K. M. YIN said he would like to say a few words because he was a Burman. With regard to self-government, Sir Harvey had said that Burma was rather young for politics. He was prepared to admit that they were not so advanced as the Indians were in that connection, but he did not admit that she was so backward as not to have self government. The Lecturer had stated that India had been agitating for fifty years, resulting in considerable political development and education. It was true, as had been pointed out, that the Burman was a quiet sort of individual, but they certainly were sufficiently educated to the idea that they ought to have self-government. The Burmese had been controlling their own affairs since the time of the Burmese kings, under what was known as the village system, where the headman had full control over their affairs.

It had also been stated that the standard of higher education in Burma was much lower than in India. Of course, that might be so when they considered the English language and English ideas, but Burma had an education of her own, they had their own literature, and in their own way they were fairly well educated. With regard to the newspapers, there were two English papers which more or less catered for the English

people there , but of late there had been one Burmese paper started, called the *Burma Observer*, which catered for the younger generation who could read English The Lecturer stated on page 15 of the lecture - " Not even in local public affairs have Burmans hitherto shown any interest " In past years, true, they had not, because they had been satisfied with what had been done, but they were now beginning to assert themselves in order not to be left in the background, and they were all hoping that the Government and Mr Montagu would consider their case With regard to the statement on page 16 of the lecture with reference to the elders and the aspirations of Young Burma, it was true there were two parties now in Burma The Young Burma party wanted more reforms, and they did not see why they should not have the same reforms when they had been given to other Provinces Many Provinces of India were not so advanced as Burma was, but they were promised better reforms than Burma had been promised He hoped, however, they would be allowed as wide a measure of self-government and as large reforms as other Indian Provinces would have, though they did not wish to have Indians placed over them (Hear, hear )

Mr N C DARNAWALLA said he certainly thought the aspirations of the Burmans should be met, and that they should be allowed to work out their own salvation, but he did not agree with the reason which had been suggested—namely, that the Burman should not be ruled by people who would perhaps be prejudiced by the caste system That argument did not appeal to him at all, but apparently many English people did entertain the idea that when India was ruled by her own people she would be to a large extent governed by the caste system Few people seemed to realize how during the last five or ten years India had made great strides in the direction of progress, and that there were many people in India absolutely untrammelled with the caste system People who knew the Parsees knew how highly educated they were, but when they were talking about unity and a real brotherhood of all Indians they should not say such things He certainly thought the Burmans should be allowed to carry on their own Government India was already very large, and, brothers as they were, they did not want to take in the Burmans as well against their will , but he did agree with the argument which had been brought forward that on account of Oriental ideas the Burmans would not like to be ruled by Indians He quite thoroughly agreed that they should be allowed to govern themselves when the time was ripe for them to do so

Mr K M GYEE said that, speaking about self government for Burma, certainly they had not acquired much party feeling as yet, but he thought that the Lecturer was not well informed about the question of the elders and the Young Burma party There was no question of party spirit in Burma as yet—they had only one idea, and that was for the benefit and uplifting of Burma , they were termed Young Burma because they were seeking more reforms than they had been promised The present Lieut - Governor had put forward a scheme of reforms as being the most suitable for the Province at present, to which the Young Burma party were opposed,

and they had sent a deputation to England to put their ideas before the Secretary of State, and Mr Montagu has promised them a separate Bill. The elders were nothing but a handful of uneducated people, and, although they had no prejudice against them, they (the elders) were certainly always subservient to their so-called elder party. They might be right or wrong, but the Young Burma party always fought for the right, and all they asked for was the same measure of reform as had been promised to India. The present suggested scheme of reform fell far short of that. The headmen of the villages were practically servants of the Government, and, although they were in practice elected, the Deputy Commissioners had power to appoint and to remove them from office. They do not say they wished to be separated from India, but what they wanted was real reform, and not another form of Sir Reginald Craddock's type.

LORD LAMINGTON said that, as the Chairman of the East India Association, it was a special pleasure to him to hear the lecture that afternoon. In these days, with rates and taxation amounting to 13s in the pound, he had often discussed to what country he should retire when he was squeezed out, and he thought, after listening to the paper, he should select Burma. He could not imagine a less harassing existence than that which he had heard described.

With regard to the question of the future constitution of Burma, he would like to congratulate the two Burmese speakers on their command of the English language, and what they had just said was extremely interesting, but if the description of the Lecturer was quite accurate, it was clear they would need to go forward with their representative institutions in a leisurely fashion, so as to be sure that what they did met with the general wish of the people. After all, although certain great Indian reforms had been promulgated, they had not yet seen them put into force, and they must display some caution in regard to any fresh forms of Government put forward by the Burmese themselves.

He could not say much about Burma personally, but he had listened with great pleasure to the descriptions of the country. He had been in Siam and the Shan States, and he recognized many of the qualities of those people appertaining to the Burman, particularly the literary qualities and the qualities of the women-folk. He remembered the ladies did most of the business, even in the British houses of commerce there, and he agreed that when votes were given the ladies ought to be included (Hear, hear.)

Colonel TERRY said, referring to what had been discussed regarding the prominent position taken by the women folk in Burma and their business-like aptitude, that as the women of this country had so many greater advantages and greater responsibilities, he would like to suggest that they might well try to become equally as business like as the women of Burma (Hear, hear.)

The LECTURER, in reply, said that he was fortunate in having very little criticism to answer. The only criticism was that raised by the two Burmese gentlemen, whom he was glad to have seen on their feet, but he

thought they had rather misunderstood what he had said. His own wish was that they should eventually have in Burma as full a measure of self-government as that given to any province of India, for on the whole he thought the people were more democratic than those of any province of India he had known. The difference between himself and the two Burmese gentlemen was that they wanted to have the whole thing at once, whereas he thought it better that there should be a period of education in business and public affairs, such as they would undoubtedly get from the councils which Sir Reginald Craddock proposed to appoint, and then after a few years they would be much better fitted for a forward step in self-government. He feared that if they went too fast at first they would only come to grief. Another criticism was that under Sir Reginald's scheme the councils would be filled with headmen. It would take too long to thoroughly explain this point. Briefly, there may have been some ground for this criticism as applied to Sir Reginald Craddock's original scheme, in which a member of the Circle Board was to be appointed for each village. But in his final scheme members of the Circle Board are to be appointed for groups of villages, and he (the Lecturer) thought the chances were that the Circle Boards would have a great many members who were not headmen at all, and he also thought that not very many headmen would ever reach the Legislative Assembly. The members of the Circle Boards, who were the constituency for the Legislative Assembly, would probably choose men of higher education and standing than the village headmen.

In conclusion, he would like to take the opportunity of inviting them to see a collection of objects of art which had been recently brought over from Burma, and which were now to be seen in the Indian Galleries of the Imperial Institute. It was a collection which would well repay a visit (Hear, hear.)

On the motion of Sir F. Gates, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the Chairman for having presided over the meeting, and carried with acclamation.

The Chairman suitably replied to the vote of thanks, and the proceedings then terminated.

## THE PROSPECTS OF ZIONISM

BY D S MARGOLIOUTH, M A , LITT D

THE capture of Jerusalem may be said to mark a stage in human progress. When the city was taken by the Christians in 1099, "the Moslems were massacred in the streets, in the houses, Jerusalem had no asylum for the conquered"\* When the less barbarous Moslems retook the city in 1187, the conqueror granted the inhabitants their lives, and allowed them to purchase their liberty at the rate of ten pieces of gold for the men, five for the women, and two for the children† All the churches, except that of the Holy Sepulchre, were turned into mosques. When Lord Allenby entered the city, the rights of the inhabitants were respected, there was only greater security than before for each and all.

There is still room for hope that this laurel may remain untarnished. There is, however, cause for apprehension. Have the diplomatists here, too, committed themselves behind the backs of the inhabitants to a policy which will be inaugurated with bloodshed and rapine? To answer this question we must endeavour to discover the meaning of Zionism.

Now, much may be said in the language of poetry and devotion which occasions serious difficulty when it is regarded as commonplace prose. No harm results from speaking of "the inalienable heritage of Abraham" in the pulpit, at a prayer meeting, or at a Bible class, the purpose is edification, and this phrase very likely helps to compass it. But when it is used as a reason why Palestine should be handed over to the Jews, the services of the historian

\* Michaud, "Histoire des Croisades," 1 236 1857

† *Ibid*, 11 58

and the jurist must be called in. The historian would reply that the land has in historic times (Abraham is pre-historic) been seized by a long series of nations by right of conquest, and that the governments of these nations have disposed of the land as they thought fit. If the Israelites claimed that they obtained it by God's gift, so did the Moslem conquerors, and so, too, did the Franks, as the very title of the record *Gesta Dei per Francos* implies.

How a jurist would reply is not so certain. But if he admitted that a group of men had a right to a country because some two thousand years ago it was in the occupation of their ancestors, it is likely that he would require title-deeds and proofs of pedigree. Say that the Old Testament might count as the first—and an age which knows not of Moses, but only of anonymous Elohist and Jahvist, could not admit this—where is the second? What evidence is there that any single Jewish family of to-day is lineally descended from the ancient Israelites? There is none.

Horace, Juvenal, and the Gospel, not far removed in date from either, speak of earnest and effective proselytism carried on by the Jews within the Roman Empire, and the retention of the Jewish name for the seventh day of the week in some Romance languages strongly confirms their assertion. This proselytism seems to have been carried on into the third century of our era.\* That in its early centuries there was a Jewish kingdom in South Arabia is attested by an inscription, its subjects were doubtless mainly Arabs who had adopted Judaism. The great realm of the Khazars, between the Black Sea and the Caspian, was Jewish for some two centuries, a contemporary writer records the conversion of the nation to Islam in A.D. 965. It is not credible that in such cases the change of the court religion involved that of all the subjects, doubtless large numbers remained Jews. Now, if any Jewish family possessed an authentic pedigree

\* Cf. Milman, "History of Christianity," II 158. Ed. 1908

whereby it traced itself to ancient Judæa, on the supposition that such a descent gave a claim to possession of land, such family would have a claim. But since there are no Jewish pedigrees of this kind, no one knows how many centuries after the second exile the ancestors of any existing Jewish family adopted Judaism. There may be some families descended by the male line from the pre-Christian Israelites—there may be many, or there may be none. The claim of the modern Jews to Palestine is not therefore capable of being based on heredity, but on the theory that the maintenance of a particular cult constitutes a claim to the possession of land.

This, then, is the principle whereon the Zionist claim to Palestine is based. It is a dangerous one, for if religion gives a claim to a country, as a writer in the *Kaukab* observed, the Christians have also a claim to Palestine. St Paul argues that the "offspring of Abraham" to whom the promise was made was Jesus Christ and no one else, and this is perhaps why the "History of the Crusades" constantly talks of Palestine as "the heritage of Jesus Christ." The Mohammedans, who suppose themselves to be followers of Abraham's religion, would put in their claim too. Hence it is far safer not to think of religious lineage. But, as has been seen, in the absence of authentic pedigrees, no one can say whether a particular Jew is descended from an Israelite, or some Arab, Italian, Khazar, etc., who at some time adopted Judaism. Dr F Bliss, than whom no one knows Palestine better, tells us that the pious orthodox Jews of Jerusalem regard political Zionism as folly, if not blasphemy. "God," they hold, "is to bring back the Jews in His own time and way without human plan or assistance."\* This belief has the advantage of rendering it unnecessary to pronounce on the unknowable. It is by no means desirable to humble the strains of either Jewish or Christian sermons and hymns wherein the glories of God's ancient people are extolled. From the practice

\* F J Bliss, "Religions of Syria," p 322 1912



initiated or followed by such patriotic Jews as Mordecai (more correctly Marduki), Apollos, and Paul, of taking names which were either distinctively pagan or at least not Jewish, it might be inferred that those glories are more recognized within than outside the place of worship, the reason for which they conceal their faces is somewhat different from that of Moses. The glory of those who, driven from one land, have founded a flourishing republic in another has not been theirs. But even if their title to gratitude were something greater than the occasional production of a Joseph or a Nehemiah, of a man of letters or of science, it would not affect the question of their relation to Palestine.

Now Zionism must either mean something or nothing. If it means what it meant before the war, it is a matter which scarcely deserves the time of statesmen. During some thirty years a number of agricultural Jewish colonies were founded in Palestine, whose total population by 1914 amounted to some 11,000 persons,\* "the Turkish Government was by no means unfavourable to Jewish development in Palestine, and a change might very well be for the worse." These numbers do not appear very encouraging, though one enthusiast argues that the slower the progress, the surer it must be. The condition of the colonies is painted in roseate colours by Zionist writers, but other visitors are not in entire agreement. "It is an interesting commentary on the conditions of modern Palestine," says one very competent observer,† "that the only successful colonies of Jewish Zionists are in places like the plains of Sharon and Esdraelon and the highest part of Galilee, rather than in Judæa or Lower Galilee, the homes of their ancestors." Some other travellers give less favourable reports‡ The figures given for 1894 are 5,672,§ in

\* A. M. Hyamson, "Palestine" 1917

† E. Huntington, "Palestine and its Transformation" 1912

‡ See H. Rix, "Tent and Testament," p. 112 1907

§ Cuinet "Syrie Liban. et Palestine" p. 504

twenty years, then, these numbers just doubled, the rate of yearly increase being not much more than 250, including natural increase and immigration. Of such figures statesmen can take no notice, and, indeed, Mr Hyamson says plainly "The possibility of an independent Jewish state cannot be discussed in the course of the present generation, or at any date which either the writer or the reader can expect to see"\* He adds that "local autonomy is all that the Jews of Palestine (does this mean the Zionists?) ask—the development of the system which has been already inaugurated" He does, indeed, foresee a time when the population of Palestine will become overwhelmingly Jewish, but it is difficult to see why this should come about. If the Jews increase, the Moslems and Christians are not likely to stop increasing.

Zionism, then, as Mr Hyamson in his exceedingly sensible work interprets it, means nothing about which statesmen need trouble themselves, the Jewish question in Europe, if one exists, is scarcely affected by the annual settlement of 250 Jews in Palestine. With other exponents it means something very much more considerable. Such an exponent is Mr Sokolow, whose "History of Zionism," just published, has commendatory letters from Mr Balfour, Lord Bryce, and the late Sir M Sykes. He is an enthusiast, who is perpetually mounting the pulpit, and his project is far more likely to excite enthusiasm, but also vastly more dangerous than Mr Hyamson's. It amounts to nothing less than the establishment in Palestine of a Jewish state, within which only Judaism should be practised. He quotes with approval the words of one Mr Elim H d'Avigdor "He wished rather that they should go to a country that was once Israel's homestead, where the Sabbath would be the Sabbath of all, and where Yom Kippur would be the day of abstention from food throughout the country"† This must mean that everyone should observe Saturday as a day of rest, and everyone

\* "Palestine," p 279 1917

† "History of Zionism," 1 239

fast on the Day of Atonement. Another enthusiast is quoted with approval for the doctrine that the true way to secure the rights of wandering Israelites (*ie*, Jews not in Palestine) is to establish a Jewish state, capable of guarding their interests as the rights of Englishmen abroad are guarded by the British Government \*. In the face of the figures that have been quoted Mr Sokolow asserts that the Jewish masses will go to Palestine as soon as they have the opportunity of doing so †

It must, indeed, be obvious that if Palestine be left to itself the government will not be Jewish, because the Jews are in a minority, they are somewhere between a seventh and a tenth of the whole population. If Palestine be treated as a British possession, the Jews will be no better off there than elsewhere in the British Empire—*ie*, they will enjoy the full privileges of the citizens of a free country. But if they are to enjoy special privileges in Palestine, such as the right to substitute Saturday for the Friday or the Sunday as the weekly day of rest, and to enforce fasting on the inhabitants, two parties have to be considered, first the present inhabitants of the country, and next the Jews whom it is proposed to despatch thither in masses.

With regard to the former, they reject the idea of being subjected to Jews or being swamped by Jewish immigration, as an unprecedented outrage. Some voices may have been raised in Syria in favour of the French invasion, but all Moslem and Christian communities are united against the Zionist plan. The American commissioners heard protests against it on every side, and a protest has been sent to the Peace Conference.

Certainly some of the Zionists have taken into consideration the present inhabitants of Syria. The present writer was at a banquet given in honour of the taking of Jerusalem, which was addressed by two Zionist orators. One of them, of some fame as a novelist, proposed that the present

\* *Ibid*, 1 244, *cf* 242

† *Ibid*, 246

## *The Prospects of Zionism*

inhabitants "should be bought out," and told to go to Arabia. This scheme might serve as an expedient in a romance, but scarcely elsewhere

The other speaker asserted that Palestine by improved cultivation could easily maintain seven millions of inhabitants in lieu of the million or thereabouts whom it at present feeds. This is entirely against the conclusions of Mr Ellsworth Huntington, Professor of Geography in Yale University, who maintains that the decline in the population of the country is due not to misgovernment, but to a decline in the rainfall, and that even the raids of the nomads on the settled population are due to this cause, and vary inversely with the rain. "Nothing that man is yet able to do would enable the people of Beersheba, and still less of Aujeh, to raise good crops every year. Rain is the missing element. The people of Ziza and Kastal showed a commendable degree of initiative and energy when they came to the ruins to settle. No amount of energy on their part could have raised a crop in 1909, and no amount of engineering skill could enable them to obtain water for irrigation except at a cost a hundred-fold too great. No Arab raids or difficulties occasioned by the government have interfered with Beersheba and Ziza in recent times. If these are not enough, turn to Jerash. By universal consent few races excel the Circassians in industry and energy. For over a quarter of a century they have lived at Jerash, under special favour of the government and with large exemptions from taxation. Yet what have they accomplished? If the population should increase sufficiently to fill only one of the theatres, many of the inhabitants would find themselves face to face with starvation."\*

The immigrant Jews, if in numbers sufficient to make Palestine a Jewish state, would have to do as their supposed ancestors under Joshua—make a clearance of the present inhabitants. In Joshua's time there was no international

\* "Palestine and its Transformation," p 282 1912

morality, and the immigrants relied on supernatural aid. In our time the latter is unlikely to be furnished, and where the nations have nothing to fear, they on the whole support morality. This last principle would not be in favour of the forcible expropriation of the inhabitants of Palestine or of any infringement of their rights in favour of the Jews. A Jewish invasion of Palestine would not, like the French invasion of North Syria, be backed by machine-guns, it would be fiercely resisted, and lead to massacres and all other horrors.

In the second place the Jews throughout the world have something to say in the matter. As early as 1840 "a noble Lord, opposed to Her Majesty's Ministers," issued a questionnaire, containing the interesting query "Would the Jews of station and property be inclined to return to Palestine, carry with them their capital, and invest it in the cultivation of the land, if by the operation of law and justice life and property were rendered secure?"\* Mr Sokolow omits to state whether any reply was ever received to this question, other than *solventur risu tabulæ*. In his opinion those who are in favour of the return should force their views on the others. "It did not matter to the Lovers of Zion (name of a Zionist society) that some wealthy Jews did not wish for the national re-birth, they simply emulated careful and prudent physicians, who when they visit their patients do not ask them what they like best, but having carefully studied the ailments of their patients order them to take what they deem most necessary for them, even though it be not pleasing or acceptable"† How well the student of history knows this simile! Other people do not approve our schemes, and so "by well-meant cutting or burning we shall try to remove the disorder."

Now the objection of numerous Jews to the ventilation of schemes of this sort is apparently very sound. What the Great War has proved—though it should never have been doubted—is that a man cannot be a citizen of two

\* "History of Zionism," 1 127

†

countries If an independent Jewish state were established in Palestine (or elsewhere), every member of the Jewish community should have the right to decide whether he intends to remain a Frenchman, German, American, Englishman, etc., or whether he is to become a Judæan, and therefore an alien in any country but Judæa Nations have no gratitude, Judæa might be reconstituted to-day by Great Britain, and a few years later side with Great Britain's enemies Italian streets had been named after President Wilson, when the United States under his presidency entered the war, he gave some unpalatable advice to Italy, and the streets were renamed Doubtless those members of the community on whom the citizenship of one country or another has been conferred, and who have shared its joys and sorrows, borne its burdens and enjoyed its privileges, have no desire to throw it away But this they must certainly do if they become citizens of another state Few things seemed to the present writer a juster cause of gratification to the English in India than the way wherein some Indians boasted of English glories—of "what we did at Waterloo," and the like Allowed to feel pride in the deeds of the mother-country, they might be relied upon to co-operate in swelling that splendid record England by giving them a place in her empire had provided them with some better causes of pride than the myths of Rama and Arjuna And similar is the case of Jews who have been adopted by Great Britain and the other European nations and by the United States They enjoy the lustre of a past to which their own has nothing comparable

Those who think the Biblical history of the Jews glorious can either not have read the Bible or must disbelieve it, it represents them as the most hopeless community that ever existed They had only to obey a certain code and every law of nature was suspended in their favour, the sun would stop if they wanted it, the sea would dry up, their enemies would be miraculously de-

stroyed, only obey that code they would not. Only those who (like the school of Wellhausen) regard their historians as liars and their prophets as charlatans credit the Biblical Jews with possessing the normal amount of wisdom and virtue. Their part in ancient history was so modest that the inquisitive Hellenes never heard their name before Alexander's time. Their post-Biblical history consists mainly of a series of expulsions from countries where they had settled, however culpable their ejectors may have been, it is impossible to avoid the inference that they failed to make themselves beloved. A very different record is recalled to the mind by the mention of such names as the British Empire, the United Netherlands, the United States. Eminent members of the Jewish community, who have acquired wealth, power, or fame in a world which gives nothing for nothing, are unwilling to throw away their acquired inheritance, while also unwilling to break with the past of their race, which, if by no means glorious, has much antiquarian interest. Of these some, like the late Baron Hirsch, have discouraged the Zionist movement, none, it would appear, have encouraged it save as an eleemosynary measure. They know, too, that a state governed by the Law of Moses would be a hopeless anachronism, such as no civilized man could endure, whereas a Jewish state which abrogated the Law of Moses would have no reason for existing.

That more voices were not raised by these able men in deprecation of the pæans of triumph which Mr Balfour's letter drew forth is doubtless due to the unpopularity which sensible forethought usually brings to those who exercise it. Mr Sokolow, however, records assertions made on the occasion, which he ought not to have left uncontradicted. The Right Hon George N Barnes, a member of the War Cabinet, in a speech then delivered, said "Palestine has for three hundred years been under the tyranny of Ottoman oppression"\* We have just heard the evidence of Mr

\* "History of Zionism," II 134

Hyamson that the Turkish Government was by no means unfavourable to the Jewish colonists "The Turkish authorities first set up order in the towns, then in the provinces," is a judgment of Ottoman rule in Palestine recorded by a high authority \* It is true that the Rev Dr Jessup† declares that the Zionist movement was antagonized by the Ottoman Government and by the fellahin of the rural districts of Palestine, but as he adds that the Rabbis embittered by the fiery persecution against the Jews in Russia and other parts of Europe, are extremely hostile to Christianity in every form, his evidence, which in any case extends only to the immigrant Jews, cannot very well be adduced The fact is that the Ottoman Government (like most Islamic states) befriended the Jews when everyone else was against them When the fanatics commenced that ruin of Spain whence it has not recovered to this day, and expelled the Jews, they were received "not unwillingly" by the Ottoman Government, under whose ægis they rose, both at the capital and elsewhere, to opulence and importance "The tyranny of Ottoman oppression" is unknown to persons acquainted with the condition of Palestine, who fully recognize the defects of Turkish rule In what appears to be the work in our language on Palestine, which is based on the profoundest acquaintance with the country,‡ the references to the Turkish Government are ordinarily appreciative If the people are split up into little parties, who cannot in consequence combine against oppression or to secure better government, he admits that this is no part of the policy of the Turks, who indeed have exercised their authority to prevent fights between factions§ Evidence to the same effect could be cited from foreign works by men well acquainted with the country But, in

\* Ph Baldensperger, "The Immovable East," p 292 1913

† "Fifty-three Years in Syria," II, 657 1910

‡ Rev C T Wilson, "Peasant Life in the Holy Land." 1906

§ Pp 78 and 80



## *The Prospects of Zionism*

any case, the service rendered by the Ottoman Government to the Jews in their most evil days should not be entirely forgotten

Zionism, as expounded in Mr Sokolow's history, is to be dreaded on a variety of grounds. It transfers from the place of worship to the market-place ideas which, though suitable and edifying in the former, are incongruous and subversive of order in the latter. It threatens the rights of those Israelites who are happily domiciled in Europe and America. It menaces Palestine with civil war. It presages the tarnishing of the chief laurel won by Great Britain in the great struggle. It involves gross ingratitude to the Moslem powers who stood by the Jews when Europe was under the dominion of fanatical sacerdotalism. "At times of national crisis visionaries are of all men the most dangerous, intent on the pursuit of unattainable ideals, they shut their eyes to realities, and instead of facing danger, prefer to ignore it"\*

\* Mrs Arthur Webster, "The French Revolution," p 57 1919

## THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF THE ARMENIAN REPUBLIC

BY GRIGOR AGABABIAN

THE Peace Treaties signed at Versailles and St Germain impose upon Germany and Austria a régime in regard to ports, waterways, and railways that will mark an important stage, almost a revolution, in international relations. By that régime, based on the principle of the League of Nations, the Allies secured for the small nations of Eastern Europe free transit across the territories of their former oppressors, who otherwise would undoubtedly force them to accept the most onerous conditions.

In no lesser degree than to Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, and Yugo-Slavia, freedom of traffic is indispensable to the economic independence of the Armenian Republic, a state without free access to the sea and surrounded by neighbours that are almost all enemies.

In regard to transit, exportation, and importation, this republic, unlike its Slav sisters, is still under the old régime of the force and good pleasure of Turkey, Georgia, and Azerbeidjan.

Apart from Turkey, whose frontier is completely closed to the Armenian Republic, the States of Georgia and Azerbeidjan, although they have not entirely barricaded their frontiers or closed the sole railway-line connecting across their territories Armenia with the Black Sea and the Caspian, have nevertheless declared the following prohibitions

(1) Absolute prohibition of the transit of goods from Armenian sources in the direction of the Black Sea and the Caspian

(2) Limitation of the transit of goods from abroad to flour, oil, medicines, and a few other articles of prime necessity. These exceptions were imposed upon Georgia and Azerbeidjan as a result of the intervention of the commander of the Allied forces, and have preserved from famine and typhus the population of the Armenian Republic and the refugees who fled the Turkish massacres. At the same time, by a convention signed by the Georgian and Azerbeidjan governments, these republics grant each other the free transit which they refuse to Armenia.

These countries, by the ingenious combination of this transit prohibition and limitation with a masterpiece of customs invention called "exchange of merchandise," encompass the ruin of Armenian commerce. This system of "exchanges" is, in its main lines, as follows. Armenian products destined for the European or Russian markets and sent by the Transcaucasian Railway must of necessity cross Georgia or Azerbeidjan, they are subject first of all to a duty on entering these countries, and on leaving a special authorization is required, together with the payment of export dues.

Moreover, this authorization carries with it the obligation for the exporter to import into these countries goods that are needed there, and also to deposit a sum as guarantee of the fulfilment of such obligation, the deposit often reaching or exceeding 20 per cent *ad valorem*. Similar formalities, taxes, and conditions, are imposed upon foreign goods for Armenia crossing Georgia and Azerbeidjan, excepting only those articles for which free transit has been obtained by the Allies' intervention.

We will not enter here into a detailed examination of this ingenious system, of its modifications, and of its history, provisional conventions have been arranged lately with Georgia and Azerbeidjan which have had the effect of raising the economic blockade of Armenia. However, it is too much to expect that such palliatives can assure a return to the normal in commerce, industry, and agriculture, or an alleviation of the financial situation.

In view of this serious economic situation it may be well to enumerate summarily a few of the products and resources of the Armenian Republic

At present its territory consists of the Governments of Erivan and Kars, and certain parts of the Governments of Tiflis and Elizavetpol. The total length of its railway system is 366 miles

To take only the Government of *Erivan*, this nucleus of the republic numbered before the war 1,071,560 inhabitants within an area of 15,625 square miles, 90 per cent of the population are engaged in agriculture and cattle-breeding, and live in the villages, the remaining 10 per cent dwell in the towns and are engaged in commerce and industry. The total length of its roads is 440 miles, that of its railways, the construction of which was not begun till 1900, is 265 miles. The traffic on the Erivan railway system reached 400,000 tons annually

1 *Agriculture* — We give below a few figures in regard to the agricultural production of this government for the year 1912

1 Cereals	750,000 acres	300,000 tons
2 Cotton	57,500 "	8,000 "
3 Grapes	25,000 "	60,000 "
4 Rice	4,000 "	10,000 "
5 Wine		413,000 hectalitres
6 Brandy		100,000 degrees
7 Alcohol, etc		100,000 "

To understand how the agricultural development of this government depends on the extension and cultivation of cotton, rice and vines, the function of irrigation, it suffices to observe the equality of the monetary value of the production of the 750,000 acres of cereals on the one hand, and of the 92,500 acres of cotton, rice, and vines. More than 1,500,000 acres of grazing land along the banks of the Arax could be transformed into plantations, irrigation being assured by the rivers within the government. Agricultural development in this region is thus both a financial and a technical problem

2 *Cattle-breeding*—The following figures relating to the year 1912 represent conditions in the Government of Erivan

Oxen and cows	437,092 head
Sheep and goats	921,729 „
Horses	36,065 „
Mules	1,055 „
Camels	6,056 „
Wool	1,500 tons

3 —The mineral and metallurgical production of the Armenian Republic corresponds to the following averages for the period 1911-1913

Copper ore	12 mines	125,000 tons
Iron pyrites	2 „	6,000 „
Salt	5 „	25,400 „
Copper metal	6 factories	5,200 „

Most of these exploitations are without railway communications Compared with the total production of Transcaucasia the figures represent Copper, 55 per cent , salt, 100 per cent , iron pyrites, 60 per cent

Besides these proofs of a modest mineral and metallurgical activity representing the available reserve resources in minerals of the Armenian Republic, the latter's potential mineral wealth consists, according to the statistics of the Mines Administration, of 450 minefields, distributed as follows

	Minefields		Minefields
1 Lead and silver	60	15 Coal and lignite	47
2 Gold	10	16 Juyet	2
3 Copper	210	17 Combustible schiste	4
4 Zinc	11	18 Peat	9
5 Molybdene	3	19 Oil (petroleum)	6
6 Antimony	1	20 Ozocherite	1
7 Cobalt	6	21 Salt	32
8 Manganese	16	22 Salt springs	6
9 Iron	58	23 Carbonate of soda	1
10 Chrome	1	24 Glauber salt	1
11 Arsenic	8	25 Borax	3
12 Iron pyrites	23	26 Alumite	15
13 Sulphur	9		
14. Graphite	8		450

The mines now worked do not represent 5 per cent of the above total

It might be noted here that the stock of salt available in the republic is about 67,506,000 tons

4 *Hydraulic Power*—The rivers of the Armenian Republic have been little studied as regards their hydraulic power. Almost all are of the swift-running, torrential category, and, therefore, appropriate for industrial exploitation. The hydrometrical and topographical information collected by the administration of the country enables the approximate *minimum* and *average* powers of twenty-five of the rivers to be estimated at 2,756,030 horse-power and 7,165,678 horse-power respectively. The latter figure corresponds, if we calculate on the basis of 1 kilogramme (a little over 2 lbs) per horse hour or horse-power, to an annual production of 60,000,000 tons of coal.

These resources and products, which constitute the only real basis of the economic independence of Armenia, are paralyzed at present, as a result of the control exercised by Turkey, Georgia, and Azerbeïdjan, over Armenia's communications with the sea. She is unable to export her merchandise to Europe and obtain in exchange the means of acquiring even a few articles of immediate necessity, the transit of which, as a measure of exception and favour, is secured to her by the intervention of the Allies.

While recognizing the great moral value of this humanitarian action that has saved Armenia from famine and facilitated the fight against typhus, one is obliged to admit its inadequateness. Transport to foreign countries being blocked, our products accumulate in the country or deteriorate (cotton, wines, etc). Some are sold at hopelessly low prices (skins, wool), while industry is stopped, mines and factories closed, and the remunerative cultivation, cotton, replaced by that of cereals, etc. It is the road to ruin. The country can only be saved from final bankruptcy by extending to Transcaucasia the régime of right and equity established by the Peace Conference for the ports, waterways, and railways of Eastern Europe.

The problem of the application of the régime in question to the Armenia Republic must be considered from the double point of view of immediate necessities and the conditions of its economic future

1 *Immediate Necessities* —Under Russian domination, Armenia always enjoyed free transit on the Transcaucasian, the sole railway connecting it with the Black Sea and the Caspian, including the ports of Batoum and Baku. Freedom of traffic, exempt from all special privileges, should be re-established on these railways and at these ports under the guarantee of an international régime in conformity with the stipulation of the Treaty of Versailles. Vital for the Armenian Republic, such internationalization corresponds also with the interests of Persia, as well as with those of Turkey, Georgia, and Azerbeïdjan, and other neighbours. In order to avoid fresh and graver complications, its application is urgent, and should not be delayed pending the solution necessarily distant of the Russian and Turkish questions.

2 *General Solution* —From the point of view of the Armenian Republic within its present limits, the problem of free transit to the Black Sea and the Caspian presents quite a different aspect if one envisages the general solution as being that which corresponds best to the interests of the country and to its technical needs. A consideration of distances and gradients leads to the conception of a new railway system, the Trans-Armenian, crossing the territory of the republic from east to west, through the valleys of the Arax and Chorok, instead of turning from the centre over the Anticaucausus to Tiflis, as is the case now, and joining the Transcaucasian in a Tartaro-Georgian Valley.

1 *Direction Erivan-Black Sea* —Existing line, Erivan-Tiflis-Batoum, length, 450 miles. Proposed line, Erivan-Hassan Kalla-Chorok-Batoum, length, 300 miles. Difference, 150 miles.

2 *Direction Erivan-Caspian* —Existing line, Erivan-Tiflis-Baku, length, 577 miles. Line under construction,

Erivan - Julfa - Baku , length, 380 miles      Difference, 197 miles

The superiority of the Trans-Armenian is even more marked, compared with the Transcaucasian for transit to Persia

1 *Direction Julfa-Black Sea* — Existing line, Julfa-Erivan-Tiflis-Batoum , length, 560 miles      Proposed line, Julfa-Erivan-River Arax-Hassan Kala-Chorok-Batoum , length, 400 miles      Difference, 160 miles

2 *Direction Julfa-Caspian* — Existing line, Julfa-Erivan-Tiflis-Baku , length, 730 miles      Line under construction, Julfa-Baku , length, 255 miles      Difference, 475 miles

Consideration of slopes leads to the same conclusion in favour of a Trans-Armenian, which (1) would follow the principal valleys of the great rivers of the country, the Arax and the Chorok, offering, compared with all other directions, a minimum of gradients , and (2) would only have to cross one mountain chain between the Caspian and the Black Sea

In the present railway system, the section Erivan-Tiflis-Baku crosses one chain, and the section Erivan-Tiflis-Batoum, two      The mountainous portions, traced through secondary valleys and steep gorges, offer average gradients of 18.4 per 1,000, and even 20.6 per 1,000, while the maximum gradients reach 28.6 per 1,000

From a technical point of view, the present system has no other justification than its existence , it is an economic and political anomaly that has hindered the progress of the country      The construction of a Trans-Armenian is a necessity of the near future      It will have the advantage of affording direct connection with the sea by a short and convenient line to the great agricultural, mineral, hydraulic, and other riches of the country, riches that are dormant because of the lack of perfected means of communication      At the same time it will create across Armenia a powerful artery of transit for the markets of Persia, the Caspian Sea, and the great oil centre of Baku



## *The Economic Situation of the Armenian Republic*

The route of the Trans-Armenian includes, at its two extremities, the Black Sea and the Caspian, regions that are coveted by Turkey and by States that have already seized the Transcaucasian, Georgia, and Azerbeïdjan. The latter extends its exaggerated claims as far as Julfa and even Erivan !

When the time comes for the definitive settlement of the destinies of these regions, no matter to whom they may be allotted, the attribution of a zone necessary for the construction of the Trans-Armenian and its internationalization, must be considered as vital guarantees of the independence and future of the Armenian Republic

## THE CHINESE ON THEMSELVES

By E H PARKER

MODERN CHINA A POLITICAL STUDY By Sih gung Cheng, M A , B SC ,  
(Econ), Fellow of the Royal Economic Society (Oxford *The  
Clarendon Press*) 1919 Price 6s 6d

THE FOREIGN TRADE OF CHINA By Chong Su See, PH D Published  
under the auspices of the China Society of America (*Longmans,  
Green and Co*)

The first author tells us in his short preface that this book is an attempt to deal with some of the important problems which confront the Chinese statesman his hope has been to give a true picture, and to suggest constructive schemes he has tried to avoid patriotic bias, and to discuss politics with disinterestedness His work has been interrupted by the Peace Conference in Paris, and (presumably at the time he dates his Preface, August, 1919) "he is leaving for America while these pages go to press, and has to entrust the work of making an index to his publishers" Amongst those to whom he expresses gratitude for help are Viscount Bryce and Viscount Burnham, Sir Francis T Piggott (late Chief Justice of Hongkong), Dr V K Wellington Koo, Chinese Minister at Washington and Peace Conference plenipotentiary, and others

It will be remembered that in the *ASIATIC REVIEW* for July last attention was drawn in a paper entitled "Law and other Reforms in China" to a flood of pamphlets, some anonymous, which were being discharged at the British public by the excited Chinese politicians in London, and which by reason of their denunciatory style probably availed little But Mr Sih-gung Cheng—i.e., Ch'eng Si-k'eng in the Peking form—has in this instance managed to provide us with a really fair and interesting book, well thought out, and extremely judicious in tone Part I (pp 1-146) treats of the Historical Conception of Chinese Government, the Political Situation since the Revolution of 1911, Constitution-making, and Provincial Government It is in this part that the kindly help of Lord Bryce seems most evident, for it is quite impossible that any Oriental—unlikely even that any Frenchman, German, or Russian—could have, unaided, composed English with such vigour and precision, not to mention the frequent allusions to Aristotle, De Tocqueville, Bagshot, John Stuart Mill, Viscount Morley, and many other constitutional writers ancient and modern, not to mention, again, the manifestly thorough acquaintance with Roman Law, International Law, and the American Constitution, in all of which subjects Lord Bryce is, of course, notoriously past master The Chinese *ling ch'ih*, or slicing alive (p 119), is not, however, correctly

translated by "lynching after death," however tempting the quasi-alliteration may be in fact, a few years ago a photographic picture of a prisoner who had been thus mutilated was published in the *Assiatic Quarterly Review*. Probably if Mr Cheng had been able to revise his final proofs, we should not have such eyesores as "Shao Shin district" (p 120), and "Skenkin province" (p 136)

Part II covers p. 147 to 298, and embraces an Historical Sketch of China's Foreign Relations, Extra-territoriality, Tariff Administration, Concessions and Investments, New Problems since the War. The sub-heads of the last named are the Kiaochow Question, China in the War, Chinese Labour, the Ascendency of Japan, and the Policy of America. All this is very interesting, well written, and on the whole moderate and fair, but the magic of Lord Bryce's wisdom is naturally not often visible here. By "Parathusians" (*pace* Mrs Malaprop) presumably Parthians are meant (p 147), and it was Sir Robert Hart, not Sir Harry Parkes, whose good offices (p 155) squared the Franco-Chinese difficulty, as is fully explained by Mr Morse ("Period of Submission," p 366). It was in August, 1900, not 1901 (p 164), that the Allies occupied Peking. Switzerland should have been enumerated amongst the non treaty Powers (p 177). Kulangsu (not *sham*) is the Amoy island alluded to (p 183). A serious slip occurs on p 210, where the Anglo German loans of £16,000,000 each are given as "£1,000,000 each". The word "flotation" is incorrectly spelt "floatation" (p 220). Perhaps the only place in the book where Mr Cheng indulges in anything approaching bluster is on p 234, when he says "the time may come when the possession of heavy guns and cruisers will no longer enable foreigners to disregard the sentiments of the Chinese". As a matter of fact, very many "foreigners," the writer amongst them, regard the sentiments of the Chinese with great sympathy, but since Yuan Shi-k'ai's death they have played their diplomatic cards so badly, there has been so much corruption, personal ambition, and squabbling in Government circles, that (as indeed Mr Cheng confesses, p 298) "for all these troubles China herself is to blame" it is only through the restoration of her internal unity and the increase of her material power that China will maintain her independence without being guaranteed by any other Power.

Then comes Part III, pp 299 315 on the Political Outlook and and Foreign Policy, followed by *pieces justificatives* in appendices (pp 316 364), and the Index. A map might well have been added, if only barely to illustrate the place names occurring in the text.

The second is somewhat a bulkier work to look at, and at first sight clumsier to handle, than Mr Sih gung Cheng's neat effort which we have just noticed. But the number of pages is about equal, the quality of paper is much lighter, and there is no heavy cloth binding, so that as the historical and economical ground covered is much the same, it would not be unfair to describe the one book as being a complement to or second version of the other. There is a slight literary difference, however, in the respect that Mr Chong Su See adopts the official or

Websterian American spelling, in which words ending in *our*—such as favour, labour, rancour—omit the *u*, and in which participles where the accent is not on the penultimate—such as in “travelling”—omit one of the double letters before the *ing*. Then there are such class words as woolen, gild (for trading guild), center, fiber, marvelous (why not marvelous?), focusing, program, etc., all of which are apt to give a slight jar or twitch to the genuine British Lion’s mental tail, and which, moreover, seem to have been abandoned of recent years as unpractical (for school and text examination purposes abroad) by many of the best American writers—for instance, Morse. Morse in his “International Relations”—*i.e.*, “Period of Conflict” (up to 1860), “Period of Submission” (1861-1893), and “Period of Subjection” (1894-1911), practically tells us all Mr See (or Siy as he spells it in his own dedication) has to say, at least up to the revolution of 1911. Our present author lumps Mr Morse’s two last periods in one, styling that one “Period of Foreign Domination” (1861-1918), and thereby bringing us up in Chinese affairs to the end of the Great War. Mr See, who quotes an earlier work of Morse, “Trade and Administration of China” (repeating in his quotation Morse’s apparent misprint in both editions of 1905 for 1805), does not seem to have had before him these most valuable and recent works of Mr Morse upon “International Relations,” although he quotes a passage from another author citing an estimate made by Mr Morse in 1910, the publishers’ date of the “Period of Conflict.” Although in Part I of the work now under review, containing four chapters about early trade intercourse prior to and after the arrival of Europeans, the voice is the voice of Mr See, the prompting hand in the background is evidently here and there that of the somewhat patriotically biased lobbyist of Washington, and “nonconformist conscience” at that. It is not exactly that the words are hostile, or even lacking in courtesy, but from first to last there is running through the book a subtle *Leitmotive* (like that in Tannhauser)—a sort of anti-British prejudice creeping through the noisiest as well as the faintest “music,” but in such wise as to surprise and stimulate the ear at every turn. The following passage from the Preface gives the general lead: “They would not have censured China for the Opium War if they knew how the British forced the opium vice upon her with the help of their Government.” “Chinese Account of the Opium War” is the title of a book published in 1888 by the present writer, showing clearly that a distinguished member of the Chinese official body, speaking representatively, then took a much fairer view, so fifty years later does Mr Morse, who says (“International Relations,” 1910, p. 551) “Of the American merchants in China some took as active a part in the opium trade as they could—*i.e.*, during 1834 to 1860.” And (to cite an example) the writer, once crossing the Pacific (1877) in an American steamer, was told by one of the officers (in reply to the remark that \$50 a month seemed rather low pay for his rank) that he made much more than that by smuggling opium each trip. Mr See (p. 134) also admits that Americans were implicated. England and British India in their connection with the trade have certainly not much to boast of in the matter of failing to assist in its extinction when a chance

came in the 1842 Treaty, but Mr See's reiterated reproaches come with rather a bad grace in view of the self-sacrificing and economical efforts made during the past twelve years by both the British and the Indian Governments, and this the more in that a pack of corrupt and greedy *tuchuns*, or military viceroys, are at this very moment doing their utmost to reintroduce the wholesale cultivation of the poppy in most of the western provinces, where the well meant zeal of President Hsu and his Peking Government cannot bring itself to bear upon them

An admirable feature in the "Foreign Trade of China" is the carefully tabulated marshalling together of essential facts and sensibly grouped statistics in Part II, which consists mainly of two long chapters, V and VI, the latter being on the "Development of the Foreign Trade" Of special interest are the remarks upon Exchange, Balance of Trade, etc., and, in this connection, it might not be inappropriate here to refer the unprofessional reader to Sir Charles Addis's recently republished Shanghai pocket booklet entitled "Daily Exchange Quotations," which goes luminously and thoroughly to the root of the matter The seventh and last chapter, "Summary and Conclusion," is a vigorous appeal of fifty pages in favour of justice to China the chief points are, of course, the abolition of extra territoriality, a free hand to China in the matter of tariff reform, the unnecessarily continued existence of foreign post offices, the *iniquum fœdus* under which China's own manufactures are strangled in favour of foreign imports, the proposed total extinction of the Boxer indemnities, and so on Here Mr Chong Su See strikes out fiercely with immense vigour, and as a forensic effort or piece of special pleading his appeal is unexceptionable, in spite of its numerous *suggestio* and *suppressio* features But China has many friends and admirers—the present reviewer heartily one of them—who would like to see her rapidly reinstated in the world position to which her 4,000 years of unquestionable political leadership in the Far East entitle her The only thing is, how can we act corporately until China incorporates herself? With whom is it possible to arrange any permanent reform so long as one half of China will not recognize, or even consent to negotiate with, the other so long as one section burns millions sterling worth of opium whilst other sections fill their private, and also their official, pockets with the proceeds of native grown poppy, secretly encouraged? It is true that the word seems to have been passed round in all provinces that foreigners must not be ill treated, it is also true that in many matters justice, prisons, and appeals, have been improved and reorganized But how is it that we still hear by every mail of torture used in this or that province to extort confessions, of ferocious and illegal punishments and irresponsible tyranny on the part of many military governors? How can we, or any other Power, give China a free hand in the matter of her own finance when the only part of her finance which is a success and sustains her for the moment is that part (customs and salt) incorruptibly administered by the very foreigner—the dangerous English, in fact—she charges with strangling her? Mr Chong Su See, in his anxiety to conciliate his American friends, sometimes seems a little inconsistent For instance, p 291 "Unlike all the other foreigners, the

Americans have always enjoyed the goodwill of the Chinese people " And again, p 350 "The reason why Chinese are invariably anxious to do business with the United States is because they know that American capital and enterprise in China are devoid of all political designs " But *per contra*, p 366, "Chinese laborers are excluded by law from the United States and its possessions, and those that are expressly exempt—merchants, students, and travelers—are subjected to the humiliations of minute inquisitions into their character, and of anthropometric measurements of their person, for the purpose of ascertaining that they are not laborers under *camouflage* " In the State of California, Chinese children are forbidden to attend the schools for white children " On p 382 we read "Of all the great Powers which have declared that they want China to become a strong and virile nation, able to maintain her own place in the world, there is only one, it is to be frankly admitted, which actually desires such a consummation, and that is the United States of America America has never committed any act of aggression in China, nor has she ever attempted to secure unfair and exclusive commercial privileges there " What about America's attack upon Korea in the summer of 1871, when, according to Longford, "hundreds of the Koreans were mowed down by the Remington rifles, shell, and shrapnel"? This was conducted by Minister Lowe of Peking The action of the Americans in Honolulu, Panama, and the Philippines proves that even America has found the mailed fist useful upon occasion How is it that the only mention of America's attack upon Peking in 1900 and her joining in exacting "humiliating penalties" only occurs in a casual footnote? "The United States' share" (pp 215 216) "was \$32,939,055, this amount was later found to be more than enough to recoup the expenses of the American expedition and the claims of American subjects " President Roosevelt is certainly to be credited with a conscientious *amende honorable* to China eight years later, notwithstanding the precautionary condition that the money should be used for the dispatch of her youth to the United States to receive a modern education The writer would like to see Great Britain do the same thing with her balance owing, but certainly if she did so, it would not be because she had originally asked for more than was due, nor would she deprive China of the right to choose her own universities abroad, though, on the other hand, she would certainly not trust any *tuchuns* or self seeking politicians with the handling of the funds in any form As the excellent Viceroy, Liu K'un yi, once remarked "I find, Mr Consul, that the British authority, though at times seemingly harsh, is invariably just " *Per contra* on p 223 Mr Chong Su See remarks "As a protest against the *unjust* treatment of the Chinese in the United States a boycott of American goods was organized in the summer of 1905 "

In spite, however, of the snappish Hearst cum Valera tone of some of Mr Chong Su See's *Eminences grises*, his work is really extremely valuable, and the review of trade (pp 270 337) the most masterly *precis* of useful facts we have ever come across For this the hearty thanks of commercial men interested in the Far East must be due to the *China Society of*

*America* and to the *Political Science Faculty of Columbia University* It is to be noted that most, if not all, of the Chinese who have been inundating Europe and America, during the Paris Conference, with their political claims and views, are southerners, not one prominent northern statesman of mark seems to have been smitten with the *cacoëthes*. Doubtless the reason partly is that the north as a whole is in a general sense conservative, solid, imbued with an historical sense, cautious, conciliatory, and prudent. The southerners, taken as a whole, are not by descent pure Chinese of the old stock, apart from the fact that half the population of south west China is still actually "barbarian" (*i e*, Miao, Yao, Shan, Lolo, Kachin, Tibetan, etc.), the temperament is more fickle, less loyal to what may be called the Confucian idea, less confident in its own historical value, and less experienced in the arts of government, management of Tibetan and Tartar races, and so on. Moreover, all Chinese diplomacy, even in the north, is apt to be shifty, as Mr Chong Su See himself admits (p 265) "China's attitude in the European struggle, although neutral, was inclined towards Germany during the first part of the conflict," and he himself shows in several places an inclination to sow as much discord as possible between Japan and America (*e g*, pp 250, 379). It is doubtful whether, with the disturbing influences of foreign intrigue and ambition to distract them, the Chinese will ever trust each other as a whole community. Having in view the multiplicity of dialects, the local feeling, the clashing of maritime and agricultural interests, differing temperament, local characteristics and so on, we shall probably, before long, all have to come to the conclusion that salvation must lie in the direction of a federated empire—for, as with the German *Reich*, that word is really not inconsistent with the word Republic. The mysteries of plural voting, direct or indirect representation, forms of election, and so on, are matters that will probably assume a natural and unforced growth of their own. Each province (taken roughly) originally was a kingdom, and this up to 2,000 years ago, so that each still preserves a measure of its old idiosyncrasies. The President at Peking (or elsewhere) should of course be in sole charge of foreign affairs, the movements of the army and the navy, the post office, telegraphs, customs, salt gabelle, the promulgation of laws, matters affecting China's credit, and so on. Each province might well be trusted with Home Rule "of a sort." What that sort is to be, how the revenues are to be apportioned, and how the Governors are to be elected or appointed, are matters most ably discussed by Mr Chong Su See as well as by Mr Sih-gung Cheng. It would be purposeless, not to say presumptuous, to argue out each point made by them at this stage. These two Chinese gentlemen, presumably with carefully selected foreign assistance, have meanwhile provided us with plenty of food for thought in its raw material form, how that food is to be best cooked and most suitably served up, time has yet to show.

The get up of Mr See's book is quite good, and there are very few misprints, but the sketch-map is very poor and gives no clear idea of the railway progress already achieved. Sir Robert Bredon's name is consistently misspelt Breden, and Sir Thomas Wade, throughout whose long

ministry both the Chinese abroad and the Americans in China had many unobtrusive kindnesses to thank him for, does not appear in the index—if indeed in the text—at all On p 285 *have* should be “*has* fallen off” Tientsin (p 265) must be divided Tien tsin, not Tient sin “Kongkun market” (p 200) is quite an imaginary place, possibly Kumchuk is meant Mndez (p 103) should be Mendez *Them* (bottom of p 100) should be *it* These trifling slips are about all that occur in Mr See’s excellent book

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*Personal Addendum* —I should not like it to be thought that I entertained, or was even to be provoked into expressing, the faintest anti American sentiments, but I cannot well remain silent when I believe my countrymen are being unfairly attacked in an unsportsmanlike spirit by way of contrast to United States virtue An American missionary, the Rev Sidney L Gulick, writes as follows in the *Chinese Recorder* of Shanghai, under date January, 1920 “Few American Christians know that for thirty years America has been violating our treaties with China Yet all know that California passed an Anti Alien Land Law Thirty years ago the Scott Act was passed Senator Sherman said that it was ‘one of the most vicious laws that have passed in my time in Congress’ The Geary Law, even more unreasonable and drastic, was passed in 1892 Judge Field of the United States Supreme Court said ‘It must be conceded that the Act of 1888 is in contravention of the treaty of 1868, and of the supplemental treaty of 1880’ The success of Christian work in China increasingly depends on the treatment we give to Chinese in America Oriental indignation and resentment at unfair and humiliating treatment do not constitute a mental attitude favourable to the acceptance of Occidental religion”

In the same January number the world-renowned Chinese (foreign trained) anti-plague physician, Dr Wu Lien teh writes ‘Has not the time come when democracy might be practised to a greater extent in the relations between foreigners and Chinese, especially missionaries and Chinese? Quite frequently one hears of equitable treatment being refused to Chinese graduates at foreign colleges Only the other day a very accomplished Chinese lady on her return home from the States was placed on the same grade as ordinary helpers who had not been educated abroad”

Americans in China were only too glad in the sixties and eighties to avail themselves of the powerful and disinterested British arm, and I myself on one occasion received the official thanks of President Arthur for prompt and effective services thus rendered mentioning this fact to a colleague a year later, I found that he also had received a United States President’s official thanks for assisting “pious Americans” in quite another province The Columbia University has surreptitiously done an ill service to President Wilson in working up what looks even more like an anti Japanese campaign than an anti English campaign in the otherwise excellent statistical and historical book now under notice



## JAPAN'S POLICY IN SIBERIA

BY U MAYA

JAPAN has always adopted, or perhaps could not but elect to adopt, towards Russia a defensive attitude. Russia's ambition for territorial aggrandizement towards the Far East, the legacy of Peter the Great, which culminated in the Russo-Japanese War in 1904-5, had been a constant menace to the peace and repose of the Orient. There is also every reason to believe that Germany had always sought to egg Russia on to turn her attention to the Far East, which otherwise would have reverted to the Balkan Peninsula. However, the fateful Russo-Japanese War brought the German intrigue to grief.

When the late Great War broke out, Russia and Japan, the quondam foes, were friends, and stood together in common cause with the rest of the Allies. Japan lent Russia £22,000,000, and sent to her arms and munitions to the value of £7,000,000 to fight Germany and Austria. But then came the Russian Revolution of 1917, and Japan, in full sympathy with the Russian people, prayed for a speedy re-establishment of order in Russia, and for a healthy development of her national life. On the other hand, however, Germany was not slow to take advantage of the chaotic and defenceless situation into which great Muscovy was suddenly hurled, and, being bent on consolidating her hold on that country, even schemed steadily to extend her activities to the Russian Far Eastern possessions. In the meantime the desire of the Czecho-Slovak troops in Russia to come to France to fight on the Western Front was made known, but the only route they could take was through Siberia. Naturally, the Governments of the Central Empires

racked their wits to put impediments in their way. There were freely enlisted among the Russian forces German and Austro-Hungarian prisoners, who anomalously enough practically assumed command. Furthermore, there was considerable fear that the enormous amount of munitions and war materials which had been supplied by the Allies, and was stored up in Vladivostok and its vicinity, would be carried away for the ultimate use of Germany and Austria.

It was at this critical moment that Japan decided to despatch her troops to Siberia in August, 1918, in agreement with the United States and other Allies who had been acting in unison in the attempt to succour Russia. The motives of Japan were announced by the Japanese Government statement on August 2, part of which says

“In the presence of the threatening danger to which the Czecho-Slovak troops are actually exposed in Siberia at the hands of the Germans and Austro-Hungarians, the Allies have naturally felt themselves unable to view with indifference the untoward course of events, and a certain number of their troops have already been ordered to proceed to Vladivostok. The Government of the United States of America, equally sensible of the gravity of the situation, recently approached the Japanese Government with proposals for an early despatch of troops to relieve the pressure now weighing upon the Czecho-Slovak forces. The Japanese Government, being anxious to fall in with the desires of the American Government, have decided to proceed at once in disposition of suitable forces for the proposed mission. A certain number of these troops will be sent forthwith to Vladivostok. In adopting this course the Japanese Government remain unshaken in their constant desire to promote relations of enduring friendship with Russia and the Russian people, and they reaffirm their avowed policy of respecting the territorial integrity of Russia and of abstaining from all interference in her internal politics. They further declare that, upon the realization of the objects above indicated, they will immediately withdraw

all Japanese troops from the Russian territories, and will leave wholly unimpaired the sovereignty of Russia in all its phases, whether political or military ”

Later on Japan, under the terms of a military agreement with China, sent her troops to North Manchuria, to undertake, in conjunction with the Chinese troops, to safeguard and maintain the order in that locality which had been imminently threatened by the forces under Teutonic influence and command. Soon after the advance of the Japanese detachment to Trans-Baikalia, and after the operations conducted by the Allied forces in the Littoral and Amur Provinces, the Czecho-Slovaks, who had been isolated in the interior of Siberia, succeeded in re-establishing communications with their kinsmen in Vladivostok and other places.

The grave danger that at one time threatened their existence having thus been averted and the primary object of the military activities undertaken by Japan having been practically achieved, Japan effected a reduction in the number of her troops to the minimum essential for the preservation of the public order in those localities. In the meantime, in order to save Siberia from economic difficulties, the Japanese Government appointed a Committee for relieving destitute sections of the population, supplying them with the necessities of life free or below cost price. But she could not provide them with sufficient quantity for their immediate requirements owing to transportation difficulties, though, later on, these difficulties were removed to a considerable extent by the co-operation of Japan and America along the line of the Trans-Siberian and the Chinese Eastern Railways.

Now let us turn our attention to the broader aspects of the subject. With the inauguration of Admiral Koltchak's Government in November, 1918, the importance of Siberia was admittedly enhanced, and the solution of the whole Russian Question depended largely upon the successful administration of the Omsk Government. Had Admiral Koltchak succeeded in establishing a form of democratic

government based upon the will of the people of Siberia, the situation of Russia would have been quite different. But, unfortunately, the Admiral was so keen on crushing the Bolshevism that he neglected to consolidate his own Government, and refused to accept the invitation of the Allies to a conference at Prinkipo. This was the primary cause of his final defeat. Even at that time it was quite clear to every unprejudiced observer that neither could the Allies continue to render assistance for an indefinite period to anti-Bolshevists, nor could Bolshevism be destroyed by force of arms. The best way to solve the Russian Question would have been, in the writer's opinion, to permit all sections to form their own Governments in the territories which they occupied, and to give the Russian people at large the free choice of government to which they should owe allegiance. As a general statement, the Prinkipo proposal in January, 1919, may be said to have been a step towards this end. Had the Allies undertaken more in earnest to persuade the anti-Bolshevists, led by Admiral Koltchak, to join this conference, some understanding might, for aught we know, have been arrived at between the Bolshevists and the anti-Bolshevists. Russia might have worked out her own salvation and consequently propitious co-operative relations might have been established between her people and the rest of the world. As it was, the Allies advised anti-Bolshevists to occupy Moscow. On May 26 last they sent a note to Admiral Koltchak, asking him, among other things, to summon a Constituent Assembly as soon as the Admiral and his associates reached Moscow. But that was an ill-conceived plan, and the downfall of his Government dates from those days. From the very moment, indeed, of the despatch of the reply to the above note, Koltchak's troops started to retreat from European Russia, and with the defeat of the Koltchak Army the Omsk Government were forced to transfer their seat to Irkutsk, and then to Chita towards the close of last year.

Alarmed by the untoward turn of events, and sensible of the increased difficulties in the further withdrawal of the Czecho-Slovaks, which had by no means been completed, the Japanese Government approached the American Government with a view to arriving at an understanding on the question of sending reinforcements in case of necessity. Before the conclusion of the negotiations America made a sudden decision to withdraw all her troops and railway experts from Siberia. On January 22, 1920, the Foreign Minister of Japan, in his speech before the Diet, explained the situation in Russia and the desire of Japan in the following words: "The need of sending out reinforcements to our railway guards having been intensified by exigencies of the situation in Siberia, the Japanese Government have taken steps to despatch about half a division for that purpose. At any rate, the present plight of Russia is a matter of grave concern not only to Russia herself, but also to all those interested in the general peace of the world. The Japanese Government are extremely anxious to see the speedy establishment of a stable Government in Russia, and the achievement of her complete resuscitation."

But since that speech was delivered the situation in Siberia developed with an alarming precipitancy. Vladivostok and other towns in Eastern Siberia, excepting some portion of Trans-Baikalia retained by Semenoff, have been, one after another, captured by Social Revolutionaries as well as by Bolsheviks, culminating in the arrest and execution of Admiral Koltchak on February 7, and since January 31 the Vladivostok Zemstvo have assumed authority all over the Littoral Province. In view of the emergency of the situation, Japan hastened to despatch reinforcements, and declared once more its intention to maintain an attitude of strict neutrality towards all parties, whilst endeavouring to effect the withdrawal of the Czecho-Slovaks. It was further announced by the Japanese military authorities that, so long as the railways were not

### *Japan's Policy in Siberia*

endangered or her troops molested, Japanese troops would not resort to hostile measures

Needless to say, further developments in Siberia are at present awaited with keener anxiety than at any other time. Russia is a country of kaleidoscopic surprises, the wind bloweth where it listeth. Japan may, in her "muddling through," have to change her line of action in future in full consultation with her Allies. But it may be taken for granted that all that Japan will desire, after the successful withdrawal of Czecho-Slovak troops, will be to keep the Bolshevik activities within the pale of Russian soil.

## COMMERCIAL SECTION

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### EXTENSION OF COTTON-GROWING IN SINDH NECESSITY FOR MORE BRITISH- GROWN COTTON

BY THOMAS SUMMERS C I E , D S C

BRITAIN depends to a large extent on America for cotton, but America is using up more and more of the cotton she produces. The world's demand for cotton goods has also gone far beyond the quantity produced. It is, therefore, not only advisable, but absolutely necessary, in order to supply the increasing demand, and to lower the price, that cotton growing in the Empire should be very largely increased as soon as possible.

#### EXTENSION OF COTTON-GROWING IN INDIA

The greatest field in the Empire for the development of cotton-growing is undoubtedly India, and the Province in which the largest increase in quantity can be obtained in the shortest time is Sindh.

#### SINDH AS A GREAT COTTON PRODUCER

The Indus Valley closely resembles the Nile Valley. Both have been formed in past ages by the natural deposition of silt brought down by the rivers, and this soil is admirably suited for cotton-growing. The volume discharged by the Indus is practically unlimited, it is sufficient at present and, as far as one can judge, will be sufficient fifty years hence, to irrigate 20 million acres annually, while the whole culturable area of Sindh is about 14 million acres.

Even under the present conditions of agriculture, which are very backward, the average yield per acre of cotton in Sindh is 160 lbs, compared with 85 lbs in the Bombay Presidency, 100 lbs in the Punjab, and 85 lbs for the whole

of India In 1906 the yield per acre from a quarter of a million acres of cotton in Sindh was 250 lbs There is no question of experiment in cotton-growing in Sindh, as it has been grown for generations

The average yield per acre of cotton in America is about 200 lbs, and in Egypt 400 lbs It is not too much to anticipate that with perennial canals the average yield should be 250 lbs per acre, and may in time rise much higher

In 1904 Mr F Fletcher—an agricultural expert, well acquainted with Egypt—while Deputy Director of Agriculture in Sindh, expressed the opinion that “the exceptional potentialities of Sindh as a cotton-growing country ought no longer to be ignored” There is no doubt whatever about this, and if only a start is made with a good canal, the present area of a quarter million acres under cotton on the Rohri and Nara River canals should increase to a million acres in, say, thirty years Eventually, when other parts of Sindh are improved by drainage and pumping, there is no reason why the area under cotton should not reach 2 million acres or more, out of Sindh’s 14 million acres of culturable land

#### THE SUKKUR WEIR PROJECT

As the rapid development of cotton in India is bound up with the Sukkur Weir project, a few remarks are given below to show how soon and to what extent development may be expected from this project, which will be the greatest irrigation scheme in India

In 1851 that great pioneer, General (then Lieutenant) Fife, R E, proposed that the slovenly, wasteful, and unscientific system of irrigation in Sindh should be superseded by high-level perennial canals, and fixed upon the Sukkur Weir systems of canals as the best and most urgent to begin with

The complete project will consist of the Rohri, Right Bank, and Nara River canals, and the Sukkur Weir The cost of the project is estimated at about £14,000,000 The



net revenue anticipated from the project ten years after completion is £830,000, which gives a return of 6 per cent. Thirty years after completion the net revenue is expected to increase to £1,700,000, and the return to 12 per cent

The carrying out of this great project was really begun by General Fife, by the construction of a new mouth to the Nara River from the Indus, which was opened in 1859, and the Mithrao Canal, taking its supply from the Nara River, which was opened some years later. The next step was the construction of the Jamrao Canal, which is also supplied by the Nara River. The Jamrao—the only up-to-date perennial canal in Sindh—cost £850,000, and gives a return of about 5 per cent. It was opened in 1900.

The area at present irrigated out of the culturable area of 6 million acres, which will be commanded by the Sukkur Weir and its canals, is about 2,300,000 acres (38 per cent). The anticipated area of irrigation thirty years after completion is 4,500,000 acres, which will be 75 per cent of the culturable area. This gives an increase of 2,200,000 acres, out of which 1,400,000 acres is estimated as due to the Rohri Canal—the most urgent and most important part of the project.

#### RATE OF INCREASE IN THE COTTON AREA

As the Rohri Canal must obviously be the first step in carrying on this project, it will be of interest to show how soon its construction will lead to the extension of the cotton area. The first section of this canal—assuming that it will take ten years to construct, and that it is begun in 1920—will open up three-quarters of a million acres of excellent cotton land in 1924,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  million acres in 1925, and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  million acres in 1930, so that there will not be long to wait, once a start is made.

#### INCREASE IN QUANTITY OF COTTON

(a) *From the Rohri Canal* — There is considerable difference of opinion as to the quantity and kind of cotton which Sindh will eventually produce under perennial canals.

For example, in the Rohri Canal tract alone, out of its culturable area of 2,400,000 acres, Mr Fletcher's forecast of cotton in 1904 was 800,000 acres, or 33 per cent

In 1910 Mr W H Lucas, Commissioner in Sindh, estimated 470,000 acres, or 20 per cent On newly-opened perennial canals in Egypt, 50 per cent is sometimes cultivated under cotton for a few years, but 33 per cent is generally recognized as the percentage which can be kept up

On the Rohri Canal, which will command the best cotton land in Sindh, the intensity for cotton should not be less than 25 per cent, which is the percentage allowed by the Cotton Committee for the Jamrao Canal in paragraph 96 of their Report This would give 600,000 acres of cotton per annum Taking into consideration the great advantages the Rohri Canal will have over the Jamrao, it is probable that the area under cotton will reach Mr Fletcher's figure of 33 per cent However, taking 25 per cent, the area under cotton on the Rohri Canal would be 200,000 acres in 1924, increasing to 600,000 acres in 1930

As Sindh, under the present unsatisfactory conditions, produces an average of 160 lbs per acre, and produced 250 lbs in 1906, it will not be out of place to assume that, under improved methods of agriculture, an up-to-date perennial canal will produce 250 lbs per acre from the best soil in Sindh

This would give 50 million lbs, or 120,000 bales in 1924, rising to 370,000 bales in 1930

With 33 per cent intensity the total quantity of cotton from the Rohri Canal *alone* would be half a million bales

As the present area of cotton in the Rohri Canal tract is 120,000 acres and the average yield 160 lbs, the quantity at present produced is about 50,000 bales, so that the net increase on the Rohri Canal would be, say, 300,000 bales, with only 25 per cent of the culturable area under cotton, and 450,000 bales, with 33 per cent

(b) *From the complete Sukkur Weir Project*—The Cotton Committee's cotton forecast for the Jamrao Canal

is 25 per cent of the culturable area. Taking this percentage, the total area under cotton in the Rohri and Nara River tracts, in which the culturable area is about 3,900,000 acres, would be 970,000 acres. This area at 250 lbs per acre gives 600,000 bales.

No cotton forecasts have been made for the Right Bank Canal tract. It has a high subsoil water level, and is not considered suitable for cotton, in its present state at any rate. However, if the subsoil water level is lowered by pumping, this tract of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  million acres could be improved and might, in time, produce another 200,000 bales.

There is no reason why, with up to date perennial canals, demonstration farms, efficient drainage, and improved methods of agriculture, the Sukkur Weir project should not produce from a minimum of half a million to, say, 1 million bales of cotton. In addition to this cotton the area under wheat and other food crops would be increased by over 1 million acres.

#### LONG STAPLE COTTON

Shortly after the opening of the Jamrao Canal in 1900, Mr M D Mackenzie, the pioneer of Egyptian cotton growing in Sindh, succeeded in producing some excellent Egyptian cotton on this canal, under his personal supervision.

In 1904 Mr Fletcher made a forecast of 800,000 acres of Egyptian cotton on the Rohri Canal alone, but in 1910 Mr Lucas, in his forecast for the Sukkur Weir project, made no allowance for long staple cotton, as it had not been proved to be a success. In 1919 the Cotton Committee have estimated that about 60 per cent of the whole area under cotton will be long staple, and have allowed 400,000 acres for this project. Mr Lucas, who had long experience of the Sindh zamindar, based his forecasts on indigenous cotton, which has been grown for generations, and on which the Sukkur Weir project will pay. The difficulties in connection with the cultivation of Egyptian

or other long staple cotton will probably be overcome in time, but not at once. The Sindh cultivator will have to be shown that the cultivation of long staple cotton on a commercial scale will pay him before he will take to it.

#### URGENCY OF THE SUKKUR WEIR PROJECT

There are three projects under consideration in the Punjab—the Sutlej River, the Haveli, and the Sindh Sagar Doab. The Cotton Committee anticipate an area of 525,000 acres of cotton under these three projects, of which 200,000 should be American. After discussing these projects, they say, in paragraph 38: “Not only is the construction of the Sukkur Barrage and the connected canals far more essential to the extension of long staple cotton in India than any, or, in fact, all the projects mentioned above, but it is equally essential to the maintenance of the prosperity of Sindh at its present level, unless further progress in regard to irrigation in the Punjab is to be stopped in view of its effect upon the supplies in Sindh.”

The Committee forecast for long staple cotton under the Sukkur Weir Project Canals is 400,000 acres, compared with 200,000 acres under these three Punjab canals.

*Delay in carrying out the Sukkur Weir Project*—The unfortunate delay of ten years in commencing the Sukkur Weir project has been due to the difference of opinion as to whether, owing to the abstraction of water from the Indus and its tributaries by new Punjab canals, especially by the great Punjab Triple Project Canals, the Rohri Canal should be begun before the Sukkur Weir, or the Weir before the canal. As the Indus data do not show that these canals, which were opened between 1912 and 1915, have had any effect on the Indus in Sindh, it is anticipated that the Rohri Canal will be commenced this year, and that Sindh's long-looked-for increase in cotton and food crops may begin in 1924.

## THE BRITISH-ARMENIAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

### VISIT OF H E BOGHOS NUBAR PACHA

At the meeting of the Council of the Chamber held on Wednesday, March 3, Mr E A Brayley Hodgetts presiding, supported by Professor Thoumaian, Deputy Chairman, Sir J Roper Parkington, Mr E R Bartley Dennis, M P, Mr James A Malcolm, Mr S P Stephens (Hon Treasurer), and others, H E Boghos Nubar Pacha (of the Armenian National Delegation), and His Beatitude the Patriarch of Constantinople, were welcomed by the Chairman

Mr E A BRAYLEY HODGETTS, in introducing H E Boghos Nubar Pacha, said that that name was historical and revered by every student of the history of the British Empire. It was unnecessary for him to refer to the services which His Excellency's father had rendered to this country and to Egypt, but it was pleasant to reflect that that father's son was so nobly following in his parent's footsteps. His Excellency was devoting himself with rare ability and assiduity to the service of his own country, in doing so he was promoting the best interests of the British Empire, which was identified with the advancement of civilization and culture and more particularly in bringing about a union of East and West. He need not refer to the arduous labours of His Excellency on behalf of his ancient and noble country at the Peace Conference in Paris and now in London. He felt that he had achieved a great work in the face of many difficulties, and he was grateful that his Excellency had been able to find time to attend this meeting and grace it with his presence. The British Armenian Chamber of Commerce had no political objects, it was a purely commercial body, but he thought it would perform a very useful function in assisting the energetic and industrious Armenian people to develop the undoubted wealth of their country and in promoting trade relations with Great Britain.

H E BOGHOS NUBAR PACHA said he was particularly touched by the Chairman's reference to his father. It was a surprise—indeed, a very agreeable surprise—for him to learn that, with the co-operation of their friends in England, a British Armenian Chamber of Commerce was already founded. As soon as the Armenian State was set up by the Peace Conference—an event which they all hoped might not be deferred—one of their first cares and duties would be to establish commercial relations with the European countries, and they could not but view with lively gratitude that Great Britain was taking the lead in that direction. Armenia, which until now had not been able to undergo any economic development under the barbarous Turk, who had paralyzed and rendered it sterile, would not fail, under the energetic impulse, penetrating activity, and invincible industry of Armenians, to progress by leaps and bounds. Their first efforts would be directed towards the restoration of their agriculture, in order to assure

immediately the subsistence of the people on the produce of the country itself. As soon as that was done, they would be able to export their produce. But to attain the double object, they would need, above all agricultural machinery and implements, which they could only get from abroad. And it was in that vast field open to activity that an institution, such as the British-Armenian Chamber of Commerce, would be of the greatest value. Next to agriculture, and perhaps concurrently, they would have to develop their subsoil, which possessed immense unexploited riches. Experts who had explored the country attested to the existence of great mineral deposits. Copper, silver, lead, iron, coal, oil, and other minerals were to be found in Armenia. But the co-operation of their friends was necessary for them to accomplish such a task. He was confident that Great Britain, who had so powerfully contributed, by the triumph of its arms to the liberation of Armenia, would not be lacking in enterprise and sympathy to help Armenia in peace to their mutual advantage.

The CHAIRMAN then welcomed His Beatitude the Patriarch of Constantinople, who arrived later, and after referring to the heroism with which His Beatitude had accompanied the Armenian refugees in their calvary to Mesopotamia, stated that he was the first Armenian Patriarch to visit these shores, and expressed his gratitude to him for coming to this meeting to give them his benediction. He thought it was a good omen for the future success and prosperity of the British Armenian Chamber of Commerce.

HIS BEATITUDE THE PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE addressed the meeting in Armenian, Professor Thoumaian interpreting as follows. Although commerce did not come within his ecclesiastical sphere, yet, as the representative of a prominently commercial people, when he was invited to be present, he at once consented. He took that opportunity of expressing his hearty appreciation of their efforts and interests in the commercial aspects of Armenia, which with agriculture and industry form the trades which were largely practised by the Armenians. But in order that the Armenian activities in all these branches might attain their full development, Armenian independence must be an accomplished fact. Only independence, however, was not sufficient. His people had been so terribly and cruelly treated that without outside help it would be difficult, and would take a long time to develop their full activities. For that reason they wanted British help above all. They firmly believed that British industry with Armenian grit would work marvels in a short time. The soil was fertile, but the subsoil was still richer in mineral wealth. He himself had resided for many years in Armenia, and knew personally that in many places the ores were almost exposed at the surface. He heartily welcomed that beginning which was certainly in the right direction, and he hoped that the Chamber would be an intermediary between the two nations of Great Britain and Armenia. When British enterprise and Armenian perseverance and endurance were coupled together, the prosperity of New Armenia would be assured. He asked God's blessing on their enterprise.

## ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION

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### EGYPTOLOGICAL NOTES

BY WARREN R. DAWSON

1 *The Historical Value of Greek Papyri*—Mr H Idris Bell, the papyrologist of the British Museum, gave a most interesting lecture before the Egypt Exploration Society on February 20, 1920, in which he dealt with the historical importance of the papyri in the Greek language, of which so vast a collection has come down to us. It may be thought that the subject is outside the pale of a society devoted to Egyptology, but it must be remembered that at a late period in her history Egypt was under Greek rule, and that this period is no less important in the history of the country than that of the Pharaohs. Moreover, Egypt is the provenance from which the great majority of papyri has come, and the Egypt Exploration Society has discovered and published more of these documents than any other single body has done.

We are apt to consider history as a series of epoch making events—of conquests, of governments, of laws and economics. The Greek papyri which have come down to us act in a hundred ways to correct the false focus in which we view these events, for they comprise lyrical and epic poems, discourses, letters, contracts, legal forms, and a thousand and one miscellaneous jottings made by contemporaries of contemporary events, seen from the personal point of view of their authors, and not through the long telescope of posterity. The papyri have given us practically nothing in the shape of official annals or, indeed, of any of the usual documents of the type to which modern historians resort for their facts, but in place of this we have a mass of evidence of the manners, customs, and opinions of antiquity, which infuse the proper colouring into the greater events which we commonly term history.

As the principal actors in history appear to us as exceptional personalities, men who have made their mark, but who are quite abstract and formless in our minds without the foil of the common crowd, by whom they were surrounded and above whom they rose. The Greek papyri furnish us with an abundance of matter of a personal nature. They show us the great undistinguished mass who performed in their day the common tasks of humanity. Without this leaven the greater personages cannot be properly appreciated by us.

By analogy with the data furnished in Græco Roman Egypt we can, to a considerable extent, gauge the psychology of the Græco-Roman world.

which has had such a vast and far reaching influence on the posterity of nations

The study of the Greek papyri has given us much data on legal procedure and jurisprudence, on popular piety—and impiety—of the economic decay of the Roman Empire, of the early joys and sorrows of Christianity. The last-named subject is one of great interest to theological students. Fragments of lost gospels have come to light, and documents which show us the extent to which the early Christians borrowed from and adapted the paganism of their ancestors and of their contemporaries.

Such in rapid review are the principal subjects with which the lecturer dealt. He showed us plainly how important to history these confessedly unhistorical documents really are, and he noted with regret how backward this country has been in comparison with others in cultivating the publication and study of these very human documents, for the “proper study of mankind is man.”

2 *The First Reformer*—It is a matter of common knowledge that midway through her enormously long history Egypt was dominated by an Asiatic immigration known as the Hyksos, whose power was so great that their chiefs actually occupied the throne of the Pharaohs. Their principal sphere was the Delta country, whilst in Upper Egypt the native princes still ruled at Thebes. After a series of struggles the invaders were expelled, and the eighteenth dynasty opened a new era of stupendous progress, both civil and political. A long line of illustrious Kings succeeded one another, and a great military spirit arose, as the result of which the empire expanded in all directions, and as a contemporary phrase ran, “Egypt could set her boundaries where she would,” and became mistress of the ancient world.

With the death of Amenophis III, with the extensive empire to control, there was never greater need of a powerful ruler and a firm statesman to rule Egypt's destinies, but the succeeding Pharaoh was quite unfitted for the task which lay before him, although he achieved greatness in another direction such as none of his forerunners or successors ever did. Instead of a firm handed man of affairs, a diplomat or military leader, the new King, Amenophis IV, was a youthful and æsthetic dreamer for whom the aggressive affairs of state had no appeal. He conceived a pure and monotheistic religion, and devoted his whole reign to its nurture. In order to understand what a stupendous achievement such a reformation really was, it is necessary to remember that Egypt was the most conservative country in the world. Its religious system which dominated and formed an integral part of the whole civil, social, and political fabric of the land was in the main preserved intact from the beginning to the end of history, excepting only the short interruption with which we are about to deal. Order of precedence, ceremonial, and etiquette were absolutely paramount, and every being, animate and inanimate, every form and power, had its appointed place in the hierarchical scheme of things. Thebes was the capital of the country, and its god Amon had risen with its fortunes and had become the greatest national god, appropriating the attributes of Re, the sun god, who was the principal god under the ancient empire. The great conquests had



brought enormous spoils and riches to Thebes, and of these the lion's share was given to Amon Re, the god of the city. The priesthood of Amon waxed wealthy and powerful, and its temporal power became immense. The priests of Amon nearly all held important civil offices and high places in court, and the religious and political life of the country was thus fused into one entity under the power of the strongest corporation the country could produce.

Amenophis IV, the new King, instituted the worship of Aton, the sun's disk, as the outward visible sign of a one and almighty god, a god of beneficence and joy for whom none of the accepted priestcraft was required. It has been supposed in some quarters that the Aton cult was merely a revival of the old sun worship of Heliopolis under a different form. It would seem, however, that to the idealistic temperament of the young King this sun-worship was as little a real religion and as much a priestcraft as that of Amon, and would be equally distasteful. Indeed, subsequent events make it clear that the new religion was to be absolutely distinct from the old, and could not flourish on the same soil.

In its early stages the Aton cult was practised at Thebes, but the ubiquitous Amon and his priests made the locality intolerable, and Amenophis IV, who had changed his name to Akhnaton, founded a new city where Aton should be worshipped unhampered by external forces. In the change of his name, not only was the King identifying himself with Aton, but was severing the connection with Amon, whose name was confounded in his own. The elimination of the name of Amon marks the only outward fanaticism which we can lay to the charge of the Akhnaton, for the King caused the name of Amon to be obliterated from every monument and inscription which contained it.

Once established in the new city which he called Akhetaton (the modern Arabic name is Tell el Amarna) the King gave free scope to his fancies. A beautiful palace was built, the ruins of which were excavated some years ago and revealed a wonderful painted pavement\* in a free and naturalistic style—a style which makes an absolute break with the conservative conventions of Egyptian art.

The wall paintings in the tombs at Amarna show a similar cleavage with old tradition and introduce perspective for the first time in Egyptian art. Akhnaton was the most affectionate husband and father, and is seen on his monuments caressing his wife and children, a strange contrast to the usual formal and ceremonial manner of depicting the Pharaohs.

The celebrated hymns to Aton are attributed to the authorship of Akhnaton, but they were at least composed under his influence. The most beautiful hymn, which is inscribed on the walls of one of the Amarna tombs, bears a striking resemblance to the 104th Psalm. The resemblance will be at once apparent on comparing the two compositions†.

The court embraced the new religion during its author's lifetime, but on

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\* Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, Plates II-IV.

† In Breasted's "*History of Egypt*," second edition, pp. 371 ff., the two are placed in parallel columns.

## *Egyptological Notes*

his death it quickly died out and the priests of Amon triumphed once more. The new town lasted for some time as an industrial centre, but was finally demolished and forgotten.

It is difficult to appreciate the greatness of the reform which Akhnaton engendered without a more exhaustive study of this evidence, which space forbids, and one of the evidences of the greatness of his personality is the fact that his religion died with him. He had no male heir, and his successors had not sufficient personality or interest to maintain the new faith against the powerful opposition of the priesthood of Amon.

The "City of the Heretic King" formed the subject of a lecture delivered for the Egypt Exploration Society by Professor T. E. Peet on January 23. He dealt fully with the rise and growth of the new religion, and in great detail with the city which was its home. I trust I have faithfully represented the lecturer's views, but if I differ from him, he is, of course, in no way responsible for the liberties I have taken.

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## JULY ISSUE "ASIATIC REVIEW"

Among the contributors to the July issue of the ASIATIC REVIEW will be the Hon. W. G. A. Ormsby Gore, M.P. (on "Arabia"), Baron A. Heyking, D.C.L. (on "Revolutionary Socialism in Russia: its Origin and Drift"). There will also be articles on "The Tea Industry in India," "The Financial Economic Position in Japan," and the "Shan States of Burma."

## EX-RUSSIA

BY OLGA NOVIKOFF

DARKNESS in Russia continues The Deluge of Noah is being repeated by a deluge of blood The Deluge of Noah lasted one hundred and fifty days—the present deluge of blood has now lasted three years, and its horrors seem to greatly exceed the misfortunes of the days of Genesis That Chaos, called by courtesy Government, decreed immediately that all prison-houses of convicted criminals, thieves, forgers, and murderers, should be opened, and set in their place innocent citizens whose only crime was their religious patriotism It was a bad beginning—*facilis descensus Averno* What the Romans foresaw—of that the Bolsheviks have given a novel and startling illustration quite lately

In the *Daily Telegraph* we read the following

“The employees at the Putilov Works have issued a manifesto, declaring for the benefit of the Russian workers generally that the Soviet Government has deceived the Russian proletariat, even robbing it of the political rights it enjoyed under the Imperial régime, and that this has been done by the application of incredible terrorism ”

This news receives striking confirmation in the March issue of *National Opinion*, the organ of Brigadier-General Page-Croft, a generous friend of my country

“In the *Communist* (a Soviet paper published in Moscow) of November 1, 1919, there is an article called ‘The Liquidation of Counter-Revolution at the Putilov Works’ In it we find a list of one hundred and eighty-nine workmen shot by order of the ‘Extraordinary Commission of the Soviet of the Union of Northern Communes’

“According to the Soviet paper, these executions of workmen at the Putilov Works, in Petrograd, were caused by the following circumstances When General Yudenich’s

cavalry made a raid on Petrograd the Putilov workmen held a crowded meeting, presided over by Cherniak, a workman and former Communist, and at this meeting speeches were made against the Soviet authorities

"There were cries of 'Down with the Extraordinary Commissions' 'Down with the Bolsheviks' 'Death to the Commissars' 'Bread and Liberty,' etc

"The Bolshevik Extraordinary Commission sent its 'best forces' to suppress this counter-revolution. The notorious Peter the Painter himself came from Moscow to assist his Petrograd comrades. The article goes on to say that, thanks to all the latest methods of extracting information elaborated by the 'Chresvychaikas' (Extraordinary Commission for Fighting Counter-Revolution) having been employed at the examination of the workmen, the Soviet authorities managed to discover the culprits, and, as a result, one hundred and eighty-nine Russian workmen were shot down by bodies of Letts and Chinese."

Monstrous and incredible as it may appear, slavery has been introduced into Russia. It is even admitted by the Moscow Government in their official wireless published on March 10 in the *Evening News*, and commented upon in the leading article of that issue. They threaten with immediate punishment any who leave their work on the railways. The case of all the 48,000,000 of serfs liberated in 1862 is even worse. That measure was the delight and happiness and blessing of the whole of Russia in the days of Alexander II. Can we be surprised to learn that all the peasants begin to realize the nature of their persecutors? Liberty and property are abolished for high and low alike. That restriction imposes even quite unexpected limitations. A lady newly arrived from Russia describes how she tried to buy some bread in selling her personal belongings, but was not only threatened with their confiscation, but with imprisonment. Not only liberty but also all property of every Russian aristocrat, peasant and workman alike, has been abolished.

The present rulers of Russia call themselves Russians simply because they are Russian subjects—but they are as unlike true Russians as a Touareg is a French Marquis.

So the Bolsheviks are reintroducing serfdom in Russia. The full meaning of these words is best described by a friend of mine, the late Sir D Mackenzie Wallace, in his chapter on the "Emancipation of the Serf" in "Russia". He writes

"The periodical Press—which was once the product and the fomentor of liberal aspirations—hailed the raising of the question with boundless enthusiasm. The emancipation, it was said, would certainly open a new and glorious epoch in the national history. Serfage was described as an ulcer that had long been poisoning the national blood, an enormous weight under which the whole nation groaned, as an insurmountable obstacle, preventing all material and moral progress, as a cumbrous load, which rendered all free vigorous action impossible, and prevented Russia from rising to the level of the Western nations. If Russia had succeeded in stemming the flood of adverse purpose in spite of the millstone round her neck, what might she not accomplish when free and untrammelled?" (p. 276)

This millstone has again been fixed round the neck of poor Russia by the Bolsheviks. Such is the present cult of liberty, equality, and fraternity.

In 1862, different ideas prevailed amongst the true representatives of the Russian Government, and especially the Emperor. The whole of the civilized world admired this measure of the Emperor and how that event was supported by every Russian. Mackenzie Wallace introduces the whole subject in the following paragraph.

"It is a fundamental principle of Russian political organization that all initiative in public affairs proceeds from the autocratic power. The widespread desire, therefore, for the emancipation of the serfs did not find free expression so long as the Emperor kept silence regarding his intentions. The educated classes watched anxiously for some sign, and soon a sign was given to them."

Is there any parallel between Alexander II and the present régime in Russia? No—for the Tsar of old was the liberator, and Lenin has become the enslaver. More than ever one would like to exclaim with the present Patriarch Tihon: "Anathema!"

## A PLEA FOR SANITY

THE brochure entitled "The Agony of Amritsar" begins by deprecating the attempt to anticipate the report of Lord Hunter's committee and to whitewash General Dyer in advance as the saviour of India. There is a proverb about glass houses, but we will let that pass and endeavour to take the advice to heart.

Now before entering into any of the facts, allegations or suggestions, it is necessary to notice two general considerations. In the first place there is no situation which an Indian civilian dislikes so much as a riot. There is no time for cold calculation; you have to act for the best on the spur of the moment with the knowledge, to put aside the enormous responsibility of firing at all, that if you fire too soon or too late, or if your action *seems* to those authorities who were not present to have been too soon or too late, you may be taken severely to task; you may in fact ruin your career. Secondly, the civilian dislikes martial law, not only because it is a desperate remedy, but because it is a confession of failure. For these two reasons things must appear very black indeed before the civilian will appeal to the military.

Now it is admitted that "there was in India a state of seething unrest at the end of the war." In addition to other ills India had been scourged by the influenza, high prices were telling cruelly on the masses, and there were three causes of political anxiety: the fate of Turkey, the Rowlatt Act, and the Cabinet's pledge of 1917. On the economic causes there need be no dispute, but opinions may well differ about the political causes. In April of last year the question of Turkey had not arisen in any acute form, the great mass of the Hindus do not care a rap what happens to the Sultan. The Rowlatt Act is the outcome of the Rowlatt Commission, which made an exhaustive inquiry into the various conspiracies, murders, dacoities, and disorders that had occurred during recent years. The British Cabinet has made no announcement about the pledge of August, 1917, but the Montagu Chelmsford Report had been published. Now the Rowlatt Act and the Report do not really touch the masses at all. It is absurd to suppose that the "man in the street" in India takes any spontaneous interest in either, that he has read either, or that he could follow them intelligently if he had read them. It follows, therefore, that the situation did not arise directly out of any of these things but out of the use which was made of them by the leaders' interpretations and comments, acting upon a people already excited by the economic causes.

But the pamphlet goes on to say that, in spite of ample grounds for exasperation, the people, except for a few acts of "regrettable violence" such as the murder of two bank managers, the burning of two banks

and other buildings, the assault on a European lady, and the death of "some Europeans," were peacefully inclined, marched "peacefully" to the Deputy Commissioner's house, and were "peaceful until unnecessarily provoked" The "deplorable acts of violence" were due, in Amritsar at any rate, to the worst elements in the crowd In fact, in Kasur it was, or may have been, the very arrival of the police which provoked the outbreak of crowd violence Finally, in Delhi the mob was fired upon because a few stones were thrown

Now, bearing in mind our two general considerations, we are driven to the conclusion either that the civil and military authorities indulged in an orgy of murder for its own sake or that they entirely lost their heads The first of these alternatives is difficult to believe It involves the conspiracy of the Punjab Government and of the Government of India with a few of their own subordinates, to say nothing of the total contradiction of all we know of the English character The second is almost as difficult, for it means that the authorities at Delhi, at Gujranwala, at Kasur, and at "one or two places in the Punjab," all gave way to panic simultaneously and that the Punjab Government shared the panic

So, then, if these things cannot be reasonably explained in this way, there was evidently something to alarm the authorities, and that something must have been more serious than the writers of this brochure are willing to allow In Amritsar the "wholly peaceful demonstration" had met "to reprobate the mob violence that had occurred and concert measures for preserving order" Then why did they choose this very suspicious method? General Dyer, who is condemned out of his own mouth, is surely entitled to use his own evidence in his favour You cannot have it both ways He says that he was ordered to Amritsar and that Mr Irving could not deal with the situation He speaks of the proclamation of the 13th He went through the city personally for making the proclamation Now, it is not necessary to assume that the proclamation and warnings were read or understood by everyone in the crowd There had been "regrettable violence" the civil authorities confessed themselves powerless, and General Dyer had gone round the city with his orders The civil authorities must have taken some action before they called in the military, some at least of the crowd must have heard and seen General Dyer, and news flies notoriously in India Surely the obvious way to "concert measures for preserving order" was to consult those whose business it was to preserve order, and the obvious way to court disaster was to assemble in a large crowd a collection of men which is quite unfit to "concert measures" of any kind And if the city was peaceful what need was there for these measures?

Whether or no General Dyer was right in firing as he did, whether he has committed a "regrettable" massacre, or is the salvation of India, it is neither right nor pertinent to discuss That is a matter for the committee, and, as we have already seen, it is most difficult to arrive at a right decision, even with all the evidence before one What is pertinent is to show, as has been attempted, that the narrative of the brochure is contrary to all human probability and to all human experience It is claimed that Sir

## *A Plea for Sanity*

Michael O'Dwyer, General Dyer, Colonel Johnson, Colonel O'Brien "and others" must be brought to trial, since "the guilty must be brought to trial" But if we have already decided that they are guilty, what is the use of trying them? Why not murder them off-hand, as they murdered the innocent and peaceful Punjabis? Or, again, if they are to be tried, why call them guilty before trial?

One need not dwell on the "forty or fifty boys and the baby of seven months" (printed in large type) who, it seems, unfortunately lost their lives Surely it is not suggested that General Dyer specially selected these boys and the baby for his inhuman brutality Nor need we do more than mention the electric fans which are "a necessity in the Indian climate," though there is not one Indian house in a thousand which has them, and until quite recently not a European house either These things are side issues, but they do not indicate that judicial impartiality with which such a subject should be approached

STANLEY RICE,  
*Secretary, East India Association*

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## DRAMATIC NOTES

"IN THE NIGHT"—*St Martin's Theatre*

This play, adapted from the French of Simoni Piernardi, is assured of a long run It is the old story of the eternal triangle, but in this case the aggrieved party is a police magistrate with primitive standards of revenge to be carried into effect with very modern ideas of refined cruelty The erring wife trembles through three acts, and the third party tries to look brave through the same ordeal The knot is cut with the aid of an eccentric burglar who had seen too much, and therefore threatens the husband with ridicule This burglar, a character that might have been drawn by Balzac, is really the making of the play, and is very ably acted by Mr Leslie Faber Alfred Drayton as the police magistrate frightens his enemies and the audience



# LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

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## OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

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### INDIA

#### INDIAN FINANCE AND BANKING

BY G FINDLAY SHIRRAS

London *Macmillan* Pp 482 1919 18s net

(*Reviewed by* SIR JAMES WILSON, K C S I)

THIS volume has appeared opportunely, and will be a valuable help to the study of the Indian currency system, and of the changes made by the Orders recently passed by the Secretary of State on the Report of the Committee on Indian Exchange and Currency. The policy now adopted will have a far-reaching effect, not only on all who receive money from India, or have to remit it to that country, but also on the course of India's trade, on prices in India, and on the welfare of all classes of the population, and especially of the poor. It will also have a considerable influence for some time to come on prices in this country and in the world generally. As Mr Shirras is Director of Statistics with the Government of India, and was for some years on special duty in the Finance Department of that Government, he speaks with authority on this subject, although, as he says in his Preface, he alone is responsible for the contents of the book.

He gives an excellent summary of the history of Indian currency during the last hundred years, including an account of the various crises through which it has come, of the discussions which ensued, and of the orders passed by the Secretary of State from time to time. In reading this account one is struck by the extremely complicated character

of the question, by the diversity of the views expressed by the experts whose opinions are quoted, by the great difficulties with which the working of the system has been confronted from time to time, and by the success with which on the whole those difficulties were surmounted by the responsible authorities. His description of the Indian banking system is of especial interest at present, when it seems to be practically settled that the three Presidency banks will be amalgamated into one Imperial Bank of India, and that there will be a more rapid development throughout the country of banking on Western lines.

Not the least valuable part of the book are the tables, which give the most trustworthy statistics available connected with the working of the currency. They throw light upon India's marvellous capacity of absorbing the precious metals. According to these statistics, the world's production of gold since the discovery of America has been to the value of over 3,500 million sovereigns, of which no less than 1,500 millions' worth has been produced since the beginning of this century. As there must have been a considerable quantity of gold in the world in 1493, and as gold is practically indestructible, it may be estimated that the world's existing stock of gold would make at least 3,500 million sovereigns, and is about double what it was only twenty-five years ago. (What wonder that the gold prices of commodities have risen in the last twenty-five years and were rising rapidly before the war!) Mr Shirras shows that, including net imports and home production, India absorbed during the last twenty-five years no less than 215 million sovereigns' worth of gold, including a net import of 94 million sovereign coins since 1901. He estimates the present stock of gold in India at the equivalent of 372 million sovereigns, which must be about one-tenth of the whole world's stock. During the five years before the war India absorbed 105 million sovereigns' worth, or more than one-fifth of the world's production during those five years. Like most writers on the subject, he deploras this unprofit-

able habit of hoarding, and would like to see the Indian peasant give up his gold in exchange for notes or more useful commodities. But it must be remembered that there are 315 million people in India, so that the total stock of gold held in India is not much more than a sovereign per head of the population, while even now the banks in the United Kingdom hold gold to the amount of £3 per head of population, and the quantity held here in the shape of ornaments must also be considerable, and the United States at this moment hold in banks and in ornaments probably 1,000 million sovereigns' worth of gold, or about £10 per head of population. It is hardly for Western nations to blame the Indian peasant if he prefers to keep a part of his savings in the form of hoarded gold. At all events, it should be recognized that, if India had not absorbed so large a proportion of the world's new production of gold, gold prices of commodities throughout the world would inevitably have risen at a greater rate than they did before the war.

Since the war began, India has been starved of gold owing to the restrictions placed upon its movement from one country to another, and during the five years ending March 31, 1919, has been able to add to its stock only 34 million pounds' worth of gold, as compared with the actual addition of 105 millions during the five years before the war. One result of these restrictions has been that the rupee price of gold in India rose rapidly from the pre-war rate of 15 rupees to the sovereign, until last September it was over 20 rupees to the sovereign. The Indian Government then began to sell considerable quantities of gold to the highest bidder, and at its first sale obtained an average price equivalent to 16 80 rupees to the sovereign. The price obtained at these sales went down to 15 46 rupees on September 17, but has since risen again, and at the sale of gold on January 19 the price obtained was equivalent to 16 78 rupees to the sovereign. On February 3, after the announcement of the Secretary of State's orders, the Bombay quotation was equivalent to 16 32 rupees to the sovereign. The Government of India

have now, in accordance with a recommendation of the Currency Commission, announced that during the next six months they will sell not less than 15 million tolas of gold (equivalent to 24 million sovereigns), without any minimum limit, the Government reserving the right to refuse any tender. It will be interesting to see what effect on the rupee price of the sovereign the sale of this large quantity of gold will have. It can hardly bring the price below 15 rupees to the sovereign, because under the Secretary of State's orders, for the present the sovereign remains legal tender at the rate of 15 rupees. It is possible that it may not even bring down the permanent price of the sovereign to 15 rupees, because India has been so starved of gold during the last five years that even so large a quantity as 24 million sovereigns' worth may not suffice to meet the demand. Meanwhile, the Government of India can at present buy gold in London at about 120s per ounce, and as the rate of exchange in depreciated British paper currency is at present 2s  $7\frac{1}{4}$ d per rupee, it can land the gold in India at a cost of about 12 rupees to the sovereign, so that it should make a very satisfactory profit for the Indian taxpayer out of its gold monopoly.

Mr Shirras estimates the total stock of silver in India at 3,729 million ounces (enough to make nearly 11,000 million rupees). This must equal about one-fourth of the present world's stock of silver, and at the rate of 2s to the rupee (measured in gold) would be equivalent in value to 1,100 million sovereigns. During the five years before the war, the net import of silver into India was 310 million ounces, but during the five years ending with March, 1919, it was 492 million ounces. During the last year of the latter period, the net import was no less than 237 million ounces, while the world's new production during that year was probably not more than 180 million ounces. This greatly enhanced demand of India for silver was no doubt largely due to the restriction on the import of gold, and (combined with a concurrent enhanced demand from China and other

countries) was the principal cause of the enormous rise during the last two years in the world's price of silver, and consequently in the exchange value of the rupee. The people of India were able to compel the Government to import silver in immense quantity, and to coin it into rupees in order to maintain the convertibility of its excessive paper issue, and during the year ending March 31, 1919, the Mints in India were in this way compelled to coin no less than 515 million rupees (including small silver). The greater part of these new rupee coins must evidently have disappeared into hoards, and, while it is no doubt one of the first duties of a civilized government to provide its subjects with the currency they desire for circulation, it can hardly be its duty to furnish them with an unlimited number of coins for the purpose of hoarding. There is the further disadvantage in the recent great addition to the number of rupee coins in India that, when the price of silver measured in gold falls—as it seems likely to do—and the value of the silver in a rupee is again much below one-tenth of the value of the gold in a sovereign, the existence of such an enormous quantity of token rupee coins (now about 4,000 millions) may make it difficult, if not impossible, for the Secretary of State to maintain the exchange value of the rupee at 2s, reckoned in gold, in accordance with the policy he has recently announced.

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A GUIDE TO THE INDIA OFFICE RECORDS, 1600-1858 By William Foster, C.I.E., Registrar and Superintendent of Records (London Printed for the India Office) 1919 2s net

(Reviewed by the DEAN OF WINCHESTER)

Those who have worked among the manuscripts at the India Office must often have felt the need of a compendious guide to what is to be found there. In spite of the knowledge and kindness of officials, time is inevitably wasted in the search. Mr S. C. Hill's catalogue of the Orme manuscripts has already proved of considerable value to students. Now Mr William Foster has produced a guide to all the different classes of documents under his charge which will make work comparatively easy. Rarely does so small a book contain so much useful information.

How necessary it has been to keep an eye upon the destructive habits of

officials, even in quite recent times, is to be seen from what Mr Foster tells in his interesting preface, that even so lately as the time of Sir John Kaye, "It was contemplated to destroy the minutes of the India Board, but fortunately this proposal was dropped, while the records of the Court of Sadr Diwani were only saved by the interposition of Sir George Clarke, the Under Secretary of State, who suggested that it would be wise to ascertain first whether the original records were available in Calcutta."

A number of official lists has, of course, been issued in past years, but these have not been accessible to the public, and use of the press lists will in some cases still be necessary in order to identify a volume that may be required, but Mr Foster's extremely lucid and interesting introduction to each section of the records, with his clear enumeration of the different volumes or bundles will reduce the beginner's labour to a minimum. When it is remembered that the number of documents dealt with is something like forty-eight thousand, the magnitude of the task which Mr Foster has accomplished will be recognized. Not only is he to be congratulated and warmly thanked for what he has done, but this seems a suitable opportunity to express how greatly indebted are all who study the history of British India, whether in the manuscripts of the India Office or in the records which have been printed, to the energy, knowledge, and courtesy of Mr Foster and his assistants

### NEAR EAST

THE TURKS IN EUROPE By W E D Allen With Preface by Brigadier General Surtees (*Murray*) 10s 6d

At a time when Turkey's ultimate fate is so much discussed and opinions are voiced everywhere as contradictory as they are numerous, a book such as Mr Allen's, giving a concise, but nevertheless complete, survey of the Ottoman people is much to be recommended. In his opening chapter the author puts the question "How was it possible for an obscure tribe of nomad shepherds from the steppes of Central Asia to impose its dominion upon at least a dozen nations of Europe?" and he refers to this same question again at the end of his book.

He answers it in the following way "A study of the history of the Balkans for the last 500 years is the illuminating clue to the Turks being left so long in possession of the most beautiful spot in the world Constantinople and the shores of the Bosphorus" The fact is that the eternal vultures gathered round the eternal corpse. Neither the Treaty of Carlovicz, although it meant the first partition of Turkey, nor the Treaty of Versailles in 1763—still less the Congress of Vienna—brought any vital solution. The table of the history of the Near East is littered with scraps of paper. Intolerance, savagery, callousness, exploitation, down to all centuries, to the twentieth century. Yet it has been generally agreed that the Turkish Question and the Balkan claims might have had a chance to be settled at the Treaty of Bucharest in 1912, when Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, and Montenegro combined in attacking the Turk.

Mr Allen rightly points out "that human nature is such that man is spoiled by victory. The Nationalist proves himself to be an Imperialist by victory, and the Patriot develops into an Annexationist." To Serbians and Greeks the Second Balkan War appeared to be a deliverance, a crowning mercy, but six years of subsequent history have sufficed to show that it was not only for Bulgarians, but for Serbians, Greeks, and Rumanians alike, an unmitigated catastrophe. Indeed, the Treaty of Bucharest, instead of bringing peace, a permanent Balkan League, and an amicable settlement with Turkey, worked for the future "great war which exploded in 1914." And now, after years of a most terrible warfare, we in Europe still find ourselves confronted by the same Eastern Question. The much-coveted possession of Constantinople has certainly not meant for Turkey the dominion of the world, as it would have meant for Napoleon. He it was who, placing his finger on that spot of the map after his meeting at Tilsit with Alexander I, who claimed Constantinople for Russia, exclaimed passionately "Constantinople, Constantinople, never, for it is the Empire of the World!" Yet there was a time, if we look centuries back, when the Turks, under their great Sultans (1359-1566), Othman, Orkan, Murad and Bayazid, Mohamed the Conqueror, Selim, and Soliman the Magnificent, had attained a world power which threatened Europe. And here we must recall the fact that Turkey, in her Augustean age under Suleiman, with whom the shrewd Francis I had thought it advisable to form an alliance, not only had an army composed of the valiant and much redoubted Janissaries, but that she had also a navy which reigned supreme in the Mediterranean.

The story of the rise of Turkish sea-power, says Mr Allen, "is one of the most amazing chapters in history. The huge red bearded Kheir-ed-din, a Greek from Mytilene, beginning with a single pirate galley, created for Suleiman in a few years a fleet which dominated the Mediterranean. From their bases, including Toulon, his Corsair admirals carried their raids, not only along the coasts of Spain, France, and Italy, but even as far as Ireland and England. At sea Suleiman's arms, as on land, were crowned with success. Without exaggeration it can be stated that throughout his reign this powerful Sultan was the arbiter of Europe, and that, because he ruled with a rare enlightenment and toleration over an Empire which included not only Sunnis and Shiis, but large populations of Roman Catholics, Orthodox Greeks, Jews, and Armenians. Unfortunately for Turkey, Suleiman was succeeded by Sultans who were cowardly and sensual degenerates, under whom the centre of administration was transferred from the so-called Divan to the harem. Voltaire, writing of one of these later Sultans, describes them as shut up in their harem among their women and eunuchs, seeing only through the eyes of their Grand Viziers, most of them incapable and given to corruption. It is true, as Mr Allen maintains, that Suleiman had first made harem influence paramount by his unbounded devotion to his concubine, the witty and attractive Roxelana, a Russian, who even succeeded in causing him to murder his own legitimate sons to make way for her son Selim to succeed." He was the first Sultan to neglect the advice of his Divan, or Grand Council of State, for that of

his favourites Yet he had that greatest gift in rulers—the instinct to choose the right men for the right place, but he created a precedent which had disastrous results when pursued by his successors, nearly all lacking in balance and discernment

In perusing Mr Allen's instructive book, it becomes clear to us that Turkey steadfastly declined after the death of the great Suleiman in 1566, and this owing to the misrule of most of her autocratic rulers Even Mahmud II, who had the welfare of his country more at heart than his immediate predecessors and successors, could not arrest this decline Nor later, did the Minister Midhat succeed, who tried to introduce reforms under the dissolute Abdul Assis, who eventually caused his death The Young Turks, too, who then tried to avert the downward course of their country, were hindered in their endeavours by the fierce Abdul Hamid And now that we have come to another turning point in Turkey's history, we may well ask ourselves what the next development may be The feeling among Indian Moslems is well known Is it expedient for Great Britain to give way and leave the Sultan to reside at Constantinople? Will Turkey find at last disinterested help from an unbiassed quarter which alone might save her?

Mr Allen concludes his highly interesting and, we may well say, under the circumstances, his important book, by quoting the well known essayist, Léon Ostrorog "More than any the Turks suffer," and we may add, also the unlucky nations that have been under Turkish rule to this day

L M R

## ART

MOSLEM ARCHITECTURE ITS ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT By G T Rivoira Translated from the Italian by G McN Rushforth (*Oxford University Press*) 1918 £2 2s net

(Reviewed by DR T W ARNOLD, C I E)

In recent years one of the most fruitful fields of research in the history of architecture has been Asia Minor and the countries adjacent to it, particularly Syria and Mesopotamia Excavations and detailed examination of the buildings at Samarra, Mshatta, Ukhaidir, Amida, etc, have borne fruitful results and have provided a mass of fresh materials unknown to any earlier generation of students Not only has much light been thrown on the early history of Moslem architecture, but important modifications have been suggested in regard to former theories of the relations between the architecture of East and West In the field of study none has been more active than Professor Strzygowski, who in a number of publications has emphasized the importance in architectural development of the influence of the East In opposition to the prevailing opinion which credited the Romans with the invention of the arch and the dome, and ascribed to Roman monuments the first impulse out of which grew the cathedrals and other great buildings of the Western world during the



Middle Ages, Professor Strzygowski claims priority of inventive genius for the East. It was the Iranian genius, he maintains, that first employed the dome for monumental works of art, and the use of this architectural form first spread westward from the Mesopotamian valley. The study of the early monuments of Armenian Christian art has led him to the conclusion that it was from Asia Minor that Western Christianity first learned those forms of ecclesiastical architecture that later passed through such a rich and magnificent development in the Middle Ages. Similarly, Moslem architecture was represented by him as being genuinely Oriental in its origin, and as requiring no reference to Rome for the explanation of its sources.

To this opinion the whole of Commendatore Rivoira's thesis is in flat contradiction, and he reasserts the claim of Rome to be the teacher of both Oriental Christianity and of Islam in the art of building. His contention is that "it was in Pagan Rome that the conception of the annular rotunda, with columns or piers, vaulted and crowned with a true and proper dome, was created and developed. All that the East did was occasionally to produce circular buildings of unbroken outline, with an internal colonnade designed as an additional support for the roof, which was usually conical in form. But whenever an Eastern architect wanted to cover the central space of such buildings with a vault, he had to turn to Roman models for the design" (pp. 59-60). He claims that the ideas embodied in the plans and construction of the great Roman buildings were spread abroad by means of Latin architects educated in the Roman school. Accordingly, he rejects the theory that has sometimes been upheld that the original plan of the Dome of Rock in Jerusalem was Byzantine or Hellenistic in origin, as being derived from Constantine's round churches, on the ground that these latter themselves owed their origin to Roman models. Similarly, he denies that the vaulted pendentive denotes Oriental influence, and traces it to the hemicycles used by the Romans as supports for domes.

Such are the main conclusions as to architectural origins enunciated by Commendatore Rivoira in the present work, and they are elaborated with a wealth of historical detail seldom found in technical treatises on architecture. The early history of the great archetypes of the ecclesiastical architecture of Islam, the first mosques built at Medina, Jerusalem, Damascus, and Cairo, has never been presented to the English reader with such a fulness of detail, gathered from an immense variety of sources. Incidentally, in vindication of his main thesis, Commendatore Rivoira has collected a number of references to the foreign craftsmen who were borrowed by the early caliphs for the erection of these buildings, especially in Jerusalem and Damascus, and the large part played by Christian architects in the designing of them.

As the author indicates by the title of his book, he does not claim to have written a history of Moslem architecture as a whole, and his detailed study of the early mosques (which served as models for later constructions of the same character) in the chief centres of primitive Moslem culture forms the first main section of his work. He then passes on to Armenian

ecclesiastical architecture, and as an increasing amount of attention is now being paid to Armenia, English readers will welcome the ample materials here provided for the study of a branch of Christian art that has hitherto received scant recognition in our literature. His conclusions are briefly that the main features of the Armenian church style, the apse, the cupola, and the pendentive, are of Romano-Ravennate origin. The last section of his book deals with Spain, and is mainly taken up with a patient investigation of the problem of the horseshoe arch in the Moslem architecture of Spain. The author shows that it was not invented by the Visigoths, and supports his contention by an examination of the few genuine Visigothic churches that have survived, distinguishing between what is authentic and what is later addition to, or reconstruction of, the original structure. Neither in the Visigothic buildings nor in those erected by the Moslems in the early period of their occupation of Spain, was the horseshoe arch adopted, and the author shows that its introduction into Spain was due to Abd al Rahman I (756-788), and that it was first used as a constructive element in the great mosque at Damascus, that was built with such extraordinary magnificence by the caliph Walid (705-715).

Such, in brief outline, is the substance of this work published in an attractive form by the Oxford University Press. It is abundantly illustrated, mainly by photographs of the buildings described, but also by plans, several of which are taken from little-known MSS. The author rightly anticipated that his book would arouse controversy, but added, "it is often from the contact of opposing views that a spark of light is struck." Any work that arouses interest in Moslem culture at the present time is welcome, and the artistic side of this culture found such pre-eminent and remarkable expression in architecture, largely through its connection with religion, that Commendatore Rivoira's book ought to find many readers. It is matter for deep regret that his untimely death has cut short a literary activity so stimulating and of such special interest to English students.

It is unfortunate that the translation was not submitted to the scrutiny of some Orientalist before being sent to press. Some errors in personal names might thus have been avoided—e.g., Nasiri Khusrau becomes generally Nasiri Kusru, and on p. 57 Nasiri Kursu. Several other names are written according to the Italian method of transliteration, with strange results in an English text. Ignorance of Arabic has led the translator several times to write *Madinet* (city) for *Minaret*—e.g., p. 93 *Madinet Isa* (*Minaret of Jesus*), p. 91 *Madinet al Arus* (*Minaret of the Wife*), it should be, rather, *Minaret of the Bride*. But these are trifling blemishes in a work that throughout exhibits a careful and minute scholarship.

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### GENERAL

MY FRENCH YEAP. By Constance Elizabeth Maud. (*Mills and Boon*)  
10s. 6d. net.

"Lest we forget." The great clarion call in the midst of this war has, contrary to the expectations of all but the incorrigible cynic, become

fainter The pleadings of international finance, the claims of trade interests have sought to envelop in a cloud of oblivion the deathless deeds of comradeship in arms In this atmosphere of selfishness and mutual recrimination, the words of Miss Constance Maud are like the fresh wind of truth which scatters the clouds of misunderstanding, to brace our nerves and admonish us to remember our friends This volume should be on the shelves of all students of the Eastern Question, and we hope their number is increasing They should not forget that, in solving the Syrian question, the far sighted policy is to co-operate with France, and to hold sacred her martyrdom in the Great War

Our Mahometan readers in particular will be touched by the following quotation

"A little corner was reserved for the Mahometans of the Senegalese regiments, their graves marked by the Crescent and Star, together with the French colours and a verse of the Koran The Great War has gathered into one fold all nationalities, all religions, all classes, the Cross and the Crescent, the white and the black races Monsieur le Duc lies side by side with the peasant *poilu*, the same flag and the same inscription mark the simple graves—'Mort pour la patrie' "

The bodies of these heroes lie in the soil of France at Noyon, but their spirit survives, and their bravery and self sacrifice will be revered long after the present bickerings and misunderstandings are happily forgotten

F R S

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## RUSSIA

THE BOLSHIEVİK ADVENTURE By John Pollock (*Constable*) 7s 6d

(Reviewed by MAJOR-GENERAL COUNT A CHEREP SPIRIDOVITCH)

Mr John Pollock's book, "The Bolshevik Adventure," is an important document on the character and achievements of the Bolsheviks, a fact attested by the violent animosity displayed by reviews in pro Bolshevik organs Mr Pollock's equipment for his task is unimpeachable A trained historian, having been one of the late Lord Acton's favourite pupils at Cambridge, he comes of a well known family, being the son and heir of the Rt Hon Sir Frederick Pollock His previous study of Russia ("War and Revolution in Russia") proves him a man of liberal instincts and accurate observation Moreover, he speaks Russian fluently, having lived and travelled in the country for four years, and was a witness of the Bolshevik régime, not from the point of view of a personally conducted official, but from that of a private individual forced to make the best he could of everyday life

His account of the many months which he spent disguised as a Lettish communist from America, ending with his arrest, narrow escape from torture and death, and dangerous flight across the frozen sea to Finland, forms one of the most thrilling narratives of contemporary literature

We are here, however, less concerned with Mr Pollock's work as good reading than with the results of his observations in Russia since October

1917, when the Bolsheviks reappeared after their failure in July. Two main conclusions may be drawn. First, the Bolshevik rule is one of alien force, imposed by "The Hidden Hand," supported by Lettish, Chinese, and Magyar bayonets, loathed alike by all the people, including the peasants and, after a brief period of delusion, workmen, as well as the *intelligentsia*. Second, that Bolshevism was established by Germany, has been intimately linked with Germany throughout its history, and is directed for the advantage of Germany and the *defeat and disruption of the British Empire*. Mr Pollock's account of two episodes, little known here, is illuminating: we mean the murder of Count Mirbach, the German Ambassador in Moscow, in July, 1918, and the suppression of the rising at Yaroslavl shortly afterwards.

Mirbach, according to Mr Pollock and my own experience, was practically dictator of Moscow, had some thirty thousand troops in the city, and direct telegraphic communication with Berlin. For his advent Moscow was placed *en fête* and put again into some sort of order. A characteristic touch is that to celebrate the occasion the statue of Skobelev, the enemy of the Germans—who was poisoned by them—was destroyed by the Bolsheviks.

As soon as Count Mirbach saw my very anti-German Review, *Slavia*, he ordered my son, who, in collaboration with me and another son, was editor of *Slavia*, to be arrested.

*Slavia* appealed to the nation to cast out the Germans.

During that crucial time for the Allies when, in March and April, the Germans pressed the Allies "to the wall," according to general knowledge, *Slavia* circulated leaflets and encouraged and incited all the anti-Germans by proclaiming "*Germany's defeat is imminent*." Such strenuous propaganda from a man whom the Germans knew to be a "prophet" and a "Verbissener Deutschen-fresser" (according to the famous Theodore Wolff, editor of the *Berliner Tageblatt*) compelled Germany to detain in Russia a considerable number of her troops, which otherwise might have helped the Germans to push on to Paris.

But alas! my two most beloved sons have paid for this service by their dear lives. When those leaflets headed "*Germany's débâcle is imminent*" had inspired the hearts of the Czechs and given birth to the "white troops," Mr Wordrup—the British Consul-General in Moscow—showed me No. 79 of the Official "Izvestia," with a terrific warning to me.

"General, stop your most dangerous propaganda, otherwise no Titanic Force on earth can save you." My sons and I, however, decided to continue, and answered by a new issue of *Slavia* with renewed appeals to cast out the criminal Germans and to create a *defensive line* along the Volga, fighting for each village.

I even wrote to Trotsky: "I consent to become *your strong supporter*, if you will undertake to renew the war against Germany, and I promise you that she will surely be beaten."

The new issue of *Slavia* and my letter decided the enemies to act. Both my sons were foully murdered after forty-eight hours of torture. I

went up to the tiger's mouth, to the Commission, and saw first its President, Derjinsky, and the next time the Vice-President, Sachs. It became clear to me that Bolshevism is only a camouflaged "Hidden Hand" The nephew of the German Ambassador—Baron Mirbach—even lived in the Commission's apartments and kept his own motor-car there. Then also I discovered the marvellous intuition and foresight of Mr Winston Churchill. People here stupidly ridiculed his ardent desire to annihilate, at any cost, that most dangerous man called "Peter the Painter," in Sidney Street, Houndsditch, who, assuming the name of Peters, was one of Berlin's best agents, trying to promote anarchy here.

"Peters" was the soul of this Commission. He signed death sentences by thousands, leaving blank spaces for the names of the victims, and handed all these to Baron Mirbach, who inscribed the names, or he asked the Count—the Ambassador of Germany—for those names.

Both Derjinsky and Sachs asked me personally.

"Was it you, General, who, in 1905, sent the so-called 'Latin Telegrams'?"

These telegrams decided the Tzar to agree to the Anglo-Russian Entente after seventy seven years of mutual, senseless mistrust between two great peoples.

I answered "Yes, I sent them."

Derjinsky, who is a Pole, as my mother was, and to whom I spoke in my mother's tongue, was much overcome and said sadly.

"I shall do my utmost to save *you*, General, and both your sons."

Sachs became fierce on hearing the same thing from me later. With wild joy he went to ring the bell, but a sudden demoniacal smile distorted his face and he shouted.

"Go, General, you are *still* free."

Next day in the official organ appeared in huge letters.

*"The Imperial Guard Officers [my sons] were shot for State treason."*

It was a sunny Sunday, but they were tortured until Tuesday. No Russian soldiers would consent to murder them, and at last Letts did so. Even the most revolutionary paper dared to protest.

*"At least permit those unfortunates to see the sky in their last moments. Do not assassinate them in hidden cellars like rats."*

Unknown people came to shake me by the hand and promised revenge.

It was the last straw which decided Mirbach's fate. Derjinsky protested against my execution. He said that my death would be too small a punishment and promised them to kill me later, when my unendurable grief should have driven me mad.

Then I published my last *Slavia*, with the portraits of my beloved sons, and again warning that Germany would be defeated.

The day when Mirbach was annihilated I disappeared from Moscow, and escaped to General Frederick Poole, Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Forces in Murmansk, asking him to bring his troops up against the Bolsheviks.

Once again the marines of General Maynard saved me, when I was arrested near Kem by the Bolsheviks, who did not yet know that he had

arrived there We could surely have taken Moscow if General Frederick Poole had simply had 30,000 soldiers instead of only five or six thousand

Mirbach, Mr Pollock points out, was assassinated by the Social Revolutionaries, who realized that Russia was being sold to Germany by the Bolsheviks, a view confirmed by Trotsky's comment on the deed, that it was aimed, not against Berlin, but against the Soviet power And at Yaroslavl, when the Russians rose against the Bolshevik tyranny, the rebellion was put down, not by Russian troops, but by Germans under a German officer If General Poole had then arrived with even 10,000 soldiers Bolshevism would have been doomed Behind every move in the Bolshevik game Mr Pollock shows the "Hidden Hand," and in a powerful piece of rhetoric attempts to rouse his readers against the policy that the "Hidden Hand" has imposed on Great Britain ever since the Prinkipo negotiations His view is that unless we put down the Bolsheviks they will put us down "*Down with the Bolsheviks!*" he says must be the modern version of "*Delenda est Carthago!*"

While actual atrocities do not figure in Mr Pollock's book, he draws a graphic picture of the terrible state of misery and degradation to which the Bolshevik rule has reduced Russia He shows the peasant refusing to produce, the friends of Great Britain slaughtered, the cities artificially starved, anarchy created deliberately so that it might afford an excuse for despotism The chapters on "Communism in Practice" and "Hungry Petrograd" set forth an array of facts that are damning to the system responsible for them They must be read in order to be appreciated and, were governments moved by evidence, would constitute an absolute bar against any project of dealing with the Bolsheviks either commercially or diplomatically

In a Preface addressed to the late Major R M Johnstone, the American military critic whose work on the United States staff attracted such attention, Mr Pollock touches on the faults of "Allied Policy in Russia" His prediction, based on knowledge of the Bolshevik plans, of the attack to be made on our Eastern empire, has already received striking fulfilment

"The Bolshevik Adventure" is brilliantly written It should be in the hands of everyone who pretends to form a judgment on the most vital problem of our day

## QUOTATIONS FROM PERIODICALS

### A GREAT AMBASSADOR

WE have received a copy of *Millard's Review of the Far East*, containing an authoritative account of the work in China, extending over forty three years, of Sir John Jordan, KCMG, Minister Plenipotentiary at Peking since 1906 We quote as follows

"An old and experienced Englishman has given five reasons as to why this great British statesman and diplomat is a successful minister, and they possess more than average interest, summarizing as they do the foregoing considerations of the various characteristics of Sir John The first

reason is Sir John's intimate knowledge of China and the Chinese language, and his experience with the Chinese. The second reason is his surpassing ability. The third reason is his high sense of honour and justice. Fourthly, Sir John is absolutely devoted to his duty. The fifth reason is his persistent hard work. These are five reasons for his success in China. 'Sir John,' said the old gentleman, 'has a high sense of honour and justice. If any injustice has ever been done to China, it is not Sir John who has done it or countenanced it. He is the last man who would do anything dishonourable.'"

### THE MEDITERRANEAN TANGLE

In the March issue of the *Fortnightly Review*, Mr H Charles Woods concludes an important article, entitled "British Interests in the Mediterranean," as follows

"To summarize and to recapitulate, it may be said that even if the defeat of the Central Empires and the disappearance of their fleets removes a formerly existing threat to our sea power, that power cannot be definitely and permanently safeguarded without adequate forethought as to the distribution of territories in themselves possessed of weighty strategic significance. The Mediterranean, the *Ægean*, the Dardanelles, and the Black Sea are maritime areas the situations in which are vital to the safety of the British Empire. The suggested cession of Cyprus may be resented by those who have not studied the problem, and it may be resisted by naval authorities, who are rightly opposed to sacrifices, however relatively unimportant they may be. But if it becomes a choice between the maintenance of an antiquated pistol, pointing towards the coasts of Syria and Southern Asia Minor, and the acquisition of an all important *point d'appui* at the entrance to the Dardanelles, then there seems little doubt as to the proper policy of adoption by British statesmanship."

### ARTICLES TO NOTE

- The Wide World Magazine* (March) "Across Unknown Arabia in Disguise," by H St I B Philby, C I E, I C S
- The Journal of the Royal United Service Institution* (February) "The Turkish Army in the Great War," by Lieut-Colonel C C R Murphy, I A
- The Royal Engineers' Journal* (March) "The Works Directorate, Mesopotamia Expeditionary Force"
- The Mid-Pacific Magazine* "Canton—Centre of New South China," by S R Brown
- Russo-British Chamber of Commerce Journal* (February) "Siberia from the Canadian Point of View," by E A. Brayley Hodgetts
- The Wireless World* (March) "Wireless Telegraphy in the Red Sea during the War," by Commander G Montefinale
- The Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* (Vol I, Part III) "The Popular Literature of Northern India," by Sir George Grierson
- Britain and India* (March) "Dr Tej Bahadur Sapru," by the Editor
- Revue des Balkans*, Paris (February) "L'Arménie renaissante," by Boghos Nubar Pacha
- Indian Periodicals* "Hindu Colonization of Java," by O Coomaraswamy
- Japanese Periodicals, Japan Magazine* (January) "Economic Menace," by Baron T Kuki



## WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

A RECORD OF IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE DAY, AT HOME,  
BEARING ON ASIATIC QUESTIONS

[The Proceedings of the East India Association will be found on pp 217  
295 The Lecture for April 19th will be "India and the Covenant of  
the League of Nations," by K. Gauba, and for May "Tamil Proverbs  
a Key to the Language and to the Mind of the People" by S G  
Roberts (I.C.S. retired)]

### INDIAN MUSIC

BY STANLEY RICE, I.C.S. (RETD.)

*(Summary of a Lecture delivered before the Incorporated Society of Musicians  
at the Polytechnic, Regent Street)*

FAR from music being the universal language, the music of the ancients is quite unintelligible to-day, and the music of Asia and Africa has no meaning for the European. It can, however, be learnt, it is only the ignorant who despise what they cannot understand. The proper view to take of Indian music, which dates back into the far distant past, is that it is an unexplored branch of the art, differing from, and yet existing side by side with, our own.

The influence of religion on all art, except perhaps architecture, has always been restrictive and tyrannical. Just as in painting Botticelli burst the religious bonds and introduced secular art, so in music the fetters in which the monks had bound her were broken by Haydn, by Gluck, and especially by Mozart. Since the revolt was established we have been given absolute and vocal music in superb quality and in quantity almost unlimited.

In India religion has not yet lost its hold on music and that for two main reasons. Religion, both in its esoteric and its ceremonial forms, enters so completely into the everyday life of the people that it would be strange if it did not largely control the music. Moreover, the music has been handed down through the ages and, as there is no notation, it is traditional. There are, of course, love songs, and there is also folk-music, but, for the reasons given, the best music is religious and the art is, therefore, hampered because excursions into absolute music or into the many branches of song must be restricted by the dominant idea.

Indian music is entirely melodic, and so differs fundamentally from the harmonic music of Europe. Viewed in this way, Indian music has not



developed to the same extent as that of Europe, since the combination required by an orchestra must connote a higher stage of development than mere melodic variations on a single instrument. The usual composition of an Indian "orchestra" is one leading instrument, the *vina*, the flute, the violin (imported from Europe), or the human voice, accompanied by the drum, the most characteristic of all Indian instruments, and the harmonium to give the drone or pedal note. With these instruments they produce variation after variation, based upon the ancient "rags," or themes, and performed with the most astonishing flexibility. This capacity for infinite variation is the chief glory of the Indian art, and Indians esteem highly the musician who can not only reproduce the works of the great masters but can add variations of his own. In Southern India the names of some of these masters are Thiagarajayya, the acknowledged king, Somayya Sastri, Dekshitolu and Subramania Aiyar—all Brahmins.

The most characteristic Indian instruments are the *vina*, the flute, and the drum. The *vina* is a kind of guitar with four strings regulated by frets and one free or open string which gives the basic note. The flute is a simple hollow bamboo with holes for the stops, and is said to be the same as that on which Krishna played. The drum is barrel shaped and the skin at each end is composed of circles of different thickness, so that it is capable of great variety when played with the different parts of the hand—the tips of the fingers, the open palm, and so forth. The violin is an importation from Europe and is well adapted to the minutely subdivided Indian scales. It is held, not under the chin, but downwards, as we hold the 'cello. The concerts are arranged on the plan of a recital. To day the *vina* will be the leading instrument, to-morrow the flute, the day after the human voice—male or female. The players sit on a dais on the floor, the principal performer in the centre, the drum on his right, and the harmonium on his left. The pedal, or basic note, is given by the harmonium, and then the leading instrument strikes in, but the drum is silent. This is the "rág," a complete movement in itself. The Hindu audience will follow every note of it, beating time and humming the music. Then comes the "Krithi," or the variations by the master, into which the drum enters after the "Krithi" is the "pallava," or variations by the performer, and lastly, if the artist is capable of it, an astonishing solo on the drum.

The rest of the concert is of the same description, but every new piece has its charm for the Indian audience. They value especially the power to vary the work even of a master, to play the notes, they think, always in the same way, exactly as they are written, destroys freshness and elasticity. That is one of their chief arguments against notation, for if you have the written note before you you tend to become a slave to it. They will admit that no two pieces are played quite alike, but would argue that diversity of temperament is not enough. The player should be able to put more of his own personality into the music. A school, however, is growing up which favours notation, which, it is recognized, gives the best chance of progress.

England has done nothing to help. On the contrary, what music is taught at all is bad European music, atrociously taught. It is just as well that it is left to the Hindus themselves to look after their own art, though under present conditions it must remain unprogressive.

On Thursday, February 19, Mr H Charles Woods delivered an interesting lecture on "Constantinople and the Straits," at the National Liberal Club. The Hon Aubrey Herbert, M P (in the chair), introduced the lecturer as one of the experts on the Near East, and added that Englishmen can move about in the Near East as welcome friends of all these antagonistic nationalities.

Mr Woods, after paying a tribute to the late Sir Edwin Pears, whom he called the greatest British authority on Constantinople and Turkey, declared that the importance of the Near Eastern question had been consistently ignored. This had again been shown now by the delay in settling Turkey. We now perceived the consequences in the encouragement given to the Young Turks and the new massacres of Armenians. There were two main dangers to be guarded against: (1) Pan Germanism, (2) misgovernment of the non Turkish people. With regard to Constantinople, he recommended that the Turks should remain there, but that some form of control was needed over the land on either side of the Strait. He recalled in this connection Mr Lloyd George's pledge and the announcement of H H The Aga Khan and Mr Ameer Ali. This would eliminate the rivalry of Greeks and Bulgarians, and the Turks could be better put under European control. Moreover, the city was in majority Moslem by race. Armenia should be either independent of Turkey or a suzerainty ought to be maintained in a shadowy form. He suggested a High Commissioner, responsible to the League of Nations. In Asia Minor the Turks should be kept in Anatolia, which is their own homeland, but with due protection for the Christians.

The Hon Aubrey Herbert paid a tribute to the loyalty of Indian Moslems during the war, and said that we had been able to enjoy it because they relied on our word and knew that their religion would never be touched.

There was a meeting on Saturday, February 21, of the Budokwai at 15, Lower Grosvenor Place, S W 1, when Dr Inazo Nitobe (who, it will be remembered, contributed an article on Japanese Colonization to the January issue of the ASIATIC REVIEW) lectured on the subject of Japanese women, in which he laid special stress on their great influence in the home, and testified that their stature had greatly increased during the last generation.

Mr H Shepherd, M R C S, L R C P, was in the chair.

There was a meeting of the Central Asian Society in the rooms of the Royal Astronomical Society on Wednesday, February 18, when the Hon W G M. Ormsby Gore, M P, lectured on British responsibilities in the Middle East, and pleaded eloquently for the establishment of a special

department in London to deal with the affairs of those parts. He expressed the hope that private enterprise, as far as possible, would take the place of State control. The Civil Service should be a small staff of highly trained and excellently paid officials who ought to begin their careers in the Middle East, and be removable if unsatisfactory. Lord Carnock (in the chair) expressed his approval of the lecturer's views, and Sir Francis Younghusband also spoke.

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There was a meeting of the Oriental Circle of the Lyceum Club on Thursday, February 12, when Sir Sankaran Nair delivered an address on Hinduism, which was closely followed by a large company, including Princess Dulep Singh, Miss Powell (Hon Sec), Miss Beck, Maha Dingeri Singh, Mrs Wingrove Cook (in the chair), Mrs Josephine Ransom, Madame O'Donnell, Miss Manning, Mr K N Das Gupta, Mrs Pope, Miss Mehta, Mrs John Maltwood, Mrs White, Major Graham Pole, Mrs French Sheldon.

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The Armenian Committee in London gave a dinner at the Carlton Hotel on February 28 in honour of His Beatitude the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople, His Excellency Nubar Pasha and Mr Akaronian representing the Armenian Republic. The Patriarch declared that he was deeply moved by the sympathy that had been accorded him and his country everywhere in England. It was tragic to think that massacres were still taking place in Armenia. Nubar Pasha pointed out that the questions of Constantinople and Armenia must be kept apart, and there had been an unfortunate tendency to confuse them. Mr Akaronian described the sufferings that his countrymen had undergone through the ages. The dawn was at last approaching. Mr Aneurin Williams, M P, said that at the time when Byron wrote the freedom of Greece seemed still a distant dream—to be realized a few years later. The great dreams about Armenia, and many other countries in the Near East, were now, too, to come true. Mr Malcolm (in the chair) announced that Mr Harold Buxton had that evening arrived from Cilicia with the latest news. Sir J D Rees, M P, in an amusing speech, replying to the toast of the Houses of Parliament, paid a tribute to the Lords, where members had such far greater facilities of obtaining a proper hearing than in the Commons.

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There was a meeting of the China Society on February 26 at the School of Oriental Studies, when a paper was read by Captain Inman on the Burmese Shan States, where he had served as a frontier officer. He described the country as worthy of development. Silver and lead mines were in existence, the Southern Shan States Syndicate was carrying on mining operations in 1914. Teak wood was found in the Salween Valley. Further, there were the wood-oil, silk-cotton, and paper mulberry trees, as well as the giant bamboo.

Sir Frederick Fryer paid a tribute to the work of our frontier officers, whose lives were lonely, and, at first, were in constant peril from head-hunting savages, who greatly hindered railway construction.

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We have received the following from the Russian Relief and Reconstruction Fund

"The situation in Russia is a rapidly changing one. It has been so since the first days of the Revolution, and transformations, both rapid and complete, are likely to continue until some constitutional form of government emerges from the present chaos. Under these circumstances it is difficult to attempt a rigid definition of the future activities of the Russian Relief and Reconstruction Fund.

"This Fund has come into existence to render moral and material support to Russia, and especially to strengthen the hands of those in that country who, while they desire its stabilization on firm and sure foundations, cannot be suspected of reactionary tendencies.

"In establishing itself, the first object of the Fund was to seek the co-operation of all existing Anglo-Russian organizations, both philanthropic and commercial, so that the greatest possible British effort might be brought to bear on the solution of the problem Russia presents. Most of these organizations are now represented on its Committee.

"The primary purpose of the Fund in its work in Russia will be through the medium of a carefully chosen English personnel, to promote relief work—*i.e.*, care of destitute children, medical work, distribution of clothing and food, etc., in order to alleviate the appalling suffering caused to the masses of Russia as the result of the war and continued revolution and civil strife.

"At the same time, the Committee of the Fund believes that the most efficacious way of rendering help is by aiding and promoting the sending out, on a large scale, of such manufactured goods, medicaments, and means of transport as this country can supply, in exchange for food products, minerals, and raw materials, which in various districts of Russia are obtainable in abundance."

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The Indian Caliphate Delegation was received by the Prime Minister on Friday, March 19th, when Sir William Duke and Mr H A L Fisher were also present. An official report of the proceedings has been issued to the Press. On March 21st a meeting was held at the Mosque, Woking, and Mr Mohamed Ali delivered a speech, explaining the feelings of Indian Moslems, a report of which appeared in the *Morning Post* and other papers on the following day.

## GREEK NOTES

BY F R SCATCHERD

## I GREECE AND CONSTANTINOPLE

"Greece should have Constantinople Her hall mark is over all the stolen property"—*From a private letter written by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle*

THE acuteness of the Constantinople problem brings into relief the competence of Hellenism as the key to its solution The Supreme Council seems to be gradually driven to the conclusion that an end must be put to the Turkish domination in Europe, and that this end can only be fittingly put by the Greek arms—thus avenging in a final battle against the hereditary foe of Hellenism the woes and throes of five centuries

Turkey in Europe has been no more than an army of occupation of alien countries, chiefly Hellenic, since the middle of the fifteenth century The principle of self-determination demands the departure of this army Greece is conscious of her mission to bring about this departure, and has been patiently waiting for the psychological moment to fulfil it Had it not been for this ideal, the Greek nation, long ere this, would have been buried under the pressure of its age-long adversities, and even at this moment, when the Greek people is suffering as few other peoples in Europe, it is patiently expectant

Will the Supreme Council be sufficiently illumined to realize what Hellenism stands for in the world-harassing Turkish question?

## II "WHAT ARE THE DEMANDS OF GREEK LABOUR?" (M VENIZELOS)

For the moment Greece, in striking self abnegation, forgets all that she is enduring in the expectation of the signal to inaugurate her career of social reconstruction Events march so rapidly that the signal may be given before our next issue In the meantime it is fitting to present to our readers what a small but earnest party of reconstructionists, known as the Greek Labour League, suggests as foundation principles for the future Greece

Some months ago the Greek Labour League issued a manifesto, circulated by the thousand, not only in Greece, but among Greek communities throughout America and elsewhere \*

It will be remembered that, in Paris, M Venizelos asked M Drakoules what were the demands of Greek Labour This manifesto had already anticipated the Premier's question, reproduced in substance here, embodies three principles, confirmed by the three chief lessons of the Great War

- 1 Parliament can only consist of representatives of productive national exertion
- 2 The entire community is involved in any desired change
- 3 Economic solidarity among nations is the only guarantee of permanent peace

## III THE MOST IMPORTANT RESULT OF THE WAR

is that it has imposed the recognition of the *first principle*—namely, the democratic management of Industry Labour is thus shown to be the basic force in national life Hence one of the fundamentals of coming civilization is that the sovereign council of deputies must consist of representatives of Labour This principle does away with capitalistic tyranny, either in the form of Competitive Individualism or of State Socialism

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\* A copy of the original manifesto can be obtained from M Photopoulos, Secretary, Greek Labour League, 40, Rue du Pirée, Athens, or from Mr Geo B Lewis, Secretary, 221, Wells St, Milwaukee, Wis, U S A

*This is Industrial Democracy which, by supplementing the inadequate political democracy, achieves true freedom*

This principle has animated the Greek Labour League since its foundation in 1908. While working for this ideal the League advocates details involved in the endeavour—details which are part of the urgent responsibilities of any government during this transitional period, and include Proper housing and tolerable economic conditions for the producers of wealth, ensured by stamping out profiteering, chronic and acute, by taxation of war wealth, by land nationalization, by organization of industries which cannot be efficiently organized by individuals—the suspension of constitutional liberties imposed by war complications must not be prolonged, even for a day, after the settlement of the Bulgarian and Turkish questions.

The Greek Labour League is also expectant as regards developments in Russia. It does not condemn *bona fide* experiments such as the Russian change, but it does condemn anarchy and violence. So far, Bolshevism has shown itself no less tyrannical than, say, the ideals of Prussian Socialism, or English Individualism. The League holds that no Labour Commonwealth can be complete which disregards the *intellectual factor* of national labour. Syndicalism is unthinkable, because it limits its consideration to manual workers only. Internationalism, Labour legislation, and Democratic management of all wealth—these are the essentials.

#### IV THE ENTIRE COMMUNITY MUST BE ORGANIZED

for the attainment of any object involving the common weal. This is the *second principle* confirmed by the second lesson derived from the necessities for carrying out the war. Whatever forces have been utilized for war must be utilized for peace, and it is the duty of the Government to utilize fruitfully all demobilized forces. *Minimum* wages, in conjunction with *maximum* prices, must be guaranteed by law, also a *maximum* of income must be fixed.

The Ministry of Food must become permanent, a Ministry of Health be created, while the Education budget must be increased fivefold. The object of education is to develop all possible talents for the good of the nation. Every child has a right to life, development, and technical training.

A government is an organized agency of the community, and the essentials of industry and commerce must be entrusted to it. Raw materials, transport, communications, banks, manufacture of vital commodities—these are fundamentals of national well being, consequently the State, not the individual, is responsible for them. Private landownership stands in the way of co-operativeness, and co-operativeness is the only guarantee of producers against parasites.

#### V NEW CONCEPTIONS OF PEACE

have been taught by the experiences of the war. It was thought that economic antagonism between nations was a guarantee of international peace—a conception now obsolete, it being generally recognized that the only antidotes against wars are *economic solidarity* and interdependence of nations. All nations which admit the axiom that no Government has sanction unless based on the unfettered consent of the people cannot but subscribe to the ideal of co-operation and federation between democratic countries for the attainment of Universal Peace.

Surely this is a basis of reconstruction worthy of the best ideals, and should Mr Venizelos succeed in organizing the forces of Hellenism in time of peace the blessings of social progress would redound to all.

Greece has never considered Constantinople as a national monopoly, therefore the Hellenic solution would promote the interests of the peoples of Asia Minor no less than those of the Balkan nations.

# THE ASIATIC REVIEW

*JULY, 1920*

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## BRITAIN'S NEW RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

BY THE HON W G A ORMSBY-GORE, M P

THE Supreme Council of the Allies at San Remo decided, in April, to confer upon Great Britain the power of acting as mandatory, on behalf of the League of Nations, in Palestine and Mesopotamia, under Article 22 of the Covenant entered into by the signatories to the Peace Treaty of Versailles. This Article in the Peace Treaty runs as follows

“To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them, and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization, and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant

“The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who, by reason of their resources, their experience, or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as Mandatories on behalf of the League

“The Mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical

situation of the territory, its economic conditions, and other similar circumstances

"Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone.

"In every case of Mandate the Mandatory power shall render to the Council of the League an Annual Report in reference to the territory committed to its charge, the degree of authority, control, or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory, if not previously agreed upon by the members of the League, be explicitly defined in each case by the Council, and a permanent Commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the Annual Reports of the Mandatory and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the Mandates "

The above extracts lay down the conditions under which Great Britain is to exercise power and control in Palestine and Mesopotamia.

The actual terms of the mandates in both cases form part of the Turkish Peace Treaty, and in the case of Palestine the trusteeship of Great Britain contains a proviso that Great Britain shall give effect to the policy enshrined in the so-called Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, addressed on behalf of the British Government to the Zionist Organization. This declaration of policy is contained in the following letter

"FOREIGN OFFICE,  
"November 2, 1917

"DEAR LORD ROTHSCHILD,

"I have much pleasure in conveying to you on behalf of His Majesty's Government the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted and approved by the Cabinet

" "His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the



Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country'

"I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Organization

"Yours sincerely,

"ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR."

Thus in Palestine the task of Great Britain is twofold. In the first place, we have to control and administer Palestine as a separate new State until such time as it is able to stand alone, and in the second place, we are to give effect to the policy of creating in Palestine a Jewish national home while maintaining the civil and religious rights of the existing non-Jewish communities.

The British Administration charged with this task will have to make an annual report to the Council of the League of Nations showing what it has done to carry out the mandate conferred upon it by the civilized nations of the world.

Similarly in Mesopotamia, Great Britain is charged with the tutelage and creation of a new Mesopotamian State consisting of the three former Turkish provinces of Basra, Baghdad, and Mosul. In the case of Mesopotamia there is no specific limitation of the policy to be pursued other than the general limitation that we are to undertake the government and development of the country as trustees for the inhabitants until such time as they are sufficiently stable, civilized and developed that they can stand alone.

In the case of both countries the task imposed upon the British Administrators is no light one. Both countries present political problems of the greatest complexity, and both are countries which require capital and skilled labour for their economic development. There are no portions of

the former Turkish Empire which have suffered more in the way of moral degradation and economic decay as the result of 400 years of Ottoman rule. The population of both countries has been steadily declining. Land has been going steadily out of cultivation, while the chief aim of Turkish rule seemed to have been the perpetuation and increase of religious, racial, and local animosities.

In Mesopotamia the overwhelming majority of the population of the province of Basra and Baghdad consists of Mahommedan Arabs of the Shiah sect. The province of Mosul, on the other hand, consists of a mixed population of Arabs and Kurds, of whom the greater number are Mahommedans of the Sunni sect.

All round the fringe of the new Mesopotamian State there live nomadic or semi-nomadic tribes. Arabs on the south and west, Kurds to the north, Baktiaris and Persians on the east, and the mere protection of the frontiers and the settled lands against raids will prove a formidable task.

Palestine, also, is liable to similar raids and invasions from the nomadic tribes from the land east of the Jordan, and here again the creation of those settled conditions, without which the rehabilitation of the country is impossible, will be no light task.

Palestine, however, is a smaller country with a short frontier to the north, with the sea to the west, and the sandy desert to the south, and only an open frontier, less than two hundred miles long, to the east. It presents, therefore, a much smaller task than the gigantic perimeter of Mesopotamia, which to all intents and purposes is everywhere an open frontier.

Palestine presents a unique and special problem owing to its exceptional character as the Holy Land of Christendom and Jewry, with the consequence that there is practically no country in the whole world which does not watch with the closest interest events which take place in that country. Further, there is no country in the world where the in-

habitants, who do not number more than three-quarters of a million, have been drawn from so many countries or so many races. Even the Mahommedan population, who are to-day in the majority, are of mixed racial origin.

The Christians of Jerusalem, who number about fifteen thousand, are divided into about thirty different national communities or sects, are all in touch with the diplomatic representatives of their various countries of origin, and, therefore, the Administration will have to walk warily lest international complications arise.

The Mahommedans of Palestine consist mainly of Arabic-speaking cultivators, who live in small scattered villages, farming land either communally owned by the village or as tenants of absentee landlords. A considerable area of Palestine belonged to the Turkish Crown, and this will no doubt be now vested in the Mandatory power.

In the principal towns of Palestine there exist leading Mahommedan families, who under the old régime filled all the many minor government appointments under the Turks, they were the farmers of the taxes and the subordinate officials. The Arab national revival during the war has affected some of the younger men, but it remains to be seen whether the Mahommedans of Palestine have any political or economic cohesion at all comparable to the Zionist effort now being made in the country.

Zionism has, of course, its root in the Jewish religion, although it is often pointed out that many of the leading Zionists are not conspicuous for their orthodoxy. It is founded upon the idea that the Jews, if they are to survive under modern conditions as a distinct people with a distinct mission, must have a national and religious centre. The Zionist view is that this national and religious centre can only be in the land of the covenant and the prophets, and we have, therefore, the spectacle of a people schooled in commerce, and all the arts and professions of Western civilization, rejecting the superior economic attractions of the West for a land which can never have any great commercial

importance, and where the only industry is agriculture, for the sake of a definitely spiritual and moral ideal

One sees in Palestine two main types of Jew drawn from all the different countries of the world. There is the pietist Jew who gives up his life to religious exercises, and occupies his whole time as a Nazarite in one or other of the talmudical schools of Jerusalem, Safed or Tiberias, and secondly there is the more modern Jewish agricultural colonist, who deliberately rejects the town life that his forefathers have been accustomed to for the last two thousand years, and has flung himself upon the soil of Palestine in conscious effort to recreate for future generations of Jewish children the pastoral and agricultural conditions whence the psalmist and prophetic literature of the Bible arose.

In spite of the disabilities which the Jews suffered under the Turkish régime, and the continued hostility of certain sections of the local Mahommedans, this agricultural effort of the Jews has been already striking in its results.

The two essentials of the Zionist movement in Palestine are, therefore, a Jewish agricultural revival coupled with the replacement of the jargons and languages of Europe by the revival of Hebrew as the living language. Based on the latter is the new system of Hebrew schools leading up to the new secular Hebrew University at Jerusalem, which it is the hope of Zionists will be the cultural centre for the Jews of the whole world.

It must not be thought that the creation of this Jewish national home in Palestine under the auspices and guidance of the British Administration will be easy. It is a policy which has opponents both in Palestine and outside, and it undoubtedly implies the gradual transformation of the character and atmosphere of the social and political conditions in the country, which will not be always acceptable to those who were contented with the *status quo ante bellum*, and, further, as in Palestine questions of religion crop up incessantly at every turn, the British servants who will be charged with the delicate task of control and administra-

tion will require a special degree of knowledge, sympathy and tact, greater probably than in any other country where Britain has hitherto endeavoured to undertake the task of government. A mere holding of the balance and the scales of justice between rival races and creeds is not sufficient, because the Jews and the Christians in Palestine and the leading Mahommedan families are all highly educated, civilized people, and the relation between the British Administrators and the people cannot be the relation of that of a superior with a subject race or races

Similarly in Mesopotamia, our object must be the training and guidance of the native inhabitants in self-government from the outset. We must be prepared to sacrifice, if necessary, the ideal of efficiency for the sake of getting a more important political asset at the earliest possible moment. Any attempt to push the economic development of Mesopotamia too quickly, or to introduce numbers of emigrants of non-Arab race, would merely bring a host of troubles on to our shoulders. Above all it is essential that the necessary British and Indian garrisons should be reduced to a minimum at the outset and that steps should be taken forthwith to create a locally recruited force as the main support of the Government.

The geographical position of Mesopotamia makes it of enormous importance from the point of view of the development of aerial transport, and a considerable air force will be essential in Mesopotamia.

The population of Mesopotamia at present is only about three millions. When the country is developed, and the irrigation system of the ancient civilizations has been gradually restored, there will be room and support for ten times this population, and Mesopotamia is destined to become one of the chief producers of three of the most vital necessities of mankind—*eg*, wheat, cotton, and oil. It is not too much to say that if we can rise to our great opportunities we shall be able to create a new Native State in Mesopotamia far more populous, powerful and wealthy than Persia, Turkey,

### *Britain's New Responsibilities*

or Egypt On the wisdom and foresight of our initial political ideals and structures in Mesopotamia and Palestine will depend not only the peace of the Near and Middle East, but, what is far more important, the future good or bad relations between Asiatics and Europeans.

The spirit of nationalism is alive in Asia, and the history of British India, and other countries where Great Britain has been called upon to play a leading rôle, provides few precedents or models upon which we can now work It is, therefore, essential that at the earliest possible moment a new Civil Service should be formed, and a new department set up in London for dealing with Mesopotamia and Palestine

The India Office and Government of India should relinquish their present hold over Mesopotamia, and the War Office their control and direction in Palestine Appointments in both countries will have to be most carefully scrutinized, and the minister in London responsible for making these appointments and giving general directions as regards policy must be advised by men who have not only personal knowledge of the two countries concerned, but who have also that sympathy and insight which is essential if the Mandatory conception of our task is to be put into effect

## UNREST IN INDIA THE QUESTION OF THE KHALIFATE

BY COLONEL C E YATE, C S I , C M G , D L , M P

WE have seen lately the report in the press of the claim to the Khalifate advanced by the Emir Abdullah on the part of the Malik of the Hedjaz. In considering this claim we must not forget that the King-Emperor has more Muhammadan subjects under his sway than any other ruler in the world, and that this claim on the part of the Malik of the Hedjaz to oust the Sultan of Turkey from the Khalifate and to acquire the position and title for himself affects Great Britain more than any other Power.

Now one of the things that particularly struck me at the time when the Malik of the Hedjaz declared his independence of Turkey was the silence, suspicion, and I may say distrust, with which the announcement was received by Muhammadans in India. I did not understand this at the time, and I was inclined to think my Indian friends were unduly suspicious of the Malik's intentions, and that their fears of personal aggrandizement on his part were unfounded, but I am compelled to acknowledge now that I was wrong.

There are some sixty odd million Muhammadans in India, of whom the vast majority are Sunnis, and so far as my knowledge goes it is not the slightest use talking to them as to whether the Sultan belongs to the tribe of the Koreish or not, or whether he is legally entitled to the Khalifate or otherwise. The fact remains that for the last 450 years the Sultan of Turkey has been their Khalif, and in their eyes he is their Khalif, and so far as I know will remain their Khalif.

Four years ago one of my Indian Muhammadan friends wrote to me to say that "real difficulty would arise if or

when the Sheriff chooses to declare himself the Khalifa and Protector of the holy places at Mecca and Medina," and he added that no Sunni Muhammadan could "actively help or even approve the Sheriff's action" in doing so. That very action has now been taken and my impression is that in their opposition to it Indian Muhammadans will have the sympathy of the Afghans of Afghanistan as well as of the Muhammadans of Khiva, Bokhara and other parts of Central Asia, and that if this claim is pressed by the Malik of the Hedjaz it may lead to strife between him and his Arab followers on the one side and the Muhammadan residents of India and other parts of Asia on the other side, and that the strife thus engendered may become a menace to the peace of the British Empire.

So far as we know, the Malik of the Hedjaz is not even *primus inter pares* amongst the Arabian chiefs. Shortly after the declaration of his independence, he came to blows with a neighbouring chieftain and was thoroughly defeated. The same thing may happen again and his claim to "adequate temporal power" may not be verified.

We have seen the Emir Feisul elected by an assembly at Damascus as King of Syria, and the same assembly, it is reported, went out of their way to nominate the Emir Abdullah, the second son of the Malik of the Hedjaz, to be King of Mesopotamia. So far as I have been able to ascertain, there is not a single Arab tribe or a single Arab chief in Mesopotamia who would acknowledge the overlordship of any other tribe or chief in Mesopotamia, and all the tribes and all the chiefs of Mesopotamia are, I believe, equally strong in their determination not to acknowledge the overlordship of any other outside tribe or chief, either from the Hedjaz or anywhere else. The one thing they have asked for is that Mesopotamia should remain under British guidance and control.

We have heard a good deal of late of the new birth of the Arab nation, but considering the special position Great Britain occupies as a great Muhammadan power, it behoves



us to consider well how the new birth of this nation is likely to affect the British Empire. If it leads to religious strife it will be a serious matter, and though the question of the Khalifate is one to be decided solely by Mussulmans themselves, one never knows where religious strife once started may not lead to

We desire, as one correspondent, I see, has put it, "to follow out to its logical conclusion the policy we adopted in 1915 of making the Arabs our friends," and we desire equally to retain the friendship and the confidence of the Indian Muhammadans that resulted from our help to Turkey in the Crimean War. Strife between the two would be most unfortunate, and further strife between us and the Sultan of Turkey would be equally unfortunate. A telegram from India the other day told us that the claim advanced by the Emir Abdullah on the part of his father to the Khalifate has now been followed by a movement in Afghanistan in favour of acknowledging the Amir of Afghanistan as Khalif, and what this will end in no one can say.

Meanwhile, we see it reported in the Indian press that the Amir, in a speech at Kabul on the anniversary of the murder of his father, stated that "the policy of Russia to-day is one which is probably attracting all the Mussulmans to it," and he offered a welcome to all Indian Muhammadans who chose to migrate to Afghanistan, while at the same time the head of the Afghan Deputation to India is reported to have made a speech in the Juma Musjid at Mussoorie stating that the Mission had been ordered by the Amir to demand from the British Government that the question of the Khalifate would in no way be placed in jeopardy or interfered with.

The result of this has been the telegrams to the Viceroy from Muhammadans at Delhi stating that "it is impossible for the faithful any longer to remain under British rule peacefully," and a further telegram to the Afghan Mission at Mussoorie stating that they "appreciate most gratefully the hospitality offered by His Majesty the Amir of Afghani-

stan to the Indian Mussulmans who intend to leave the country "

How many of these Indian Khalifat agitators will really leave the country remains to be seen, but the unrest caused by this agitation in India, added to the Bolshevik activities in Afghanistan, Central Asia, Persia and the Caucasus, as well as the attitude of the Arabs in their attacks upon Mesopotamia, Palestine and Syria, gives little hope of quiet in the East

What is going on in Russian Central Asia we have little news of The accounts we have of the Bolshevik occupation of Enzelli and Resht in Persia are far from reassuring, and should there be any further advance on their part there is only one thing that we may be sure of, and that is that we shall find the Government of Persia absolutely helpless in the matter, despite all their high-sounding titles, and that few if any of the Persian people will be willing to sacrifice their lives in the defence of their own country

How far the Bolshevik virus has penetrated into Afghanistan one cannot say I notice that that fine soldier Major Sir Umar Haiyat Khan, in the interview he gave to the *Morning Post* the other day, stated it to be his opinion that "the Punjab disturbances and the measures taken to repress them cannot be seen in their proper perspective unless one is in possession of the full facts regarding the relation between those seditious disturbances and the conspiracies from Bolshevik Russia, and from Kabul" He went on to say that the whole issue depended "on the extent of the peril in which British rule in India was at the time, and on the fact that the local sedition was not isolated, but was linked up with foreign plans of invasion" The "foreign plans of invasion" resulted in the Afghan invasion of India in May last year, and it was the incredible weakness of the Government of India in granting an armistice to the Afghans, and spending two months in negotiations with them in India after the defeat of their invasion, instead of permitting the General in Command to dictate the terms

of peace on Afghan soil at the time, that resulted in the upheaval of the tribes on the frontier and the Waziristan campaign that has not even yet been brought to a close

Lately we have seen a fresh Afghan deputation received in India, and the telegrams told us shortly afterwards that the conference with these delegates had to be summarily broken off owing to renewed occupation of Indian territory by Afghan troops

This conference is now said to have been resumed, and the positions occupied by the Afghan troops on the British side of the frontier are said to have been evacuated. However, it looks very much as if the present deputation has been sent simply to try to fool the Government of India again this year in the same way as last year. On that occasion they came after an attempted invasion of India in collusion with revolutionaries in India, and now again this year a somewhat similar attempt has apparently been made, and, as a recent telegram from India tells us, "feeling is reported especially acute at Delhi and in the Punjab, where a violent agitation is in progress," and "the Afghan delegates are visitors we could well do without at this juncture." Presumably, therefore, the motive of their mission is subject to considerable doubt.

The agitation now being carried on in India by enemies of the British Government playing upon the religious susceptibilities of their Indian fellow-countrymen may be the cause of untold misery and disaster to Muhammadans, Hindoos and Christians alike, just as in the Mutiny of 1857.

Mr Ikbāl Alī Shah, himself an Afghan, in an article entitled "The Drifting of Central Asia" in the *Near East* of April 29 last, concluded by writing "Not long ago Trotsky declared that only through India would England be struck down. What, then, are the guardians of India doing?"

The "peril" in India is just as great now as it was last year, and well may the question be asked "What are the guardians of India doing?"

The British Government has rightly been doing its best to maintain the Sultan on his throne in Constantinople, but the difficulties of the situation have been much enhanced by the action of agitators, who, on the plea of the protection of the Khalif, have been endeavouring to stir up revolution in India, while at the same time they have been helping to destroy the Sultanate by intrigues with the Young Turk party under Enver Pasha and Mustapha Kemal. These two leaders, by bringing Turkey into the war on the side of Germany, have not only brought their country to its present ruin, but have been fighting in rebellion against the Sultan up to the present moment.

The Hindu agitators, whose one aim and object apparently is to embarrass, and if possible to destroy, British government in India, have now for their own ends joined in with the Muhammadans of the Khalifat agitation and are egging them on in every way they can.

These Hindus are the same men who roused the town mobs of India to rebellion last year over the Rowlatt Acts. Now they are making use of the Khalifat agitation, and with the help of the religious question now added in, they are apparently endeavouring to bring on the same state of affairs again this year.

It may be asked: What are the Rowlatt Acts? In consequence of the revolutionary crime that was prevalent in India, the murder of the police, and the impossibility of obtaining evidence for a trial in open court, various men had to be interned in India during the war. A commission was appointed consisting of an Indian Judge of the High Court, an Indian civilian, a British Chief Justice in India, and a British civilian, under the chairmanship of Mr Justice Rowlatt, who was sent out from England on purpose to enquire into all these cases.

They did so and, if I remember right, decided that the men interned had been rightly interned, and they advised that legislation should be passed by the Government of India giving power to intern men concerned in revolutionary

conspiracies after the temporary war legislation under the Defence of India Act came to an end. This legislation was duly passed by the Government of India, but unfortunately, owing to the weakness shown by the Government against the clamour raised by the agitators, the Act was made a temporary one for three years only. Despite this, however, and the further concession by the Government that the Act should only be put in operation in districts where anarchical and revolutionary crimes were being perpetrated, and would only come into operation on the Government of India giving its sanction to an application for powers under the Act made by the Local Government, the people of the more or less educated class in the towns were led to believe the false reports spread abroad about these Acts by the members of the various Congress societies, culminating in the rebellion of April last year. The Acts themselves came to be known as the Rowlatt Acts, which are referred to so often in the Hunter Committee's report.

The same influences are still at work, and no one can say what may or may not happen. Lately, however, the telegrams have pointed to the increasing virulence of the agitation, the agitators even going so far as to pass resolutions demanding the postponement of the visit of the Prince of Wales till Moslem demands are satisfied, the prevention of the enlistment of Indians in the Indian Army, and, finally, that "the day an adverse decision is passed by the Peace Conference shall also be a day of complete independence from British rule." "Complete independence" means revolution. How far these revolutionists may succeed in raising a fresh rebellion in India, or how far moderating influences may be brought into effect, remains to be seen, but the danger is there. So patent is it to all, that I cannot do better than quote from a letter, which I have lying before me now, written by one Indian in India to another Indian in England, describing the situation as follows.

"On your return you will find your country quite different to what you left. The feeling against the Government is

going very high and officials are taking a very lenient view. The Khalifat question has done much harm to the Government, and it looks to me that revolution is at hand. It might come at any time before this letter reaches you."

A hundred years ago India was in much the same state of chaos that Russia is in now. The Pax Britannica then established by us in India has lasted to the present day, with the exception of the Mutiny of 1857 and the rebellion of 1919. The Mutiny of 1857 was a mutiny of the Indian Army, which by being pampered had come to think itself all powerful, and struck accordingly.

The rebellion of 1919 was the result of agitation got up by the politically-minded educated people of the towns belonging to the various societies referred to above, who through being equally pampered began to think that they, too, were all powerful, and similarly struck for that reason. In both cases the "placid contentment" of the rural population, which we must remember comprises 226 millions out of the 244 millions residing in British India, was comparatively little affected, and to-day I am told that outside a three-mile radius from any town the villagers are just as placid and just as contented as ever. Unfortunately the result of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms has been to place these 226 millions of placid and contented villagers under the thrall of the remaining 18 millions in the towns, and this they hate extremely.

In the towns the case is very different. The rebellion of 1919 has shown how easily town-bred mobs can be excited in India, what a large proportion of people they contain ready for any disturbance. It has also been proved how difficult it is to prevent the fidelity of the men employed in railways, posts, and telegraphs, as well as in industrial centres and even in the Indian Army itself, from being exposed to the wiles of the agitators and the false rumours so readily spread abroad by them.

Never was there a time when a strong Government in India was more essential than at the present time.

## THE STRATEGIC POSITION OF ARMENIA

BY E. A. BRAYLEY HODGETTS

Is it too much to hope that recent events in Asia Minor may at last open the eyes of the British public and the British Government to the strategic importance, from the point of view of the British Empire, of what is usually called Armenia? The ancients were not blind to the value of that country and to its strategic significance. The Assyrians, Alexander the Great, the Medes and Persians, all made Armenia their battle-ground.

Napoleon is supposed to have been the first of moderns to have recognized the strategic value of Constantinople, which he is reported to have regarded as the key to world dominion, and in his day no doubt this was true. Constantinople was the front door to the East before another Napoleon had promoted the Suez Canal. With the completion of the Suez Canal the importance of Constantinople was considerably discounted, for the direct highway to the East now passes through Egypt. While the Suez Canal provided Western Europe with a short cut to India which left Constantinople out of account, the great Eastern European Empire of Russia was intent on obtaining back-door access via Central Asia. Whatever views may be held regarding the authenticity of the famous will of Peter the Great, there can be no question concerning the advice of Napoleon, who, with a view to annoying Great Britain and to diverting the attention of Russia from Europe, inspired Paul, and later Alexander I, with dreams of Asiatic conquest.

That Russia had always cast covetous eyes on Persia is, of course, an incontrovertible historical fact. As early as in the reign of Ivan the Terrible the importance of Persia and

the desirability of its conquest was recognized Peter the Great succeeded in converting the Caspian into a **virtually Russian lake** This policy was natural, defensible, and even commendable, for Russia could not allow the mouth of its largest river, its largest artery of traffic, to remain in the hands of a foreign, not to say hostile, country Already the Volga was dotted, for a long distance up its course, with colonies of Tartar Mahomedans, who might at any moment be turned into the outposts of an invading enemy force

But Russia's natural growth, like that of all nations, was not eastwards, but westwards 'Tis westward that the tide of empire rolls, and the Balkan States, the Slavonic races inhabiting Austria, even the countries of Central Europe, were much nearer and dearer to the heart of the Russian colossus than distant trans-Himalayan India George I had seen this, and regarded the sudden emergence of Russia with apprehension, so did Frederick the Great, more wise in this respect than his father, and so more particularly did Napoleon redoubt her aggrandizement

By Napoleon's seductive arts Russia was tempted to cast her eyes on India and thus to retard by at least a century, if not to arrest for ever, her natural growth in the West Catherine the Great and Nicholas I understood the true destiny of Russia better than many of her statesmen and soldiers in the more recent days of Alexander II, into whose minds had sunk the seductive poison of ambition, and who could not refrain from dreaming of the glory which would be certain to accrue from Eastern conquests Hence the Central Asian Railway, with its base at Krasnovodsk, opposite Baku In those days we used to read with bated breath the sensational articles of the late Mr Charles Marvin and Mr Dobson's thrilling book on "Russia's Railway Advance into India" Our withers were wrung by the Penjdeh incident, and we shuddered at the eloquence of the late M Vambéry, that famous Hungarian publicist who predicted, stimulated no doubt by German politicians, the downfall of the British Empire



through the machinations of Russia. Then the kaleidoscope changed. After the accession of Alexander III there came the rapprochement with our supposititious foe and the building of the Baghdad Railway. Since then the situation has altered once again, Russia—no longer governed by an autocrat emperor—is governed by an autocratic clique, who, under pretence of a proletariat republic, are ruling the country with a rod of iron and incidentally ruining it. Not content with impoverishing their own country they are credited with dreams of world conquest. They want to introduce the blessings of Bolshevism and of government by Soviets and Commissars into primitive Persia and “benighted” India, for they feel that to be effective, their system must be universal. Besides Russia being exhausted, they are naturally looking for “green fields and pastures new.” In these laudable ambitions they are whole-heartedly abetted by a certain section of the German reactionaries, who, as General Ludendorff has cynically admitted, deliberately promoted Bolshevism in order to undermine one of their most formidable enemies. Behind the tyrannous régime of the pseudo-proproletarian Soviet Government there stand the reactionary forces of Kultur, luring to destruction a people whom they ultimately intend to conquer and use as an instrument for the gratification of their lust of empire and their insane hatred of Great Britain.

In the meantime what are we doing to prepare for this growing menace to our empire? We have spent untold blood and treasure in conquering Mesopotamia, and have created what has been happily described as the Muddle East. The once prosperous land of the Arabian Nights is in a ferment. If Harun-al-Raschid were to come to life to-day he would rub his eyes in mute amazement at the altered condition of his beloved Baghdad.

Of course Lord Denbigh performed a great public service in going about the country teaching the British public geography, and explaining the true meaning of the Baghdad

Railway, but can our statesmen be credited with vision when after risking the fate of the Indian Empire by sending General Townsend with an inadequate force to capture Mosul, they allowed the back-door to our great Asiatic possessions to remain open ?

After the collapse of Turkey and when the Black Sea was thrown open to us, we neglected to get astride of the Transcaucasian Railway, which runs from Batoum to Baku, and commands the Caspian and through it Central Asia and Persia, and yet we nevertheless entered into an agreement with the latter country which made its protection from aggression imperative to our prestige

We could not plead ignorance of Bolshevik designs, these had indeed been proclaimed from the house-tops Our papers were full of stories of the Pan-Turanian movement and of Pan-Islamism Bolshevik agents were known to be busy in Bokhara and Afghanistan We were told of a great revival of religious fanaticism among the Tartars of the Volga, and in the face of that what did we do ? We created the Tartar republic of Azerbaidjan, gave it the custody of the oil-fields of Baku, and commanded the heroic Armenian General Andranik to stay his hand and to desist from defeating the enemies who were threatening to give the *coup de grâce* to his martyred country

It was because of the oil fields of Persia, we are told, that we embarked on our Baghdad adventure, and yet we have entrusted the still more important oil-fields of Baku to a Tartar republic, which on the first opportunity made common cause with the Soviet Government of Russia, and is now extending the hand of friendship to our recent enemies the Turks, with the object of finally exterminating with their assistance, what remains of our fellow-Christians, the Armenians, who so valorously fought on the side of the Allies during the Great War.

In our anxiety to propitiate our Mahomedan fellow-subjects we have stood aside and shed crocodile tears while *Christian Armenians* were being massacred. It is un-

necessary to possess a knowledge of the Oriental mind to understand that such an attitude is not calculated to raise us in the estimation of the Indian people

In the old days of early-Victorian diplomacy we regarded the Turks as our friends, and we even embarked on a fruitless and costly war to save them from destruction. In the Crimea we sealed with our blood our friendship for the "unspeakable Turk," but in not quite half a century later Lord Salisbury opined that we had backed the wrong horse, and in less than a generation after that historic admission, the Turks joined our enemies in a peculiarly odious and treacherous manner. No doubt they now deeply regret their betrayal, they tried to stab us in the back, but we turned round and smote them. And now we are assisting their co-religionists, the Tartars of an artificial Azerbaidjan—the real Azerbaidjan is part of Persia—to organize themselves into a powerful State in order to be able to stretch out their hands to the Ottoman hordes, and to exterminate the hated intervening Armenian Christians.

The descent by the Bolsheviks on Enzeli, from which we have been obliged to retire, is one of the firstfruits of this strange inconsequential policy.

When will the eyes of our leaders and statesmen be opened to the true situation?

To imagine that we can ever hope to restore the old friendly relations between this country and Turkey is as fallacious and visionary as to believe that we can ensure the respect of the Mahomedans of India by forsaking our friends in Persia and Armenia.

Let us glance for one moment at the strategic position in this part of the world.

Constantinople guards the entrance to the Black Sea, but is for the future to be an open door.

On the south-eastern shore of the Black Sea is the port of Batoum, which is connected by railway with Tiflis and from thence with Baku.

From Tiflis there is railway communication with Erivan

and Kars, which latter important place is within easy reach of Erzeroum, for, thanks to the war, a motor road has been made between these two towns. Erzeroum has been called the Clapham Junction of Asiatic Turkey, for here the great caravan routes leading to Persia and Afghanistan from the Levant and the Black Sea converge. There is also a railway from Tiflis to Julfa and Tabriz

Hence through Batoum and Tiflis, Northern Asia Minor can be dominated

We have seen that the Transcaucasian Railway runs from Batoum in the Black Sea to Baku in the Caspian, and we have experienced how easy it is to dominate Enzeli and Resht, and consequently Persia (for Teheran is within comparatively easy reach of Resht), from that port. But opposite Baku, on the eastern shore of the Caspian, is Krasnovodsk, the starting-point of the Central Asian Railway, which runs in a straight line to Dushak, less than 100 miles from Meshed on the Persian frontier. It then turns off sharp to Merv, goes still farther north to Bokhara, and proceeds via Samarkand and Kokan to Andijan in Ferghana. Before reaching Bokhara it crosses the Amu Daria at Charjui

All these means of communication are to-day controlled by the Russian Soviet Government and their Mahomedan friends the Turks and Tartars, all but Batoum, where, in response to urgent representations made to the British Government last August, the small British garrison has not been withdrawn. Batoum has been declared to be part of Georgia, and the small Georgian Republic is reported to be friendly to us

The position of the Allies may be briefly described in the following few words. As long as Constantinople remains an open port our fleet can dominate the Black Sea and support our garrison at Batoum. But if we wish to succour Persia or protect the Caucasian oil-fields, we must either capture the Transcaucasian Railway or follow the route of the ill-fated Dunsterville force from Baghdad to

Karmanshah and then across to Resht, a long and tedious march through an inhospitable country.

We hold Cyprus, which is opposite the starting-point of the Baghdad Railway, but this is a long way from the Caucasus, from whence, as we have seen, runs the road to the back-door to India

We cannot sleep comfortably in our beds unless we know that the Transcaucasian Railway is in the hands of friends To-day it is dominated at Tiflis and Baku by a Government concerning whose intentions towards us our statesmen seem to have an open mind

It may, of course, be urged that there is no such thing as friendship in politics, and that we can only count as friendly those countries whose interests are not divergent from, or opposed to, our own Sentiment in politics is as dangerous as it is in business, although there is nevertheless a great deal of sentiment in both

But the position in Asia Minor is not really so difficult and perplexing as some people would make it appear.

Until the other day Asia Minor was virtually dominated by an alien conquering nation, the Ottoman race, of whom we tried to make friends, and who treacherously made common cause with our enemies. To endeavour to make friends of them again may be sentimental, but it is sentiment of the wrong kind, and it is not business.

Besides the Ottoman Turk, there is only one other race inhabiting Northern Asia Minor which can claim our serious attention, and that is the Armenian Of course we have been told that the Armenians are even more untrustworthy and treacherous than the Turks. But what race of men can be truthfully described as invariably sincere and unselfish? In politics the essential factor is not so much sincerity as community of interests And the interests of the Armenians are surely identical with our own.

The Armenians are probably the most ancient race in that part of the world. The name Armenia first occurs in a Persian cuneiform inscription of Darius

Hystaspas (521-486 B C ) Its origin is of so remote an antiquity that it is in doubt The native name was Biana, the original of the modern Van The Armenians are an Aryan race and claim to be descended from Haik, son of Torgom, fifth in descent from Noah, whose ark is supposed to have rested on Mount Ararat after the Flood They were the first Christians in that region, and they have tenaciously retained their ancient faith in spite of many trials and vicissitudes A people by themselves, surrounded on all sides by alien races, they were frequently invaded, but generally defeated their enemies, and Tigran I, the Great, conquered nearly the whole of Asia Minor Armenia continued an independent kingdom until 1365, when her last king, Leo VI, was obliged to flee the country, and journeyed to Paris and London seeking assistance against the Mameluke invaders Under Ottoman rule it is not too much to say that the Armenians were the only economic asset of the country The Turks were "the gentlemen", work was foreign to their dignified nature The agriculturists, the cattle-breeders, the craftsmen, were Armenians, so also were the labourers in the big cities, as well as the merchants and traders Not so nimble-witted, nor so highly cultured, as the Greeks, they nevertheless ran them very close But they were less supple, less pliable, less diplomatic than the Greeks Very independent in character, even somewhat truculent, conservative in their habits and customs, they were proud of their ancient traditions, of their somewhat primitive but genuine culture, of their language, their literature, their achievements and their faith They refused to relinquish any one of their national characteristics, and resisted assimilation whether by the Turks or the Russians To do them justice, the Turks never showed much fanaticism in this direction, they were in the main content to live on the fruits of the labour of subject races, until their slow-working and not over-imaginative brains were worked upon by other, external influences to suspect the loyalty of the conquered Their

vengeful suspicions once aroused, they proceeded in their clumsy way to crush out the spirit of rebellion and to massacre the native population. It was by these Oriental methods that the Turks lost their European provinces one by one throughout the nineteenth century. But the Armenians were less subtle and less fortunate than the Greeks and the Slavs or even the Egyptian fellaheen.

The Armenian traditions were older than those of the Slavs, and the Armenians were as much a thorn in the flesh of Russia as they were a cause of anxiety to Germany. For Prussia's dreams of world conquest were not of yesterday's date. The great Elector's argosies sailed to the Cape of Good Hope in the seventeenth century, and two hundred years later Frederick William IV toyed with the idea of becoming the protector of Jerusalem.

The Armenians had no friends, but they had many enemies, and so they were continually massacred in the hope that they might be completely exterminated. But their vitality is such that they are able to form an independent State to-day, and would, if but intelligently supported, constitute an ideal bulwark of liberty in the Near East.

Their cause has not always been pleaded in the happiest manner. Too often have they been represented as poor, mean-spirited, defenceless sheep, when they have, as a matter of fact, fought like lions. Nor have they been overscrupulous in their methods of reprisal. Not always have they gently waited to be massacred, more often they have even anticipated the attack, and in some cases, instead of being the massacred, it is they who have fallen upon and slaughtered those whom they had reason to regard as their enemies.

They are a rugged, stern, but remarkably intelligent and industrious race, they inhabit a rich country which, if opened out, would benefit civilization, and they are the natural and traditional guardians of the Caucasus. Instead of encouraging and assisting them to fulfil their mission, we

## *The Strategic Position of Armenia*

have adopted every conceivable measure calculated to disgust them with us, and we have handed the key to the back-door to India to a newly created republic consisting of their hereditary enemies, and united by ties of religion and blood to the people who have so treacherously betrayed us Truly the existence of the British Empire is a perpetual miracle

[This article was written and received before the Bolshevik forces made a descent on Engeli, and consequently before the present complications in Persia had arisen ]



# PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

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## THE AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA

BY NAGENDRA NATH SEN GUPTA

WHATEVER may be the principal industry in any individual country, it is beyond controversy that agriculture forms the backbone of human existence throughout the world. This remark applies with peculiar force to India. Agriculture was the chief industry when the Aryans finally settled down in the country, it has maintained its position throughout the struggles of the various powers that overran India before the Moslem rule of the seventeenth century. And its supremacy is unchallenged even to-day when the country is under the influence of the West, which has always excelled the East in non-agricultural industries. Now the question is whether at any stage of the economic development of India we shall find it necessary to subordinate agriculture to some other industry. Such an end may well be considered impossible. The country's resources in coal, iron, and mineral oils—the three fundamentals of our modern conception of non-agricultural industries—are still in process of discovery, but even when they are fully developed the position of agriculture need not be touched. Our best investment will always be the land. This is the essential point to be borne in mind, even while we are considering how all industries can be made to serve one another.

This fact as to the importance of agriculture does not get sufficient recognition in India itself, but behind this lies the bigger difficulty of the country's very real illiteracy. During the last three hundred years we have fallen so far behind Western nations in the material and intellectual

race that we might almost seem to have given up the race altogether and settled down to a state of stolid passivity which is dangerous alike to the material, intellectual, and spiritual existence of any nation. I believe that it is true to state that, bar the handful of people represented by the "educated classes" in each province, the masses of India are practically where they were in the seventh century. Time has progressed, but we have not progressed with time. We have a stupendous task before us, and that is to make up for our long-continued stagnation, and to catch up the progressive nations of the world who have been running while we have been sleeping. This material regeneration of the country will largely depend upon the successful development of agriculture, which will only be possible when there is a popular understanding of its urgency. But what will make the people understand it? The answer consists of one word—Education. We have not only to educate those whom we call illiterate—we have also to revise our system of higher education—the main-spring of the thinking element of the nation. In a country where the students appearing for the Matriculation examination at any one university in any one year may yet be counted by their ten-thousands, it is a lamentable fact that very few of them have ever been encouraged to give any thought to the land. Ask an ordinary university student in India what his ideas are with regard to the agricultural development of the country, and it is almost certain that he will inform you that the problems of the land do not interest him. He will perhaps be able to give you more information than you would care to possess on such matters as sports, university degrees, comfortable posts, and he will even be ready to carry on a conversation on such high-flown topics as self-government, international politics, mind and matter, life after death, and

machine. If he thought at all, he would interest himself in less high-sounding but more useful subjects—subjects that affected the immediate and fundamental needs of his country. And what need is more immediate and fundamental than the development of agriculture in India, with the one exception of universal education?

Some radical changes in the system of land tenure, as obtaining in our country at the present time, will be necessary for the line of agricultural development which I shall suggest in course of the paper. Without the necessary education of the masses, such changes may naturally be viewed with apprehension by a very large section of the population. Since our object is to introduce changes not in the teeth of popular opposition, but, if possible, with public opinion behind us, it is very necessary that we should set to work at once to prepare the popular mind for our purpose by giving the masses an adequate measure of education.

First, then, we must set to work to change the present illiterate, poverty-stricken ryot into a modern agriculturist. But how is this to be done? It will take more than a century if our work is to be along the lines of gradual evolution—educating the generations yet unborn. And in my impatience I have conceived what I hope may prove a short cut. Having regard to my ignorance of the technique of Indian tenures, I feel that I can but state my idea and leave it to be developed or rejected by those better qualified to judge. Shortly stated, then, my idea is this: that we find some way of dealing with the land tenures which will turn the small holdings into farms of the size of an average English farm, that these should be worked by men of superior education as farmers (the zemindar himself turning a farmer where possible); and that the ryot of to-day should be employed as a farm servant. The point is that, apart from getting results in a reasonable time, for due agricultural development we want not only education up to a certain standard, but the finance and initiative

which the present ryot cannot supply. And it is the ryot himself who in the long run will reap the chief benefit from any changes which we may be compelled to make.

Statistics of a few years ago show that 196,000,000 out of 330,000,000 inhabitants of India, *i.e.*—nearly two-thirds of the entire population—are directly dependent upon agriculture, while nine tenths of the rural population derive their living directly and indirectly from agriculture. The size of an average holding varies from half an acre in densely populated parts of the country to eight acres in less congested parts. Taking the mean of the two extremes, the average size of the Indian farm—if one may call it by that name—does not exceed four acres. As the holder of this four-acre-farm supplies both capital and labour, the usual custom is for the whole family to find their vacation in, and derive their living from, the management of the holding. Suppose that each family contains at least three male adults fit for employment on the land, it is obvious that one man is responsible for the cultivation of something like 13 acres of land only, which is a colossal waste of labour in view of the fact that in the progressive countries of the world—especially in England—there is on the average only one man allowed for every fifty acres of mixed husbandry land, the yield of which on the other hand is, as a rule, greater than that of the same area in India. Roughly speaking, from the production point of view one man in England is doing the same amount of work as fifty in India. At this stage let us ask ourselves this important question: Why is it that fifty men are doing no more work in our country than one in England? The answer falls under three main heads:

- (1) The ridiculously small size of farms
- (2) The absence of labour-saving implements
- (3) The low efficiency of labour

The low efficiency of labour can be accounted for (*a*) by unfavourable climatic conditions over which we have little control, (*b*) by the low standard of living as regards both

feeding and housing, and (c) by the general ignorance as to what should be considered a fair day's work both for man and beast. It is no good quarrelling with the climate, so we must put that aside. We can certainly do something towards raising the standard of living. A general education which will make the labourer realize what is considered a decent standard of living in the twentieth century will help the matter considerably, but he cannot better his style of living on his present income. And since his income depends on the profits of the land, it is obvious that the land must be made to yield more. But this increased yield can only be secured by entrusting the land to those who know something about the scientific management of land, and who possess the capital which will enable them to translate their ideas of improved farming into actual performance.

The third cause of the low efficiency of labour is the absence of any recognized standard of labour. I do not know whether any tests have actually been made in order to discover how much work on the land can reasonably be expected from a normal adult working under the climatic and other conditions prevailing in India, but such tests should be easily made. With the necessary data of labour, an enlightened farmer bent upon getting his money's worth of work, and wise enough to enforce regular hours, will have little difficulty in greatly augmenting the efficiency of labour.

Let us now consider the question of the absence of labour-saving implements insofar as it is responsible for the enormous waste of human labour to which we have referred. The cheapness of labour on the one hand, and the financial inability of the farmer to purchase anything more elaborate than a primitive wooden plough made by the village carpenter on the other have so far been the chief obstacles in the way of introducing those modern implements which can be employed with advantage under Indian conditions. The cost of labour will increase in

proportion to the increase of wealth in the country, and hence the economic development of India will gradually remove the first obstacle. With the fulfilment of my dream of the future agriculturist of India, the second obstacle will also vanish

Up to a certain point the acreage per labourer varies almost inversely as the size of the farm. A fifty-acre-farm will in all probability employ the same number of labourers as a hundred-acre-one, provided that the system of farming remains the same in both cases, whereas the produce on the latter should not fall short of twice that on the former. Thus we see that a man who is financially able to run a hundred-acre-farm is in a much better position than another who cannot afford to farm more than fifty, because in the former case there will be greater economy of labour, and a consequent bigger profit on the capital, part of which profit will be directed towards raising the standard of living of the labourer by means of larger wages

I hope that it is clear that the arguments put forward so far favour the ejection of the simple, old-fashioned ryots from the land as farmers, although not as farm-labourers. This is decidedly a revolutionary proposal, and I am not blind to the antagonism which it may arouse, since it attacks the old system of land tenure altogether. But if the ultimate interests of our country call for such change, it seems to me that it would be our solemn duty to work towards it. An ordinary ryot of the present day, who lives from hand to mouth, and who more often than not is completely in the grip of moneylenders, will find life infinitely more pleasant and free from care as a well-paid farm-labourer or a factory hand. Give the land, therefore, to the people who are progressive in their ideas, and consequently believe in that kind of farming which combines science with practice, who are enterprising and find in the land an unlimited field for their enterprise, and finally who have the money and know how to invest it in the land—if, indeed, we can find or create such a class.

Our task hardly ends here. If the Hindu law of inheritance is allowed to continue in its present form, a few generations will witness the undoing of what we may accomplish to-day. The future legislators of the country cannot do better than carefully consider this important question.

The complete replacement of smallholders by large farmers will necessarily have to be a slow business requiring much patience and tact on the part of the Government, and the industrial development of the country will play no mean part in the realization of the scheme. Something like 348,400,000 acres of land in India are fit for cultivation, although not much more than 245,100,000 acres are under actual cultivation at present. Supposing that we bring all the cultivable land under cultivation as a result of our plans, and that taking everything into consideration we allow an acreage of twenty to every farm hand, we shall find employment on the land for something like 17,000,000 men. It has been mentioned before that 196,000,000 people in India are dependent upon agriculture for their living at the present time. Let us assume that to every male adult there are on the average one female and three children, and this means that, under the proposed scheme of agricultural development, we shall be able to provide for 85,000,000 working-class people, or one-fourth of the entire population, on the land. Now the question is, What is going to happen to the remaining 111,000,000 people who are at present maintained, though very precariously, by the land? If you turn them off the land you must find them some means of livelihood elsewhere, otherwise you have no right to alter the existing order of things. Of course, if you are going to manufacture in the country all the modern machinery needed by Indian agriculture, and if you make provision for the utilization of the by-products of agriculture —e.g., hides, wool, etc.—you will be in a position to support a large number of people on the strength of agriculture, although not actually on the land. But this will not solve

the whole problem, and the support of a large majority of those people who will be thrown out of employment will necessitate at least a corresponding development of the urban and non-agricultural industries of the country. Large towns will have to spring up in districts comparatively rich in minerals, especially coal and iron, the working of which will supply a pleasant change of occupation for the hundreds of thousands released from the land. The building of a regular network of railways, and the construction of better and more plentiful roads for facilities of communication and transport, will engage the services of a considerable number of people, while the building of a mercantile fleet in proportion to the export and import needs of the country, and the manning of the same, will play an important part in the solution of the problem.

Having determined the fundamental settlement of the land, we will now proceed to consider how to develop the management of the land culturally and economically so as to get both a maximum yield and a maximum profit.

The fencing off of the land is a thing almost unknown in India, because under the present system the size and scope of an average farm are so limited that it is hardly worth while going to the trouble and expense of erecting and maintaining fences. But the future agricultural development will alter this state of affairs. We must define our fields and meadows and make hedges and fences as sure an indication of the condition of agriculture in India as they are in England. Farming will be conducted on infinitely more thorough and systematic lines. The existing systems of rotation may need investigation. The keeping of livestock will become an essential factor of farming. These new features will demand a carefully thought out division of land into fields of approximately regular shape and manageable size—fenced off from one another by hedges or by wire and posts.

In the wake of extensive farming will follow the construction of appropriate farm buildings, which will exercise a



profound influence on both sides of agriculture—crops and livestock. The ultimate quality of crops grown depends considerably on the manner of their storage, and hence improved buildings will not only raise the selling value of crops, but they will also help to increase the productivity of the land by placing sound seed in the hands of farmers. Again, when pastures become dry, and under adverse weather conditions, it may be found necessary to feed fattening bullocks in stalls or sheltered yards, and hence, if we mean to make large profits out of the keeping of livestock, we must be prepared to house them comfortably. Further, there should be adequate arrangements for the conservation and management of both the solid and the liquid excreta of the animals during the period they are fed inside the buildings. Good, clean buildings constructed and fitted out on modern lines are highly desirable where dairy-farming is to be conducted, but, of course, for our present and immediate purposes, it will be sufficient if we insist on having such buildings and dairy utensils as are absolutely indispensable for the milking of cows, the treatment of milk prior to despatch, and the manufacture of milk-products. We must not forget that we have to deal with a country where agriculture has been, to all intents and purposes, at a standstill for centuries, and consequently the development must be gradual to be enduring.

We will now take up the question of soil fertility—a subject which has engaged some of the finest brains of Europe and America during the last eighty years. It will be futile to expect the ryot to possess any real knowledge on so highly technical a subject. Apart altogether from any systematic knowledge of soil requirements, one's common sense ought to help one to appreciate the fact that one must return to the land at least some of the ingredients which have been removed from it in the form of crops, or else the initial productivity of the land cannot possibly be kept up. But the practice of the ryot does not justify my optimism in this respect. Perhaps his practice is regulated

not by what he knows, but by what he can afford. It is a well-known fact that if you start cultivating virgin soil and systematically avoid manuring of any kind, after a certain number of years the yield of your land will begin to diminish and will continue to do so until a stage has been reached where a natural equilibrium is established between the income and the expenditure of the land, resulting in what may be termed a constancy of yield which marks the absolute minimum to be obtained from that land. It seems to me very probable that in our Indian agriculture we are mostly dealing with land which has been reduced from its high initial fertility to the condition to which I have just referred. Now the question is this. Are we going to be content with our absolute minimum, or are we to use all that modern agriculture suggests for the increase of our natural grown foodstuffs? Of course we mean to take the latter course. But we must be careful in our selection and application of fertilizers. Unless the market conditions are highly favourable it seldom pays to aim at securing the maximum yield under the stimulation of chemical fertilizers. "The last bushel of corn costs far more to produce than any other," and hence, as our object is increase based on economy, we shall exercise judgment in determining the kind and the amount of manures to be applied.

Scientific agriculturists recognize a broad distinction between farmyard manure, which may be called the natural manure, and chemical fertilizers, which by contrast may be termed artificial manures. The value of farmyard manure as a means of maintaining and increasing soil fertility was discovered very early in the history of human civilization, although its full significance was never understood until recently when science came to be applied to agriculture. Science has revealed its twofold value—chemical and physical—one no less important than the other. The magnitude of the part played by this apparently common stuff may be gauged by the fact that its use is universal in

British agriculture One can hardly conceive of circumstances which might disadvantageously modify its present position

How much use are we making of this natural manure in India ? I have no doubt that its use on land is not unknown in our country, but we must admit that its use is unfortunately limited for at least three reasons

- (1) The conception of agriculture in India which, as a rule, does not include the keeping of livestock in the scope of agriculture
- (2) The use of dung as a fuel, especially by the poorer people
- (3) The use of dung as a disinfectant, especially on earth floors, even in the houses of comparatively well-to-do and enlightened people

Not only is the gross output of this all-important material extremely low, but its availability to agriculture is a matter of considerable uncertainty I am, however, full of hope that the recognition of the systematic keeping of livestock as a branch of agriculture will increase the production of this material, and, once available, there is absolutely no doubt of its general use on the land, especially if the future agriculture of our country is entrusted to those who can and are willing to farm on modern lines, while the working of the natural resources of the country, a general education and the raising of the standard of living of the masses, will gradually render obsolete the uses of dung as a fuel and a disinfectant.

Although farmyard manure is a complete manure and its use is indispensable to the future development of agriculture in India, the use of artificial manures must also be introduced if our object is a combined extensive and intensive cultivation of the land The country must produce as much of the artificial manures required by it as possible, and for the rest we may have to seek outside But until, as a result of the advancement of agriculture and the consequent

increase of the national wealth, we find it economical to import manures, we shall have to content ourselves with what we can produce in the country. Sulphate of ammonia, which is one of the most important nitrogenous manures, can be obtained from such large cities as possess gas plants, and, as a result of the future industrial development these gas plants will be scattered broadcast over the country. There is little doubt that as soon as the country is ready to use artificial manures, sulphate of ammonia plants will spring into existence as a matter of course, since the owners of gas factories will find in this by-product a considerable source of income. If the gas factories are financed by native capital or by capital which will not go out of India, it is apparent that the use of sulphate of ammonia will put money into the pockets of three sets of Indian people—the manufacturers, the dealers, and the agriculturists, and this money is going to be produced by the land. Nitrate of soda is also extensively used as a nitrogenous manure, but the only deposits of any consequence so far discovered are those in Chili. Nevertheless, in India we have accumulations of nitrate of potash which, if used as a manure, will be of almost unique value inasmuch as it embodies two manurial ingredients—nitrogen and potash. Up till now, the use of this material as a manure has been practically nil, because of the great demand for it in the manufacture of explosives, but if the League of Nations prove to be a success, the world's need of explosives should gradually diminish. Our nitrate of potash might not then find enough foreign markets, and our national income will be reduced unless we can find some other industrial use for this valuable material. If it is not wanted anywhere else, agriculture will accord it a most hearty welcome. Let us, therefore, keep our eyes open, so that, if the opportunity arrives for its economic use in Indian agriculture, we can let the country of its origin profit by it first, and, if necessary, solely.

The cheapest source of phosphatic manures at the present

time is what is known as basic slag, which is a by-product in the manufacture of steel from iron-ores containing phosphorus by the basic Bessemer process. The Indian agriculture of the future will find use for all the basic slag capable of being produced in the country, and if we deem it necessary to import any slag from foreign parts the cheapness of the material will always favour such a step. Besides basic slag we have at least two other sources of phosphatic manure in the country—*e.g.*, rock phosphates and bones, which may be used as they are or as superphosphates by treatment with sulphuric acid. At present, almost the entire bone output of the country, amounting to something like 100,000 tons, is exported to countries where the material is used both as a fertilizer and a decolorizer. With the development of the country's livestock under the ægis of agriculture, there is no reason why our bone output should not be multiplied by ten, in that case it will certainly be to our advantage to export any bones which may be in excess of the requirement of the country.

Let us now consider the question of livestock as affecting the agriculture of India. The systematic rearing of such economic beasts as cattle, horses, sheep, and pigs is a thing almost unknown in India. We cannot attain the results for which we look without development on these lines also. The farmer must naturally be the most economic breeder of livestock. The domestication of cattle, horses, and sheep, and the recognition of their economic utility, took place in India probably at an earlier date than in Western countries, which are, however, at present, centuries ahead of India in the matter of the development of livestock as a result of careful selection and judicious crossing. The extent to which we have neglected our livestock will be made clear by the following figures, published within recent years for livestock populations in British India and in the United Kingdom.

improvement are so obvious and carried out in such broad daylight that good results obtained by one farmer can be repeated by thousands of others if they have the sense to adopt improved methods. Then we shall also have to train those who will carry on propaganda and supervisory work by means of agricultural literature, by addressing meetings of farmers at suitable centres, by giving first-hand advice after personal study of the conditions of any particular farm, and, if necessary, by enforcing better farming with the authority of the Government. A continuous supply of Professors and teachers of agricultural subjects and Research Fellows will also be needed. Although a good many results of agricultural research are equally applicable the world over, some research will have to be repeated locally. In addition, there is an unlimited field for original work.

The programme of agricultural education which I should like to see in India would include farm schools to which sons of farmers might pass from their village primary schools. I consider such schools most important as replacing for farmers any other type of secondary schools.

We have already a number of agricultural colleges in India, many of which are independent institutes without any university connection. There is absolutely no reason for quarrelling with the existence of independent agricultural colleges, but every decent university ought to possess an agricultural college or an agricultural department. The University of Calcutta in my time had almost no facilities for the study of agriculture. The reason is not far to seek. The country as a whole is not even aware that an agricultural education has a marketable value. Those who come up to our universities have no better ideas of it. To allow their sons to receive an agricultural training is considered by 99.9 per cent of Indian parents to be nothing short of educational suicide. I need hardly say that my remarks are made from personal experience. We have, however, one consolation in the

matter and that is that "the best is yet to be" Our eyes are turned to the future, which, let us hope, holds better things for us than the present Progress of any kind depends on the education of the masses and on the right kind of education for those standing above the masses Provide for the two, and your progressive ideas will attain fruition automatically In the train of hundreds of other things will arrive a national consciousness of the necessity and importance of university education in agriculture, which will make it worth the while of every university in the country to possess an agricultural department which will hold its own amongst the agricultural departments of all notable universities of the world

Example is far more convincing than precept, and hence the teaching in agricultural schools and colleges must be supplemented by management of experimental farms where scientific truths can be presented in a concrete form, and thus win the confidence of farmers The aim of such experimental farms will be to find out reliable data of economic manuring and cropping, animal nutrition and breeding, etc, without reference to monetary considerations on these farms themselves The national money thus spent will be realized a thousandfold in numberless farms all over the country The influence of the results of Rothamsted, Woburn, Cockle Park, and other experimental stations of England on the British and foreign agriculture is inestimable The same will have to take place in India Every agricultural college will have to possess an experimental farm and, in addition, independent stations must be established and maintained at the expense of the Government or by public charity The greatest publicity must be given to the results obtained on these farms, so that there may be no excuse for any farmer to follow unsound or inferior methods of farming

The need for agricultural research—chemical, bacteriological, mycological, phytogenetical, etc —is very urgent

### *The Agricultural Development of India*

indeed in a country like India, where the number of problems awaiting solution must be practically without limit. At the present time India possesses only one Agricultural Research Institute of any consequence—namely, the one at Pusa—and let us not shrink from recalling the fact that the foundation of this one place was made possible by the munificence of an American millionaire. It is to be hoped that Indian philanthropists will be induced to consider agriculture as an object of endowment after the manner of that eminent Indian scientist—Sir J. C. Bose—who lately endowed a Research Institute for pure science.



## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the East India Association, held at 3, Victoria Street, S W , on Monday, March 15, 1920, a paper was read by Nagendra Nath Sen Gupta, Esq , entitled "The Agricultural Development of India " Professor W R Dunstan, C M G , M A , L L D , F R S , occupied the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present Sir Robert Warrand Carlyle, K C S I , C I E , Sir Frank C Gates, K C I E , C S I , Sir William Ovens Clark, Lady Kensington, Lady Katharine Stuart, The Hon Charles Patrick Stuart, Mr G O W Dunn, Mr N C Sen, O B E , Mr Sydney G Roberts, Mr I W Thakur, Mr N M Allorge, Miss F R Scatcherd, Mr F H Brown, Professor Bickerton, Miss Berry, Colonel F S Terry, The Rev Dr R H Durham, Mr and Mrs H R Cook, Miss Hillyer, Mr P Varkki Isaac, Mr Ramachandra Bapurao Kharadkar, Lieutenant Colonel G V Holmes, Dr S S Kapadia, Mr E H Tabak, Miss E J Beck, Mr P Newell, Miss Beadon, and Mr Stanley P Rice, Hon Secretary

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and gentlemen, I have much pleasure in introducing to you Mr Sen Gupta, who is to read the Paper this afternoon. As most of you are aware, Mr Sen Gupta is a distinguished young Indian, who has for some time been studying, in this country, the applications of science to agriculture. He now holds a Research Scholarship, which has enabled him to work at our leading agricultural experimental station at Rothamsted. I think that this will commend him to you as one who can speak with some knowledge and authority on this subject.

I am sure that, for several reasons, the East India Association will welcome this Paper, coming, as it does, from one who has been studying the advances we have made on this side in agriculture, with a view to ameliorating the position of agriculture in his own country.

I have now much pleasure in calling upon Mr Gupta to read his paper.

Mr NAGENDRA NATH SEN GUPTA then read a Paper on the "Agricultural Development of India "

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and gentlemen, I think that you will agree that we have listened to a most interesting and inspiring paper. We cannot help admiring the boldness with which Mr Sen Gupta has handled some of the very difficult and complicated questions which this subject of Indian agriculture involves. For myself, I need only say that for many years I have been deeply interested in Indian agriculture. I have had some

opportunities of studying it on the spot, and I have been very much concerned in this country with the question of the best method of utilizing the products of that agriculture.

India is on the verge of a political development in which Indians will have a much deeper interest, and far more control, in the agriculture of their country. We must all welcome the procedure that Mr Sen Gupta has himself followed in coming here to study our methods, and our advances in agriculture, with a view to leading similar advances in his own country.

With much that he said in the Paper I am in very cordial agreement, especially with regard to what was said about education. It is an unfortunate fact that, not only in India, but in most Eastern countries, agriculture is looked down upon, and is not regarded as a fit occupation for an educated man. I have made many unsuccessful attempts myself to induce young Indians and young Singhalese to engage in agriculture, both on this side and in their own country, and I have nearly always met with the argument "The proper subject for us to work at, the subject which is going to bring us most prestige, and, incidentally, most money, is the law, and it is only right, therefore, that we should, when we come to this country, pay attention to the law." Argument is useless, and I have come to the conclusion that there is only one remedy. As Mr Gupta pointed out, it is, unfortunately, a very long one in obtaining results, and that is education. But there are certain advances that might be made with advantage, gaining experience from other countries. One is that India should not merely have agricultural colleges, and agricultural teaching in the universities, and agricultural research stations, and agricultural scientific work, but that agriculture should be started at the very beginning, and elementary agriculture simply taught in rural schools.

I have been much interested in the progress that has been made already in Ceylon, which has been attended with really remarkable results in a comparatively short time. The children are taught what we call over here "Nature Study." They are made to take an interest in the soil and the cultivation of the soil, and, above all, each is responsible, in his or her school, for a small garden. That, I think, is very important as the first step in the attempt to interest the coming generation in agricultural pursuits.

Then we have the possibility of this education, this interest, once started, being followed up in agricultural colleges, and in universities. But what I think is equally important at the other end is that the Universities of India should grant Degrees, not merely in Arts, and in Law, and in Science, but also in Agriculture, as a special subject, on the same intellectual level as others. I think that this is not the case at present. I have not yet had the pleasure of meeting any Indian Doctor of Agriculture. I feel sure that agricultural education at the end, in the universities, is quite as important as the first teaching in the elementary schools. What India wants is a number of well educated agriculturists who can lead progress in the country itself.

Now I come to the main point in Mr Gupta's Paper. Here I am on much less certain ground, and I am sure that there are several present here to-day who are much better able to express an opinion on it than I am. The main point of Mr Gupta's Paper is that there ought to be a radical change in the land tenure system in India, that there ought to be a change from small holdings to large holdings, that the ryot should be encouraged rather to become an agricultural labourer than an agricultural proprietor on a small scale, as he is at the present time. Of course that interests us who live in this country very much, because we are trying to do exactly the opposite. We are convinced that large holdings are a mistake, and many of us are in favour of a multiplication of small holdings. I do not wish to use that as an argument against the contention in Mr Gupta's Paper. On the contrary, the conditions in India are wholly different from those in this country. In India you have the ryot, as a rule, uneducated, unenterprising, lacking the knowledge and initiative which are necessary to make even a small holding a success. He is not in a position to assimilate or to make use of the agricultural teaching, and the results of agricultural investigation in India to which Mr Gupta has alluded in his Paper. While it may very well be that, from our point of view, small holdings are the better plan, in India it may be desirable, as Mr Gupta contends, that holdings should be on a larger scale.

We all agree that agricultural production in India is exceedingly low, and ought to be far greater. But how is it to be made greater? Mr Gupta suggests that Government action is called for on the subject of land tenure. I have very grave doubts as to whether any Government could possibly now (and certainly not in the future) carry out any such change as Mr Gupta contemplates. I cannot believe that any modern Government could take action to dispossess the ryot of his holding of land, and compel him to be an agricultural labourer. It seems to me, however, that this is no reason why the movement should not be advanced, if it is a sound movement, from quite another direction. If it is to be advanced, it appears to me it can only be advanced in one way, and that is by voluntary action, by the combination of capitalist and worker on a profit sharing basis. Whether that is feasible in India is a matter for discussion, and I hope that something will be said on that point this afternoon. A co-operative movement must be well led, and led by men of sound education, who know what they are talking about from the agricultural point of view. The plan that Mr Gupta himself has followed is one which might well be general in India, assisted by the Universities. I mean the plan of enabling a man who has attained a competent knowledge of agriculture in India to go abroad for a certain number of years to study the advances made in other countries. I feel quite sure that Mr Gupta would tell you himself that he has derived enormous benefit from the studies he has made in this country, and from the contact he has had with other minds who are thinking of agricultural progress from a different point of view to that which obtains in India.

MISS SCATCHERD read the following letter from Dr Pollen

March 12, 1920

MY DEAR MISS SCATCHERD,

If you are speaking on Mr Gupta's thoughtful and suggestive paper *re* "The Agricultural Development of India," perhaps you might voice these few remarks of mine thereon

Mr Gupta is right in commenting on the lamentable fact that in India, where tens of thousands of students are annually appearing for Matriculation, few, if any, have ever been encouraged to give any thought to the land. We certainly have in this particular made a mess of our system—or no system—of education in the land of Ind

But I do not think Mr Gupta's idea of turning Indian small holdings into farms of the size of an average English farm, and "that the ryot of to-day should be employed as a farm servant" at all a good one for India. England used to be a land of small holdings when the interests of the many were in the land. It is now a land of large holdings out of which a few alone secure profit, and the old farming classes have been herded or hounded into the cities. We are trying to reverse this process now in the best interests of the people, and the cry is now "Back to the Land!" and (as has been well said) "we ought to make it possible for the energetic countryman—the man with brains and character—to secure for himself a small holding into which he may put all his energy, and out of which he may hope to get something better than the wages of an ordinary labourer"

The movement from the land to the towns was arrested in Lincolnshire and Norfolk by the creation of small holdings, with the aid of the County Councils, and before the war, Sir Rider Haggard reported that in the neighbourhood of Epwood there were "twenty three men now farming five to 120 acres, each of whom had begun life as a labourer". In Denmark (the land that sends us so much of the butter we ought to make for our selves) five-sixths of the land is held by small freeholders and peasants who are state-tenants, and in Denmark, in consequence of favourable land legislation, for the last sixty years there has been a steady exodus *from the towns to the country*, the very thing we want to secure in Great Britain. Every effort should be made in India to keep the plough in the hands of the owners, and not in those of mere hirelings or money lenders, and the best way to ensure this is to keep the land itself free for the freeman's own farming. Here in England, owing to our hide bound "superior landlord lawyer-made law," the land has been tied and bound by selfish legislation and stinted in its productiveness. May India escape this fate and be saved from Levites, Lawyers, and Land-grabbers is the hope of,

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) J. POLLEN

She said that she was sure that those present would rather hear what so great an authority on the matter as Dr John Pollen had to say, than anything that she had to say

Mr THAKUR said that ever since the time of Lord Curzon the statement had been made, not by irresponsible people, but by men holding responsible positions, that the land in India was over-taxed. It was not

possible to separate the question of the agriculture of India from the question of the existing land revenue which was taken by the Government. The amount of that land revenue would never decrease unless the Government thought of retrenchment.

A point which had been repeatedly urged was the development of irrigation. The superfluous water of the mighty rivers of India should be turned to some use by the carrying out of schemes of irrigation.

The Author had spoken of agricultural industries, but he had omitted to mention one thing—namely, that, in the past, Indian agriculturists worked at other industries apart from agricultural industries, for example such industries as hand loom weaving. Those industries must not be left out of consideration.

With regard to education, his view was that the best way in which to proceed was to introduce agricultural education in place of the existing secondary education. At the present time students in India were being taught German, and French, and so on. He thought that it would be better if the teaching of agriculture was substituted for the teaching of those languages.

At present many educated people, not only ordinary agitators but men of high standing, suspected that the Government was jealous of the spread of education, especially higher education, in India. That feeling would be removed if agricultural education was introduced along with secondary education. It was quite possible so to introduce it. If a change was made, and certain subjects were taught in the vernacular, much of the time in the time table could be devoted to the subject.

There was one matter upon which the Author ought to have touched—namely, that of the cow. Many people in England thought that the veneration in which the cow was held in India was due to superstition, but he wished to point out that the cow had an economic value. Sentiment which led to the preservation of the cow ought to be encouraged in India. The cow in India gave milk to a country in which infant mortality was very high, and it also gave to agriculturists their bullocks, the dung for manure and fuel, and the dung for the making of floors. Because the floors of the houses were made with dung, the people were saved the necessity of wearing shoes in the houses. If the floors were of stone it would be necessary for them to wear boots.

The Chairman had stated that the educated classes of India had a natural aversion from agriculture, but it was not so much the fact that the educated men of India were averse from agriculture, as it was the fact that agriculture had ceased to be profitable, and even the sons of large landowners had to enter one of the professions.

Conditions in India differed. Except in Bengal, where the permanent settlement prevailed, the holdings in India were small. Why did Sir William Wedderburn ask for an inquiry as to what an economical holding was? It was because he thought that the land was so much subdivided that the individual proprietor was not able to produce enough for himself, and he wanted to secure that holdings should not be subdivided beyond a

certain limit He (the speaker) believed that if the Government was to undertake legislation on the lines he had just referred to, there would be no danger

As to the permanent settlement in Bengal, he recognized that the vested interests were strong in Bengal, and that there was the probability that those vested interests might prevent the Government from taking any action directly, but the Government might work indirectly it might put a higher tax on the large landowners, and use the money obtained in buying up land for the small proprietors

The Chairman here suggested that, in view of the fact that Mr Thakur had exceeded the allowance of five minutes for speeches, he should read a Paper before the Association on the subject of land tenure in India. Then he would have an opportunity of doing justice to the subject. He thought that he could hardly do justice to it on the present occasion

Mr Thakur, continuing, dealt with the question of the application to agriculture of scientific principles. He said that the proprietor of a small holding could not afford to buy machinery, and therefore he was not able to apply any theoretical knowledge which he might have. The Government might buy the machinery and let it out to the proprietors of small holdings and charge a tax, as in the case of irrigation. In India it was not possible to do without Government action

Lady KATHARINE STUART wished to say how greatly she had enjoyed the delightful Paper. It was very clear and instructive. Her family had had a little personal experience of agriculture, and she thought that there was a reason for the neglect of agriculture by the educated classes in India, in addition to the objection to manual labour. It was the uncertainty that was involved in agriculture. She had known many clever, good farmers, and she had heard of others, who had been ruined by bad seasons. People looked at the precariousness of the industry when they were choosing careers for their sons. It seemed to her that what was needed was some form of co-operation in which all the responsibility would not have to be borne by the person who went in for agriculture, but in which he would still be his own master. She sympathized with Dr Pollen when he said that he thought that the man should be the master in his own small holding.

As to the cow, she thought that the suggestion which had been made was a most excellent one. Milk was the most important food. The encouragement of cow-keeping was one of the best methods in which to go forward.

She would wish to draw the attention of the lecturer and the audience to the work of Captain Petavel in connection with farm schools. Both by the wisdom of teaching the young, and by the apostolic "foolishness of preaching" to the adult, the work could go forward in a land where science was no substitute for religion, but her most able servitor.

MISS BEADON referred to the teaching of agriculture as carried out in Marchirio. The system of teaching in that Italian Valley was so good, that she had many times wished that Captain Petavel was there to see it. Possibly the climate there would suit many Indians. She was quite certain that the streams coming down the mountains there might be applied still more usefully, and make the fields still more productive.

Mr SYDNEY ROBERTS said that he agreed that, if school children had gardens, those gardens would naturally become a first step towards an interest in agriculture. His hopes and fears in connection with his own garden in India were a very powerful link with, and a key to, the hopes and fears of the agriculturists in the country round about. As his garden flourished or flagged, he had an opportunity of knowing what must have been the feelings of those who were more seriously interested because they were interested in their crops.

He wished to make one or two suggestions with reference to agricultural education.

In the first place, he had an observation to make which was of universal application in India. It was that the Indian parent, or guardian, was providing for the future of a young man, who would not have the choice of being a bachelor or of being a married man, but who was invariably intended to be a married man and the head of a family, and, therefore, a parent or a guardian who was selecting a vocation for a young man, was obliged to choose one in which there would be, perhaps not a very large, but an assured income which would maintain a married man.

He agreed most heartily that it was desirable to improve agricultural teaching in India, and to introduce further agricultural teaching, particularly the highest form of it, but it was essential that the parents or the guardians, or the young men themselves, should see before them an assured career. As had been pointed out by the Author, India required infinitely more agricultural schools and colleges and places of research than at present existed. The Presidency with which the fortunes of his family had been linked for many years, and which was generally known as the "benighted" Presidency, set an excellent example in this matter to the rest of India. If large numbers of educated men were to be attracted to agriculture, it must be proved to them that, if they went in for agriculture, they would have a career before them. It must be remembered that the Indian was essentially a member of a joint family, and essentially also a married man, and that, therefore, he could not start out as a sort of pioneer, because he could not throw his responsibilities overboard.

When the Colonial Exhibition was held in Marseilles in 1906, he went, as an unauthorized and unpaid deputation, to the Exhibition, on his return from a period of leave in England, in order to try and find out whether, in their system of education in their Colonies, the French were doing any thing in the way of agricultural education. It would appear that, after an interval of fourteen years, Ceylon had begun what had been already well established in the French possessions in Morocco and Algeria by 1906. The introduction of nature study into Indian schools did not involve embarking on an untried experiment. It was embarking on something which had proved successful in Algeria and other parts of Northern Africa, and which, therefore, must succeed in India.

The subject of the cow was one of great interest in Southern India. It was inextricably bound up with the very important subject of the forest laws, and forestry generally. There was a delightful tradition in the Forestry Department about a certain high official. The grazing capacity of a forest

was the number of cattle which could safely be turned to graze in it without destroying all hope of getting young trees, without the growth of which the forest must inevitably perish. A certain high official, being informed that the grazing capacity of a forest was two thousand head of cattle, ordered, by a stroke of the pen, that the grazing capacity should be raised to four thousand.

The trouble with regard to the cow was that, with the limited grazing grounds, there was competition between the cattle which were in full milk and what had been known as the "old dry cow." He had no right to enter into the controversy. He only asked, "What are you going to do to improve your breed of cattle, if you do not diminish the numbers of useless heads?"

With regard to leather, it was not possible to improve the export of leather until the police work was improved. In order to prevent cattle thieving to some extent, people would brand their cattle, and therefore destroy the value of the hides. If there was good police work there would be less branding.

He was in strong sympathy with the legislative alterations which the Author had suggested, but he thought that it might be a long time before they were carried out. He considered that success would be achieved on the lines of increasing what might be called primary agricultural education, on the lines of intensifying secondary agricultural education, and on the lines of improving the highest agricultural education.

The Madras Presidency had succeeded in adding five rupees to the value of every bale of cotton grown in Tinnevely. The total number of bales was 70,000 per annum.

It was necessary to take human nature as it was. The matter of following up agriculture, and of studying agricultural science was a matter also of dignity. Among other things which could be done to help agriculture in India was the starting of an Indian Order of Agricultural Merit. An Order of Agricultural Merit already existed in France. He seriously believed that it would be a good thing if the zemindar who set an excellent example over a number of years in regard to improved methods of agriculture or cattle breeding, or improved methods of irrigation, had such an order bestowed upon him. It would be an excellent bait to those who always required some star or order on their breast as a stimulus to further exertion.

The CHAIRMAN proposed a very hearty vote of thanks to the Author and to the speakers. He said that if he were in Mr Rice's place he would make a note of the names and addresses of certain of the speakers that afternoon, and ask them to read papers before the Association on future occasions. The discussion had been a most interesting one. He wished to express his own thanks to the Association for having given him such an interesting afternoon.

*The motion was carried by acclamation.*

Mr RYAN moved that a hearty vote of thanks be given to the Chairman for presiding.



*The motion was seconded and carried unanimously*

The SECRETARY said that the Author ought to have had an opportunity of replying, but the hour was so late that he would not be able to reply

The CHAIRMAN suggested that the Author should write his reply

The SECRETARY said that the Author might be able to send him some notes on the subject. He (the Secretary) had been rather anxious to speak, but under the circumstances he would not be able to

The proceedings then terminated

Mr SEN GUPTA writes as follows

I am in full sympathy with the suggestion made by the Chairman that agriculture should be taught in rural schools. Even a "smattering" of agriculture gained at the village primary school cannot fail to be of use both to the future farmer and the farm labourer of India. An intelligent farm labourer, capable of taking a genuine interest in his work on the land, is obviously to be preferred to another who has no interest in the land beyond earning his living. I believe the village primary school should be able to do much in the way of arousing such an interest in its scholars. I would, however, not go so far as to agree with another speaker who suggested that agriculture should occupy a place similar to that of a second language in all schools. I do not think such an arrangement is either practicable or desirable. We have no intention of becoming a nation of agriculturists only, although agriculture will always remain our chief industry. Agriculture, as a compulsory subject in school education, will simply be wasted on those who are going to follow other pursuits of life than agricultural. Moreover, agriculture is not a subject, but rather a conglomeration of subjects which are best taught in schools especially set apart for the purpose, if the teaching is to be of any use to those who are past the elementary school stage.

In spite of the Chairman's remark that large holdings are a mistake I still adhere to the belief that the future of India's agriculture lies in extensive farming conducted by men possessing capital and initiative. Perhaps it would have been better if I advocated something even larger than an average English farm—something similar to the industrialized farm recommended by Sir A. D. Hall in his "Agriculture after the War". Small holdings, without co-operation, are the very negation of improvement and progress. Even when backed by the most efficient co-operative organization, it is a question whether they are as productive of good results as large farms capable of using all the resources of science.

More speakers than one have pointed out the necessity of protecting cows from being slaughtered. I hope they are not labouring under the misapprehension that I have favoured their slaughter. Even in a pre-eminently beef-eating country like England, cows are never slaughtered until they are useless as milk producers. We shall certainly not think of adopting in India the uneconomical method of killing cows for the production of meat so long as they are yielding milk.

It has been remarked that we should decrease our head of live-stock,

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especially cattle, owing to the insufficient grazing capacity of the land. Would it not be wiser to find a different solution to the problem?—namely, to increase the grazing capacity of the land which, coupled with a liberal use of concentrated foods, will allow of even an augmented head of live-stock being comfortably and profitably maintained on the land. Scientific agriculture is not powerless in the matter of improving pastures and meadows, but before any advance can be made in this direction it is essential that the country must wake up to the importance of developing our sadly neglected live stock as one of the two fundamental branches of agriculture.

There are many other points to which replies might be given, but as I do not propose to write another paper, they must be left alone.

## INDIA AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

BY KANHAYALAL GAUBA

THE Covenant of the League of Nations, with which I am particularly concerned to-day, forms the first part of the Treaty of Peace signed at the Palace of Versailles on the 28th of June this year (The Treaty is a voluminous document running into nearly 450 different articles) The Covenant is a short and brief affair of 26 Articles, but if we add to this the Labour sections (Part XIII, Arts 387-487, of the Treaty), which form an essential supplement to the Covenant of the League, we have a total of nearly 70 articles

Even the most casual observer will not have failed to notice the remarkable contrast between Part I and the rest of the fifteen Parts of the Treaty—excepting, of course, Part XIII The Treaty of Peace is, as it were, split into two irreconcilable and well-marked divisions It is the work of two men Two ideals, two visions, two outlooks pervade it The first part belongs to youth and the time yet to come, to liberalism and hope, the second to age, to the centuries which have sped, to conservatism and distrust of the destinies of man Just as the future and the past are irreconcilable, as the minds of the great President of the United States and the old Premier of France are irreconcilable, even so is the Covenant of the League of Nations incommensurable with the terms of "peace." With these terms of peace I am not here concerned, nor do I propose to discuss them, except those very few which are relevant to our discussion to-day—I mean the terms affecting directly or indirectly the continent of Asia.

After five years of terrible warfare, the world calls a halt and mankind takes a reckoning Where do we stand?

On the brink of a precipice, on the verge of not only national calamity, but world-tragedy The world must be saved

The Covenant of the League of Nations is the outcome of this desire The world must be saved The old order has failed, a new era must be inaugurated But even to-day, after all the lessons of the past, we find people talking of alliances Why not form an alliance (as indeed there has been formed, I am sorry to say) between England, France, and the United States? You would secure the peace of the world immediately Would you? These people do not understand that the very principle of alliances is wrong and doomed to failure It has always failed, and it will always fail To create one alliance is to help to create an opposing alliance You can never convince the world that the alliance you form is merely for the preservation of peace What guarantee is there? Your good intentions they would not accept, for is not even the way to hell paved with good intentions? If you can form an alliance with good intentions, so can others If you can build armaments with good intentions, why not others? No, this whole principle is evil—fundamentally amiss The world has run on a wrong gear for centuries, the gear must be changed, the strings we have played have been out of tune, hence the discord To change the tune is not enough we want new strings, a new bow, and new music The world wants, not an alliance of one or two nations, not a combination of one or two peoples, but a League of all the nations, a combination of every State and people, irrespective of creed, colour, or nationality We want a League, not of men, but of mankind *Si vis pacem, para pacem*

Readers of history will know that the idea of the League of Nations is not in the least a new one A league of nations is merely an extension of the principle of international convention and law Pierre Dubois, in 1305, suggested a combination of all Christian countries for the furtherance of peace and prevention of war by the establish-

ment of a Court of Arbitration to settle differences which might arise between the members of his League. Antoine Marini, the Chancellor of Bohemia, propounded a similar scheme a century and a half later. He advocated, not only an alliance of all Christian States, but also the establishment of a supreme Congress in Basle. Emerie Crucée, in 1623, in expounding his plans for a League of Nations, wanted, not an alliance of Christian States, but an alliance—if you can so call it—of all the existing States in the world, with a Federal Council in Venice. There have been since many similar attempts, such as the Holy Alliance, but I have scarcely time to deal with them here, sufficient is it to say that the first *real* foundation of a League was laid at the Hague in the shape of the two Conventions.

The present Convention is almost entirely based on General Smuts' now famous book. It is not my business to-day to defend or discuss the principles on which the Covenant is based. These have already been eloquently enunciated by others better fitted to do so than myself. Moreover I feel that to restate the arguments in favour of a League of Nations would be merely pronouncing myself a back-number. I regard the League as an accepted fact, and as such I now propose to deal with it as briefly as possible.

The object of the League is, according to the preamble of the Covenant, to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security. This the members of the League hope to accomplish by accepting obligations not to resort to war: firstly, by adopting open and honourable relations among themselves, and, secondly, by treating as sacred all international understandings and treaty obligations.

Thus the terms of reference of the League are numerous. Its functions, according to the Covenant as accepted by the Paris Conference, are (1) the limitation of armaments, (2) settlement of international disputes, (3) the granting of mandates and their supervision, and (4) miscellaneous

duties, such as the solution of labour questions, trade, industry, traffic in women and children, and so on. As time goes on the duties of the League will become still more manifold.

The working of the League is to be effected through the instrumentality of an Assembly and a Council, with a permanent Secretariat. The Assembly will be composed of the representatives of the members of the League (at present thirty-one States). To these we add fifteen more who have already been invited to accede to the Covenant. They will all probably signify their assent either before or soon after the first meeting of the League. While the Assembly is open to *all* members accepting the Covenant, the membership of the Council is limited. The composition, to begin with, will consist of the representatives of the five Great Powers and the representatives of four States elected by the Assembly. The functions of the Secretariat are what they usually are, but one clause in Art. 7 is worthy of note. It runs: "All positions under or in connection with the League, including the secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women." *Eternal Woman!*

The Covenant makes elaborate provisions for the settlement of disputes, and, if the members of the League endeavour to follow in the spirit of the Covenant and international justice, war is virtually impossible. The limitation of armaments, coupled with efficient machinery for the enforcement of obligations and decisions, make the League a powerful instrument in the maintenance of international peace.

As the Covenant now stands, the following Asiatic countries, being signatories of the Treaty of Peace, are thus original members of the League: Japan, China, India, Siam, and a part of Syria under the King of the Hedjaz, and among those invited to accept the Covenant, Persia is the only Asiatic country. Persia accepting, as she most probably will, we can divide Asia almost perfectly into two parts, one half represented on the League and the

other not The dividing line runs from the Sea of Okhotska along the Yabloni mountains to the Pamir Plateau, then southward along the eastern slopes of the Hindukush to Kelat, then westward to the Elburz Mountains and the Caspian Sea, and finally terminating at Aleppo and the coast of Palestine Countries south and east will be represented in the near future at the seat of the League, those to the north and west not yet The unrepresented States south of the Line will be Nepal, Bhutan, Cambodia and Annam, States unrepresented north and west of the Line will be Russia-in-Asia, Afghanistan and Turkey

I have often held that if there is an eighth wonder of the world the privilege of its possession belongs to my country The absence of all Indian interest in affairs outside the boundaries of India is, forsooth, a wonder—to some a marvel of colossal dimensions It was only the other day that I wished to discuss the position of India as a member of the League with an eminent Indian politician, but what was my surprise to find that he had not even read the Covenant (the treaty was published nearly a year ago) ! I then asked him if he didn't consider India's entry into the field of international diplomacy as one of the most momentous events of modern times He replied, so long as India got poetry as a transferred subject in Mr Montagu's Bill he did not mind and did not care what else happened !

I did not blame him. Being an Indian, I could understand him perfectly Did not history corroborate his point of view ? Of course it did From Vedic times down to this year of grace 1920, has India ever aspired to a large empire ? have Indians ever desired to go beyond the frontiers of their country and colonize other lands ? have Indians ever wished to cross the ocean highways and have dominions beyond the sea ? There have been outbursts here and there, scattered in time and scattered in place, but nothing definite, nothing consecutive, nothing real We have always desired to die within the borders of

our own land We have had no ambitions beyond the ambitions to compose poems and discuss metaphysics The material aspect of life has never presented itself to our minds Although we have from time immemorial been subjected to innumerable foreign invasions, religious persecutions and political servitude, the flow of our rhyme and rhythm has not been checked, and poems we still prefer to a Government

If this was deplorable in the past it is still more so to-day India cannot afford to be oblivious of the world around her India must either move or "go under" The tests of modern life and international existence are keen and severe, and it is only the fittest who will survive India as a national unit is not enough, India must be an international unit It is not enough that her problems are of national importance, her problems must be of international importance Japan realized the significance and importance of breaking the shell of antiquated ideas and tradition, and emerging into the world of competition She made up her mind in 1854, within a year of the first Perry incident Her struggle for recognition was bitter (the story of her remarkable career of success sounds like a fairy tale) But India has already been "recognized," and her original membership of the League of Nations makes her position in the sphere of international relations singularly fortunate

India's new position under the League calls for the most thorough restatement of the theories of Indian policy and the future of Indian diplomacy It may be argued that until India is mistress within her own borders all talk of international relations is out of the question I venture to deny the force of this argument, but even if I were to admit it, I would still hold that it is the duty of India to make herself heard and her influence felt in foreign affairs, and particularly in questions affecting the peace of Asia The theories of her internal government also want radical alteration, and the political outlook must be different.



I will endeavour to show, taking the problems point by point, that the prospects of the future are not half so gloomy as they may appear at first sight

The manner of India's representation at the Assembly of the League is a matter for conjecture Who will represent her? We must bear in mind that a maximum of three representatives is allowed, but each country has not more than one vote The obvious interpretation of this is that these representatives will not have any private discretion, but will speak and vote as ordered by their respective Governments (an existing principle of international diplomacy) This is one of the faults of the Covenant which I have refrained from emphasizing in the hope that the League will itself rectify the shortcomings of the Covenant In the meantime we must accept the Covenant as it stands

India is to have three representatives and one vote The first question which presents itself is the question of representation Who is to represent her? In the Peace Conference she was represented by the Secretary of State in person, Lord Sinha, and the Maharajah of Bikanir A better combination at the time could hardly have been possible (Lord Sinha was not a signatory of the Treaty of Peace) It is scarcely probable that in the future such a successful combination would be possible, or, even if it were possible, that it would work

The Councils under the new Reform Bill have set up, for the first time in the annals of British India, an elected majority to control and have a voice in matters affecting the government and administration of India It is not likely that this elected majority will for long content itself with the functions assigned to it under the new Government of India Bill They would justly claim the right to elect, or, at the very least, to have a say in the election or choice of the representative or representatives to the League Nominations in the face of a hostile elected majority will be neither feasible nor desirable But there is another

point we must bear in mind The Assembly of the League may reject by a majority vote the credentials of representatives not having the support of the Councils in India. This would be an unpleasant pass

It is not an improbable supposition that for some time to come, at any rate, the Secretary of State will be one of the representatives for India in the Assembly of the League He will co-ordinate the views of the Cabinet and the Government of India It is also natural to expect that of the other two, one will be an Indian prince and one a commoner In the selection of this last mentioned, Indian public opinion will naturally claim a voice, and it cannot be denied that before long this member of the delegation will have to be elected

My mention of a prince in the Indian delegation raises a somewhat moot point So far, in Imperial Conferences and in the Peace Conference, the nomination of a prince to represent the States was an affair entirely between the India Office and the Government of India Northern India, which is so sparse in great commoners, is evidently rich in brilliant princes<sup>1</sup> For are not both Bikanir and Patiala in Northern India<sup>2</sup> But jealousy was never a crime among princes<sup>1</sup> However, selection by nomination will not for long do, election will have to be substituted Who said democracy was a dead-letter<sup>2</sup>

The Delhi Conferences revealed a significant fact—that the Princes of India had no longer a desire to keep themselves separate and apart, but to co-ordinate one with another This is a happy sign The Indian States have so far been regarded and have acted as separate units, but in the exigencies of modern times they have come together, and they desire to come still further together The conferences have crystallized into a permanent institution The new Chamber of Indian Princes has no executive power, but it will, no doubt, elect a member to represent it at the League.

Having considered the question of the membership of the

Indian legation at the seat of the League, let us consider briefly India's position in Asia

The growth of Japan in the last half-century is a matter not only for surprise and wonder, but, one must admit, for fear and alarm, too. It was only in 1862 that Japan was invaded and bombarded by European vessels of war, and to-day, scarcely sixty years after, Japan stands in the foremost rank of the Great Powers of the world, threatening not only to swamp the Powers around her, but to overrun the world itself. It is not so very long ago I was reading the text of a secret treaty between Germany and Japan, signed on the one hand by a certain obscure Japanese plenipotentiary named Oda, and on the other by Lutzius, the German Ambassador from Berlin. The authenticity of this treaty has been repeatedly denied, but with evidence from Japanese and other sources, and taking into consideration various facts of current events, the existence of such a treaty is not at all improbable. The first Article gives the clue to the whole of this wonderful document. It runs: "Both High Contracting Parties bind themselves, as soon as the world's political situation permits, to help the third Party, Russia, to obtain under their direction the settlement of her internal affairs and the position of a world Power." Of the three States mentioned, Japan is the only one which could act as the Good Samaritan. Germany, by herself, could not rise again for at least half a century to come, and it is the same with Russia, but with the aid of a friendly Power they could both stand on their legs again in a comparatively short time. The question is not whether they must rise again or not, for it goes without saying that the future of international relations will indeed be a sad affair without the co-operation of Germany and Russia, but the real question is, which Power is to give the helping hand? Great Britain, France, and Italy are cooped up with prejudice and hatred, America is busy solving her own internal affairs, the only remaining Power is, therefore, Japan. While Europe is committing *felo de se*, Japanese

imperialism grows more and more Think of it Japan helping to rejuvenate Germany and Russia! Think of it! We might as well drop Germany and Russia out of our discussion and speak of a Japanese Empire stretching, at first, from the North Sea to the Sea of Okhotska, and then from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, everything inclusive

Can this be avoided? Is it possible to evolve the future of the world on different lines? I think it is In Europe the only solution is the immediate entry of Russia and Germany into the League—the helping hand being not Japanese but European—and in Asia, future peace lies in the hands of China and India

China, I am afraid, is nearly out of our grasp Shantung has been made over, and in a few years China will follow, and then, one by one, the remaining Asiatic States must pass into the Yellow fold This disaster, in my opinion, can also be averted In the near future India's membership of the League is not enough she must be able to defend her country Her frontiers must be secure and her shores protected, and the air above her impregnable With India safe, Asia is safe, with India lost, Asia is lost There is no better guarantee for the continent of Australia than an awakened, enlightened and prosperous India

Did I not just now say that one of the necessities for the peace of Asia was that India's frontiers should be secure? With Afghanistan making sporadic invasions and incursions into India, any further disarmament of India (she is anything but armed) would be incompatible with national safety Afghanistan is neither a member of the League, nor has she expressed any desire to become one Her inhabitants are wild and ignorant, and live mainly by the sword The frontiers between India and Afghanistan are infested with countless independent, lawless tribes, who admit no convention except the right of war, and they keep the peace only so long as they are paid to do it—and not often then During the last year their activities have caused not a little anxiety in the Punjab and Northern India in general.

Lord Curzon may have many shortcomings, but certainly weakness is not one of them. He may have committed many errors and misjudgments in his administration of the internal affairs of India, but one can never accuse him of having committed any error or misjudgment in the administration of India's foreign relations. His frontier policy was sound. Lord Chelmsford is an entirely different man. If strength is malady, the present Governor-General is undoubtedly healthy. I am not here concerned with Lord Chelmsford's internal administration of India, nor would I care to encroach upon that theme, but few, I believe, will disagree that the Governor-General's foreign policy has, as a whole been a failure. The treaty negotiated with Afghanistan by Sir Hamilton Grant on behalf of the Government of India is one of the most short-sighted and stupid affairs in the history of modern India.

The treaty which has just been concluded with Persia bears, on the other hand, an entirely different stamp. It is Curzonian through and through. It carries the impression of the hand of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The treaty is a strong "affair"—in fact, so strong that it runs the danger of being disallowed by the League.

The provisions of this treaty are unquestionably sweeping in their character. Although I cannot personally see that it amounts to a mandate for Persia, it is not unlike the beginning of an Egyptian Protectorate. The clauses of the treaty briefly are

- 1 The British Government reaffirms once again its respect for the independence and integrity of Persia.
- 2 The British Government will supply at the cost of the Persian Government the services of experts for the conduct of administration ,
- 3 The British Government will also supply at the cost of the Persian Government whatever arms and munitions may be necessary to preserve law and order in Persia and to protect her frontiers ,

4. The British Government will provide a loan for which adequate security must be provided by the Persian Government ,
- 5 The loan of £2,000,000 is granted to Persia provided she pays an interest of 7 per cent , while making this interest and the sinking fund the first charge upon certain of her revenues ,
- 6 The British Government promises its help and support in various economic and industrial schemes and enterprises

One million pounds out of the loan of two millions comes from the pocket of the Indian taxpayer What is his position in regard to it ?

While leaving you to ponder over this question, I pass on to the question of mandates Slightly over a year ago Sir Sidney Olivier, in a pamphlet published by the Oxford University Press, pleaded for the protection of what he termed "primitive peoples" by the League of Nations His appeal was couched in sincere and eloquent terms Sir Sidney was quite right when he said "Whatever agreement the League may be able to reach for the limitation of armaments among the Powers, the safeguards against the oppression of primitive peoples under European overlordship must be absolute under penalty of forfeiture "

For the purpose of protecting people not yet able to stand on their own legs, the Covenant of the League introduces the principle of mandates, whereby advanced nations, on account of their resources, experience, or geographical position, accept the tutelage of backward countries on behalf of the League Central Africa, the islands of the Pacific, Armenia, and Mesopotamia are conspicuous examples of countries in which this new system of mandates will be employed There are many who oppose this principle of mandates, and frankly I do not like it, but at the moment, in spite of its many weak points

and grave shortcomings, it appears to be the only possible solution of a thorny problem

The future of that vast country known as Mesopotamia still remains undetermined. I believe I shall not be antagonizing anyone when I suggest that the mandate for Mesopotamia should be entrusted to India. There are some who have advocated this on the grounds that Mesopotamia was conquered by Indian soldiers, but Indian soldiers never embarked on any conquest, and those who believe in the League of Nations know of no conquest—other than the conquest of hearts<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand, there are many who are against this proposition for reasons which, to say the least, are vague. Personally I cannot see a more suitable or feasible solution of the problem than granting the mandate to India. Somebody *has to* take the responsibility of the task of the development of Mesopotamia, and European nations are alien in temperament, outlook and manners. The choice thus falls to Asia, and which country is better fitted to perform this duty than India?

I have already mentioned once or twice that Part XIII of the Treaty of Peace (Arts 387-487) forms an integral part of the Covenant of the League of Nations. Part XIII is generally termed the Labour Covenant, and the Articles in this part and one Article in Part I form one of the most remarkable documents ever penned by the hand of man. (Just as the League of Nations is a lasting tribute to the genius of President Wilson, so is the Labour Covenant a testimony to Mr. Barnes.) As the preamble says the High Contracting Parties, moved by sentiments of justice and humanity, as well as a desire to secure the peace of the world, agree to the Labour Covenant. The objects of this Covenant are the regulation and standardization of the hours of work, the prevention of unemployment, the provision of an adequate living wage for every workman, the protection of the poor from sickness and disease, and also the protection of women and young children and the care of the old and injured. The traffic in human beings is

also a matter of concern for the League of Nations. The conditions of labour in India under this Covenant must undergo a radical change. What more happy omen can there be for the Asiatic labourer than India and Japan accepting (during the Washington Conference) the eight-hour day?

Before I bring to a close this rapid survey, I must encroach for a very few minutes on your patience in order to sum up India's position as a factor of Asiatic peace. I believe it was Tolstoy who said "I see Europe in flames." Nogi carried on the prophecy by declaring that the second great war would be in Asia. Looking at things as they are, it certainly does not appear improbable that the next great conflict will be waged east of the Ural Mountains. The centre of this conflict, if it comes about, will undoubtedly be India. Already events are moving to that end. The discontent in the Mohammedan world over the unsettled fate of Turkey, the alliance between the Afghans and the Soviet Government of Moscow, coupled with the latest exhibitions of Japanese Imperialism in Shantung, all point to a general Asiatic conflagration in the near future. Of the countries that would suffer, India would probably suffer most.

I have already pointed out the stern necessity of a strong frontier between India and Afghanistan. To safeguard her coasts, India wants a fleet compatible with her national safety. Personally I have always felt that fleets scattered in different parts of the world are better safeguards to a far-flung Empire than a fleet, however powerful, concentrated at a single point, and nothing has made me happier than to see that Lord Jellicoe, in his Australian Report (published recently), takes the same view. India could well afford to equip and man a large enough fleet to defend her shores. Both Australia and India are fortunate in having natural safeguards. The Pacific Islands form a protective belt, (they could be effectively mined in case of war), and the Straits of Malacca could be easily defended by a con-



centration of the Indian and Australian Fleets at Singapore With the limitation of armaments, a couple of small fleets should be sufficient to keep the peace in the Pacific

I am sorry President Wilson had to abandon his "point" regarding the freedom of the seas For myself I cannot see what great objection can be raised to this principle, as the days of fleets are numbered Of all forms of national armament, navies will be the first to be abolished, since there will be no use for them Lord Fisher, while "scrapping the lot" of the Fleet, pins his hope on submarines alone I feel I can go a step further and scrap the submarines too ! To cross the ocean highways in the near future in anything else except an aeroplane would be pronouncing oneself an antiquated fossil ! The transport of cargo through the air is only a matter of a few years, and the freedom of the seas would be the natural sequence of events, since ships would automatically pass out of use In the meantime we want a decentralization of the British Fleet

The real safeguards, however, to Asiatic peace will be the League of Nations Firm and abiding peace will only be a certainty when every nation realizes and believes or is convinced that its safety lies, not in its armament but in its disarmament This also can only be when every State is a member of the League Therefore, just as the crux of the question of European peace hinges on the admission of the Central Powers into the fold of the League, so does the peace of Asia depend on the immediate admission of Russia and Turkey To toy with Russia and Turkey is playing with fire Mohammedan feeling must not be injured, it must be appeased If handled with statesmanship it can become the bedrock of Asiatic stability, if handled with prejudice the pyre of Asiatic prosperity For this reason I have always believed that Egypt and Ireland should be given seats on the League analogous to those of Persia and India.

Finally, I have one note of warning to sound The

co-operation and sympathy of Asiatic peoples in general with the aims and object of the League of Nations can be but half-hearted until that great principle of the equality of races is recognized. From an authentic account of the Peace Conference it appears that the amendment known as the Japanese amendment to the draft of the Covenant was not opposed by the members of the American delegation, it had the support of the priests from Whitehall, the members of the Indian delegation welcomed it, but the amendment was rejected. None other than one of our own dominions was responsible for it. There is, however, nothing in the Covenant to prevent the issue being brought up again, and it is likely that the equality of races will be recognized. It must be

I have tried to deal with the League of Nations in Asia, with special reference to India. My survey, owing to the exigencies of time and circumstances, has been necessarily rapid and very incomplete, but if I have succeeded in convincing at least some of you, and in particular some of my countrymen, that the Covenant is no wild-cat scheme, and that the League is not some fantastic creation, or figment of the imagination of madmen, I amply fulfil my task. Those who distrust the League on account of the provisions of Article 10 (under this Article the integrity of India in case of an Afghan invasion is guaranteed by the League) may take an assurance from one who has studied the Covenant with some care, that there is absolutely nothing in the document which fixes the *status quo in æternum*. The very objects of the League are to alter the *status quo* of States without war, and to give liberty to subject peoples without revolution. Nobody is so foolish as to suggest that the Covenant as it stands is perfect, or the League of Nations as constituted ideal, but it is a beginning. Let us give it a chance, and not only a chance, but our active aid and co-operation, so that it may succeed in the great task before it, and secure to the world international peace and mutual goodwill. We must remember that the history of the world

## *India and the League of Nations*

is the history of the decay of empires Egypt, Persia, China, Greece, Rome, Spain, France, all have seen their empires rise and fall I remember towards dusk one evening, scarcely more than a year and a half ago, I was standing in the courtyard of the Palazzo Senatorio in Rome, gazing on perhaps the most wonderful and awe-inspiring sight I had ever seen It was the sight of Rome crumbled to the dust—a heap of ruins In the evening twilight I could discern a pillar here and a column there, a pile of bricks in this corner and a heap of sand in that “Is this the Forum?” I asked Yes, it was the Forum—the Forum of ancient Rome This was all that was left of that Mistress of the World, the City of the Seven Hills, the Eternal City Yes, that Rome a heap of dust Yes, that Forum a pile of mouldering ruins The Palace of the Cæsars, where was it? I peered through the evening gloom Just a vague outline of it I could see It was like a ghost enshrouded in mystery, dead as the night Its lights were extinguished Rome’s lights were extinguished

“THEY THAT TAKE THE SWORD SHALL PERISH BY THE  
SWORD ”

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the East India Association, which was held at the Lincolnshire Room, 7A, Tothill Street, Westminster, S W, on Monday, April 19, 1920, a paper was read by Kanhayalal Gauba, Esq, entitled "India and the League of Nations" Major David Davies was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present Sir William Ovens Clark, Mr Robert H Cust, Lady Kensington, Lady Katharine Stuart, Major General Count A Spiridovitch, Mr W Coldstream, К-1 Н, Miss Burton, Miss Simms, Mr D N Bannerjea, Miss M Sorabjee, Mrs Jackson, Miss Addey, Mr F Whelan, Mr and Mrs H R H Wilkinson, Mr G Prasad, Miss Vertue, Mr I N Thakor, Mr and Mrs H. R. Cook, Miss Mary Morgan, Mr W Frank, Mr W O Clayton Greene, Mrs Drury, Miss E St John Wileman, Mr F C Channing, 1 c s (retired), Miss Hopley, Mrs Hyde, Mr Duncan Irvine, 1 c s (retired), Miss F R Scatterd, Colonel F S Terry, Miss Collis, Mr H R James and son, Mr and Mrs P D Robertson, Colonel and Mrs Aplin, Mr J B Hall, Mr H L Leach, Miss H M Howsin, Mr G E R Grant Brown, 1 c s (retired), Mr C Leo Parker, Mr J S Dhunjibhoy, Mr F Grubb, Mr F H Brown, Mr K B L Seth, Mr F J P Richter, Mr E H Tabak, and Mr J B Pennington, acting as Hon Secretary

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and gentlemen, I have much pleasure in coming here this afternoon to take the chair, and I desire to thank the Association very cordially for their kind invitation I am afraid I must plead great ignorance about India, but I am particularly interested in the future and success of the League of Nations, and therefore I was extremely pleased to accept the invitation to come here to-day I have come to hear a most interesting lecture from Mr Gauba, who, as you are aware, is a student at Cambridge University, and has already made a name for himself by delivering several interesting lectures on questions connected with India I feel sure we all appreciate the great work which the East India Association is doing in bringing us together, and giving the people of this country an opportunity of meeting their friends from India in order to discuss questions in which we are all vitally interested, and we are very much indebted to Mr Gauba for coming this afternoon I am sure he will give us a most instructive address, and I have now great pleasure in calling upon him to read his paper

The paper was then read

The CHAIRMAN I find that the next item on the agenda is an address by the Chairman, and I rise to express your feelings and to thank Mr Gauba for his very excellent paper It is full of new thoughts and new ideas We might not perhaps agree with all he says, but, at any rate,

it provides us with food for reflection, and I am sure we are very grateful to him for the great care he has taken and the amount of work which it must have taken to prepare so very interesting and instructive a document

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I will not take up your time more than a few minutes, but there are one or two points which we hope to discuss at this meeting, and, if I may say so, I think it is a very fortunate choice of a subject for discussion—the position of India with regard to the League of Nations

I do not think any subject is of greater importance, especially at this time when the whole future of the League of Nations appears to be in the melting-pot. Mr Gauba has told us in his paper that in India there is a good deal of apathy towards what we call “foreign affairs.” I am afraid that is true, not only of India, but of a great many other countries in the world, and, perhaps, only too true of our own country. We know that before the war foreign affairs were regarded as the special preserve of the Foreign Office, the diplomatist, and a few distinguished individuals who were supposed to know all about our relationships with the peoples of other countries. The ordinary person in the street, even an ordinary member of Parliament, was not supposed to know anything about the subject. If the war has taught us anything at all, it has taught us that the interests of every citizen and every elector in the country, his whole future and his own personal interests, are indissolubly bound up with the question of what is called “foreign policy,” which is simply our relationship, as a people, with the peoples who inhabit other countries in the world. There is no very great mystery about it. The people of this country and every other country ought to understand, and ought to try and understand, the principles upon which the conduct of foreign affairs is to be carried on in their names and on their behalf. They should gain a clear understanding, and impress that understanding upon their respective Governments, in order that we may secure in the future a more intelligent interest in all that appertains to our foreign relationships. I sincerely hope that that will also be the case in India, in spite of the fact that our friend here tells us that up to now Indians have been more engrossed in their home affairs than in their relationships with other peoples abroad.

I should like to make two observations, if I may, with regard to this question of India and the League of Nations. The first is, that some people tell us—and I suppose they have very good authority for doing so—that India is not a nation, but a group of nations, and that India will never be a nation. I do not know how much there is to be said for that point of view, but, at any rate, we have an absolute fact before us at the present moment—that is, that India has been recognized as a nation in the Covenant of the League. India has been singled out as one of the countries which is to have representatives upon the Assembly of the League. I agree with Mr Gauba that that is a great outstanding fact, and one which should thrill the people of India with pride. They have been definitely recognized in the Covenant, and the responsibility of sending their

nominees to represent them on the League is one which is definitely laid down in the Covenant.

The second point is this We know that the Covenant of the League of Nations has introduced what is called a "mandatory system" I do not know that the mandate is the only instrument or organization by which international control can be exercised I do not think it is, but, at any rate, it is one of the methods which have been laid down in the Covenant for dealing with those countries which are thought to be in a position to be unable to govern themselves Certain countries have been definitely assigned the duties of acting as trustees for those peoples As I understand it, the object is gradually to create the necessary conditions whereby these peoples may, in course of time—it may be a long process—but in course of time may be able to manage their own affairs, and may become self-governing communities That means, it seems to me, that what has hitherto been known as the right of conquest has been, once and for all, abolished The right of conquest has been repudiated in the provisions of the Covenant, and I should have thought that all were prepared to realize that condition of things as far as other countries are concerned The same principle in reality applies to our position in regard to India We can only regard ourselves as trustees for the interests, welfare, prosperity and progress of the peoples of India.

I think that theory is definitely recognized in Mr Montagu's Bill, which seeks to set up a progressive system whereby, in the future, the time will arrive when the people of India will become a self governing community

Those are two points on which I think it would be very interesting to have a discussion this afternoon Another matter which I want to mention is this There are a great many of us who believe that no League of Nations can become a reality, or ever become a success, or can ever achieve the objects for which the Covenant has been drawn up, unless working side by side in every country which becomes a member of the League is a great voluntary organization which will protect the principles of the League, and carry on a violent propaganda, a strenuous propaganda, in order to mould public opinion, when necessary, on behalf of the principles and the work of the League of Nations In this country there is an organization called the League of Nations Union It is a purely voluntary society, which embraces all the political parties in the country The duty of this association is to try and instil into the minds of the people of this country the principles and the basis upon which the League of Nations rests, by creating branches in different parts of the country, by enrolling members, by lectures, public meetings, and by other forms of propaganda. We hope that, in course of time, not only hundreds and thousands, but millions of our fellow-countrymen will be definitely enrolled as protagonists of the League If the opportunity arises, and if by any chance the day comes when the interests of the League are menaced, those supporters will rise as one man to protect and assist the League of Nations, and to bring the necessary pressure to bear upon whatever Government is in office at that time

Now, ladies and gentlemen, this Society has already endeavoured to

form a liaison with similar associations in America, France, Italy, Serbia, and in many other countries in the world. In all those countries similar organizations exist for this very purpose. We think it would be of inestimable value if a similar voluntary organization also existed in the Dominions and in the Great Empire of India. It is only by bringing home to the Indian people themselves the functions of the League of Nations and its mission in the world, by educating them up to the standards of the League, by informing them of what the League is doing, by focussing public opinion in India and other countries, and by working in the closest co-operation with similar societies in other countries, that we can ensure that the people of India will be on the side of the League. As we have been told by the Lecturer, this is a critical time in the history of his country. This is a time when new forces are beginning to work, when strong inducements will be held out to ignore the ideals of the League and to embark on Chauvinistic and other campaigns.

Mr Gauba mentioned the example of Japan. It appears to me that Japan and the other countries which are situated in very much the same position as India are at the parting of the ways. They can either go the way of the League of Nations or embark upon an Imperialistic policy which will take them in an opposite direction. Therefore I would ask whether it may not be possible for your Association to co-operate with the League of Nations Union, or any other Society, to assist in the establishment of a voluntary organization in India to work for the principles of the League, and to educate and mould public opinion in favour of the Covenant, with all its provisions and principles. Such an organization would strengthen the bonds which already bind the people of this country to the people of India, and would place the League of Nations on a much firmer and much more lasting foundation than it has hitherto been able to secure. I feel sure, if some action of that sort could be inaugurated, that Mr Gauba would be well requited for all the trouble he has taken in elaborating the very excellent paper which he has read to us this afternoon (Hear, hear, and applause.)

General CHEREP-SPIRIDOVITCH said that in 1913, in his book, "*Vers la Débâcle*," he had foretold the Great War in all its details, and after that he began to think how it could be avoided. He wrote another book entitled "*L'Union des Blancs*," which means "The Union or League of the White Races," and had it sent to *all* the Senators, Deputies, and editors in France. People would not believe him when he told them that war was *imminent*. In November he sent some scores of telegrams to statesmen and editors in this country, pointing out again that war was *imminent*, unless Austria would grant independence to Poland, Bohemia, Croatia, and Hungary, and receive in compensation some of those billions which would be uselessly spent in this war.

Lord Roberts was the only person among the many great people in this country who answered that he believed the General's statements.

With reference to the Lecturer's statement regarding the number of native princes who should be represented in the League, the General thought they would be better engaged in playing football, because the

League is only a "Rotten Parapet" (the *Morning Post*), and it "would not become effective before five years," as its great enthusiast, M. Albert Thomas—ex Minister of France—has confessed

But, in the General's opinion, the League would not be effective for fifty years. And England's foes would not wait, maybe, even five months.

To create at once an effective bulwark against war, a union between English speaking, Latin, and Slav nations is indispensable, and such combination was also the ideal of his old friends—Clemenceau and Theodore Roosevelt.

The actual League of Nations was to be transferred to Geneva, where only, say, 50 clerks—all C3 men—would be sent from this country, and not a single A1 Englishman among them. From the General's own knowledge and experience, it would not be very long before those entirely inexperienced individuals found themselves surrounded by, say, 5,000 anti-British agents.

The League of Nations would undoubtedly be a wonderful thing if only people would know the truth about those mysterious forces which really rule the world, and in whose hands nearly all the Prime Ministers are mere puppets.

The League would be a great ideal organization if only it resulted in the secret diplomacy of those so-called "titanic forces" being revealed (Hear, hear.)

The lecturer had said that Germany would be strong again in fifty years. In the General's opinion she would be strong again in a very short time, and she is much stronger as a Power at the present moment than many people suspect, because she can find in Russia innumerable soldiers and unlimited resources. Because of those titanic forces, Germany is able at any moment to recall, or beat, her own Bolsheviks in Russia—a "black" or "red" alliance.

The lecturer suggested that Germany should be invited into the League of Nations, but she may say that she had no wish to enter the League of Nations, and Russia, because the Allies did not help her, may also refuse that offer—to become a member of the League.

And supposing that Germany responded to this call, she would at once, thanks to the above-mentioned titanic forces, play the first violin and soon become the conductor of the League. The League, as it at present exists, really consists of England *isolated*, with perhaps some few small and insignificant Powers counterbalancing each other, because France—it seemed to the General—may be paralyzed by Italy, who cannot forget her lost jewels (Nice, Savoy, Corsica), if relations are not improved between them by the pre-war Anglo-Latino Slav League, which has transferred its headquarters to London, the world's Metropolis, and is reopening its pre-war branches—fifty in Euro-Asia—and creating fifty new branches in the three Americas, in order to prevent a renewed attempt of "Deutschland uber Alles."

With regard to Japan, it was obvious that a great Power was being created by her constant increasing of armament and by a union of Japan and China, which might result in great danger to England, France, and Russia.



The Japanese yoke is very drastic—as was proved in Korea. God save India from it !

The Japanese were already entering Siberia and may propose to China the south of all Asia and even a new invasion into Europe, as was done in 1224 by a Mongolian conqueror, Baty, who plundered Russia, Austria and Hungary, but was completely crushed by the Croatsians—in 1241 at Fiume

No one seemed to realize that Europe, and first of all Italy, had been saved in Fiume and by Croatsians

The lecturer has mentioned the statements of that great Russian genius Tolstoy, but he did not mention another still greater philosopher and thinker, F Dostoyevsky, who had prophesied “The Jews will be the death of Russia”—and they have destroyed this greatest of Empires

Now, since Mr Israel Zangwill has confessed that “the League of Nations is a mission of the Jews,” one may be sure that the British Empire would also be ruined by them in order to make for an “Israel above All.”

May God preserve India from this reign of unspeakable horror and ruin which the Jews have established in Russia, unparalleled in history !

MR I N THAKOR said that the lecturer seemed to be very enthusiastic about the League of Nations, but he had probably not heard Bernard Shaw's description of it. Many people were distrustful of it. The weakest point in the organization of the League of Nations was the non-recognition of the principle of self determination. On the one side you had an organization working for the peace of the world on the professed line of self-determination, and on the other side you had the mandated areas, which was a new word for subjected areas. If the League was to work on the principle of self determination, the best way to deal with those mandated countries would be to allow them to determine for themselves their destinies. The Chairman referred to Mr Montagu's scheme as a very successful first step. He ventured to disagree, so far as he saw it was a total failure, and under the new circumstances arising—Rowlatt Act, Amritsar atrocities, and the question of Constantinople—he felt it would fail altogether. In regard to the step to take mandated India up to self-government, if India took a different view from England on the score of its inadequacy, where was the machinery to settle this difference? If countries differed, the best way was to bring in a disinterested third party, and not to decide by voters among whom there were interested voters. The League of Nations had not provided for that disinterested machinery. In regard to the representation given to the different countries, he wished to raise a strong protest in opposition to the lecturer's remarks about the recognition granted to the native rajahs. In 1857 they perpetrated brutalities, and even to-day, with the exception of the Gaekwar of Baroda, they were callous to the interests of their people and repressive. He thought they did not deserve to be rewarded with a vote in the face of such a record, but their subjects did. To give them separate representation was to raise a suspicion in the minds of Nationalist India to the effect that an Ulster was being raised in India, and that the British Government was using the rajahs against the rising Indian democracy.

His time being up, the speaker's remarks were closed prematurely

Miss WILEMAN said they had all listened with great interest to the remarks of the Chairman and to the paper read by the lecturer. What struck one most was that at the heart and core and root of the League of Nations was a growing unity and opinion of enlightened democracy that the quarrels and contentions, the acrimony and dissension of the Old World, must pass away, and in the New World, which was now seeing light, differences could no longer be settled by the old barbarous, devastating and ruinous methods of the sword, gunpowder, machine guns, aeroplane, tank, and submarine. When they appealed to the people of Britain—labour, capital, consumers, Government and other interests—to meet round a common board to discuss with unimpassioned fairness and a strong desire for the good of the community as a whole those great problems of industrial and commercial conditions—when they found that such a state of affairs was not only coming into being, but was really giving birth to good results, could not they go a step further and ask that the nations of the world, the small as well as the large, coloured as well as white, should join around a larger and more international board in dealing with the great and vexed problems in a fair, impartial, just and humane spirit? In her opinion the growth and fostering of that principle, whether one be Tory, Bernard Shawite or Indian Nationalist, must be the force which moved one in hoping and yearning that the old bad days were a thing of the past, and that out of that terrible five years of war one might see the dawn of a new day, new emotions, new ideals and new standards of conduct which should reign satisfactorily over the world which was now before them (Hear, hear, and applause)

Lady KATHARINE STUART, in thanking the lecturer for his excellent paper, said she would like to take the opportunity of delivering a message from Dr Pollen, in which he stated he was shortly coming over to England, and had asked her to say a few words with regard to the subject of the lecture. He wished her to point out how almost preposterous it was to hope that the League would be really satisfactory until the peoples of the various nations could be placed in a position to understand one another readily, and to that end they should have an international language, easily understood by all, and he therefore asked her to try and enlist their sympathies in favour of Esperanto. She believed there was a wonderful future before the Esperanto movement. French was the language of diplomacy, but French could never be the language of all the peoples of the world. If people would give some little attention to the Esperanto movement, they would find there was a great deal more in it than they had hitherto supposed. By means of Esperanto men could get into touch with men, and Government with Government, and they could all help by taking an interest in the subject. It could be used as a vehicle for spreading a knowledge of religion amongst the different peoples of the world, and if they believed in the efficacy of the Gospel to save the world, they ought to take the most speedy and most thorough method of getting it known throughout Asia as well as throughout Europe (Hear, hear)

(Some exception having been taken to the foregoing remarks, it is here

suggested that Christian perfection surely requires a consensus of the councils and services of "all nations" If we are really to "make disciples" of all nations, and they are to do service, they need a vehicle in which to express their corporate consciousness, therefore it is surely just, reasonable, and right that there should be in use a general and international language which was not the native tongue of any particular nation In no other way could you attain to the perfection of fair play all round Esperanto is in all respects "a good and perfect gift" It has been well called "the Latin of the democracy," because by its help Government can get into touch with Government and people with people all the world over It is the perfect elimination of all self-interest from the "counsels of the saints"—K F S)

Mr DUNCAN IRVINE said that he would like to propose a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman and Lecturer for what they had said and done for them that afternoon (Hear, hear and applause)

Colonel TERRY seconded the proposition, which was carried with acclamation

The LECTURER, in reply, said there were just one or two matters he would like to clear up First of all was the question of the representation of the Native States, which had evidently created some sensation One gentleman said 'the rajahs ought to be left alone to play football, and another said they had been guilty of oppression and therefore did not deserve representation He would point out that the Native States in India constituted about one third of the country, and they surely could not omit those people from a voice in the League The feeling of democracy had spread amongst those people, and they surely could not keep out the Native States The point was to give them some sort of representation now

With regard to the question of self determination, the League at the outset did not desire to encroach upon what was known as the "sovereign right of states," nor did it desire to encroach upon what was considered to be their own internal affairs, but the League was a beginning, and impatience must be surely deplorable However, under Article 11, all questions, internal and otherwise, were declared to be a matter of concern for the League There lay the hope of subject peoples Even if it eventually resulted in republics, the principle of self-determination would before long be applied to all subject peoples That was the only solution

Then, with regard to Constantinople, that was a question which revealed to some extent the awakening interest of the people of India in foreign affairs For the first time in the history of modern India the people had exerted an influence in international politics in regard to Constantinople Although personally he differed as to the future of Constantinople, he was, nevertheless, very pleased to see the people of India exert such an influence, and exert it successfully The success of the League of Nations undoubtedly depended to a great extent upon individual effort, and it was for each of them to go forth into the world as apostles of the new creed and to preach the gospel of the League of Nations. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN suitably replied to the vote of thanks, and the proceedings then terminated

## TAMIL PROVERBS A KEY TO THE LANGUAGE AND TO THE MIND OF THE PEOPLE

BY SYDNEY GORDON ROBERTS, I C S (RETD)

THE most famous composer, compiler, and comparer of proverbs, King Solomon, has given, as the objects of those which he collected

“To know wisdom and instruction, to perceive the words of understanding, to receive the instruction of wisdom, justice, and judgment, and equity, to give subtilty to the simple, to the young man knowledge and discretion”

Those who have a less high opinion of the value of the proverb may, perhaps unconsciously, be of the party of that distinguished wit the famous Lord Chesterfield, who held that a proverb should never be uttered in the conversation of a gentleman, as being, I suppose, a mark of rusticity

We in India, at any rate, the strangers that sojourn in the land, cannot afford to be so squeamish, and we should do wisely to take the view of the King rather than that of the courtier. Solomon's proverbs are recorded as being 3,000 in number. The largest printed collection of Tamil proverbs extant when I left India, in November, 1918, gave 9,417 (nine thousand four hundred and seventeen), and the learned compiler of that “Dictionary of Tamil Proverbs,” the Rev Doctor John Lazarus, informed me once that he had got 2,000 or so more ready to be published in a second edition. The Rev P Percival, in the second edition of “Tamil Proverbs with English Translations,” gives 6,156, and the late Reverend Herman Jensen, of the Danish Mission, gives only 3,644 (three thousand six

hundred and forty-four), but his edition has invaluable cross-references, and the "Index of the First Word of Each Proverb" is followed by "An Index of Non-Initial Words from the Body of the Proverb" These indexes and the classification, in a preliminary index, of the Tamil proverbs under 350 English headings, give Jensen's "Classified Collection of Tamil Proverbs," published in 1897, a peculiar value and interest At the same time Lazarus's "Dictionary" has the charm of copiousness, and gives numerous variants and doublets, among which the student has the pleasure of choosing the one which his knowledge of the Tamil language and the Tamil country leads him to think must be the oldest or the most generally acceptable form

The mention of the Tamil country reminds me that the extent of it cannot be better defined than by a Tamil saying The country lies, I may say, in the Southern half of the Madras Presidency of India, and in nine words

"Kudakam kunaga kadal kumari tiruvēngadam, Innāngu Tamizh nāttin ellai"

(That is, "Coorg, the Bay of Bengal, Cape Comorin and Tirupati, these four [are] the bounds of the Tamil country")

To many of my audience these are the first words of the Tamil language that have fallen on their ears, to others they awake memories grave and gay In my own opinion, though the word "Tamil" means "sweet," that is the only complimentary epithet that cannot be applied to the language, it is rich, copious, and extraordinarily exact and flexible.

I do not pretend it is so copious as Chinese or Arabic I am sincerely grateful that is not the case, although one arises from a study of the Tamil dictionary with the impression that, in the poetical form of the language, no self-respecting Tamil noun fails to signify, according to the context, "a beautiful woman, a peacock, a particular preparation of arsenic"

Before leaving the subject of the relative value of these

collections of Tamil proverbs I think it is only fair to say that I believe Percival was first in the field, his collection is beautifully printed and most wisely annotated. Both his introduction and that of Jensen show clearly how an intimate knowledge of the Tamil mind, such as is obtainable by the study of the Tamil proverbs, had produced, in the Englishman as well as in the Dane, a sincere regard, affection, and respect for the Tamil people, and that is, I firmly believe, the invariable result of studying these wonderfully diversified gems and jewels from the wisdom of the East.

It is for this reason that I think it is the positive duty of those who have to do, or will have to do, with Tamil people to study Tamil proverbs. The very first introduction to them can be obtained from that charming little Tamil manual, "*Ingē Vā*" (i.e., "Come here"), a splendid guide to planting conversation that is published at the *Times of Ceylon Press*, at Colombo.

My kind friend Mr J. Leybourne Davidson first gave me a copy in 1900, and I learned by the copy of (I think) the fourteenth edition, which I bought in 1918, how much this manual had been extended and improved since it first came out.

I do not propose in this paper to give anything like a large number of examples of Tamil proverbs, it is easier to be exhausting than exhaustive. At the same time, one's own little discoveries possess a keener interest than the beaten country, and what I have observed, or think I have observed, or at least recorded, for the first time may perhaps have a greater claim on the indulgent audience before me than a repetition of what other people have set down. I propose, therefore, to include some of my own treasure-trove in the specimens of Tamil proverbs given in this paper, as well as some of the most delightfully typical of those in the printed collections.

I cannot claim to have recorded 3,000 proverbs; but, then, in wisdom I do not attempt to compete with King

Solomon ! I will only say that for some years I have held that one of the reasons why Solomon is regarded as one of the wisest men who ever lived was because he had studied proverbs so much, in which the wisdom of the East lies stored in quintessence

My own private collection of Tamil proverbs amounts to only 367 (three hundred and sixty-seven), "be the same a little more or less," as lawyers put it in documents, but anyone who has gone proverb-hunting, or who will go proverb-hunting in the future, knows, or will soon learn, how hard it is to flush the game when found, and will also be reminded continually of Captain Cuttle's saying, "The bearing of which observation lies in the application of it."

It is in the explanation of the use and bearing and "true inwardness" of Tamil proverbs that the encyclopædic Dr John Lazarus, whose 'Dictionary' has a preface which forms a wonderful treatise on the subject, is so very unsafe as a guide. Here is a man born in the country, of unwearied patience and application, which will be acknowledged by all who have occasion to roam and root about in the comfortable truffle-forest which his "Dictionary of Tamil Proverbs" displays, yet the innate difficulty of the subject is such that even Dr Lazarus has not really seized the meaning of the proverb in hundreds and hundreds of cases

The fact is, one may go for months before one gets to the bottom of some of these proverbs, Tamil people use them, but in ninety cases out of a hundred they cannot explain them. Anything like philological or etymological research or enquiry is a mere weariness to the flesh to the bulk of the people one comes across in ordinary circumstances, and, moreover, they do not know the limits of their questioner's knowledge, and so leave unexplained the very points which would clear up the whole matter

The very last of my discoveries in the way of Tamil proverbs at least emphasizes the fact that all Indians are not necessarily vegetarians. Up in Bengal the earnest

Bible woman, explaining the story of the Prodigal Son, may have to turn the fatted calf into "five different kinds of curry", but in Southern India there are millions of people who eat meat and fish. What gusto and enjoyment of good things there is in the proverb

"Sell your house and buy a shad !  
Sell your cow and buy a mullet !"

(" Vittai vittru ullam vāngukīrathu  
Māttai vittru madavai vāngukīrathu ")

I first heard this at Cuddalore, South Arcot, from District Court Translator N. Jeyarama Chettī-yar, who was explaining to Dr. Whitehead, the Bishop of Madras, all about the two images of a fish with gaping mouth, bearing Madurai Minākshī with her consort, in the Madurai Minākshī temple on the sea-shore close to Fort St. David. These fish are the *ullam* which my lamented friend Henry Wilson, Conservator of Fisheries, told me, in 1912 or so, he had conclusively proved to be the same as the American shad, whose very name, *Alosa sapidissima*, "the most tasty Alosa," has an echo of the triumphant appreciation of the Tamil proverb. The Bishop was inclined to believe that the great Minākshī, or "Fish-eyed Lady," the goddess of Madurai, is really a prehistoric fish-goddess, dating back to the time when the Vaigai bar was open and Vaigai, on the Madurai coast, was the Pandyan king's trading emporium at the river mouth. The translator, a Madurai man, laid great stress on the deliciousness of the *ullam*, as shown by the proverb, also that it was anadromous in its habits, and was only stopped by anicuts (that is dams) and other barriers, below which it grows most fat and delicious. I learned from him afterwards that its *sinai*, or roe (which he says is double), is the great delicacy. I now learn that precisely the same is true of the shad. All this confirms the identity of the shad with the *ullam*, and Henry Wilson, by elaborate arrangements, was able to prove that, just as the shad has



been transferred from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast, so the *ullam* can be introduced into the Indian western sea, which we call the Arabian Sea, from the eastern sea, which is the Bay of Bengal. Thus the *ullam* and Minākshī of Madura, of remote antiquity, are connected with the gallant Henry Wilson, who died of cholera, most sincerely mourned, in 1916 or 1917, after a life spent in preserving and increasing the food-supply of all the poor people of Southern India.

This is not the only proverb about fishing

“Tundilkāranukku takkaṭ mēl kan”

(“The angler’s eye is on his float”)

That is, “Everyone is most interested in his own affairs,” or, as Dessauer told Fanny Kemble, about the time when the first railway was opened, “Je m’intéresse extrêmement aux choses qui me regardent,” one of the neatest defences of egoism with which I am acquainted.

It is these brief little proverbs which are the most charming and the easiest to remember. I am particularly fond of

“Pālukkum kāval pūnaikkum tōzhan”

(“Guard over the milk, but also a friend of the cat’s”),

which signifies, of course, hunting with the hounds and running with the hare. This particular proverb illustrates very well how proverbs help one to a true pronunciation of Tamil and a proper rhythm in speaking. They enable one in a simple expeditious way to learn to keep one’s footing on the swaying slack-wire of an ordinary Tamil sentence. Tamil can afford so many words which have an absolute perspective, like the German word described—and illustrated—in Mark Twain’s “Tramp Abroad,” that it is extremely hard for a beginner not to trip up and crash down into meaningless syllables, just when a change in the Indian hearer’s expression is giving the speaker strong hopes that the man is getting a glimmering of an idea of

what is meant. Not a very clear idea, perhaps, but like the

“Something distinctly resembling a tune”

of the Scotch piper in the “Bab Ballads,”

“Pālukkum kāval pūnaikkum tōzhan”

You can hear the rise and fall of the scansion, it can easily be demonstrated on a blackboard, and with the help of a few hundred of such proverbs one could train the learner's ear and tongue until even the railway-station name Perumātnāyakanpālayam does not strike terror to him in the way it has petrified hundreds of English travellers on their journey to a holiday on the Nilgiri Hills. Many Tamil proverbs refer to, or are explained by, ancient folk-stories. Many years ago, when I was visiting Arcot, where Clive's sepoy's offered to live on the rice-gruel, giving the English soldiers the boiled rice (do you know, by the way, how that was possible?) I made the acquaintance of Pandit S. M. Natesa Sastriar. He said to me, “You talk Tamil pretty well, but if you really want to master colloquial Tamil, you ought, ‘though I say it as shouldn't,’ to read my collection of folk-stories, ‘Pūrva Kāla Kadaigal’—*i.e.*, ‘Tales of Ancient Days.’” I took his advice and benefited by it very greatly, and from it I learned such sayings as

“Dīpam Lakshmīkaram”

(“The lamp is the hand of Good Luck”),

and

“Chokkā, chokkā, sōr 'undō?

Choliyān vanthu keduttandō”

(“Chokkā, Chokkā, is there any rice?

The Choriyān came and spoilt it, lad”),

with the stories which illustrate and explain these and similar proverbs, the two I have mentioned emphasizing the benefit and necessity of having a light burning at night, especially at mealtime, else devils will come and snatch away the food.

One very impressive story explains the saying

“Pichaikkāranukku vaittu val.”

(“Put it by for the beggar”)

When little Tamil children enjoy something very much at supper and want their mother to keep some over for breakfast, they are not allowed to say, “Put it by for me,” but, “Put it by for the beggar,” and the story tells how a rich man was preparing, just as in the parable, to pull down his barns and build greater, when Death laughed aloud and appeared in the form of a serpent to end his life, after telling him that we receive each day's existence from God as a beggar receives alms. And so from this *uir-pichchai*, “the Alms of Life,” comes the use of “pichchaikāran” in the proverbial saying

I am also very fond of a proverb which I found in Jensen. It is another way of saying that everyone has his own point of view

“Küttādi kizhakkē parttān  
Kūlikkāran merkkē parttān”

(“The actor watched the East,  
The day labourer watched the West”)

Indian plays go on all night, so that the European spectator generally has to go off to bed, more than half dead, just as they are getting to the exciting climax of the play. For this reason the Indian actor watches the East, to see when the sun is going to rise and let him go home, whereas the day-labourer watches for sunset, so that he may stop work, get his pay, buy his provisions, and cook his supper

This proverb introduces us to our indispensable, but somewhat trying, friend the cooly, or, to give him his full name, the *kūliyāl*, or *kūlikkāran*. If one alters the words, “The hireling fleeth because he is an hireling,” into, “The cooly fleeth because he is a cooly,” one gets the full meaning of the English, and discovers that in India, from the most ancient times, the faults of the hireling, or cooly,

were just as much evident as in Palestine of old, and in some nearer countries at a less distant date I may mention that “kūli” means “hire,” so “kūlikkāran” means “he who works for hire,” just as “pīchchaikāran,” in the proverb already quoted, means, “he who receives alms” I suppose “kāṛ” is the same root as the old Scotch word “gar,” “to make,” “to do”, but I have not had an opportunity of verifying this

In Madura I came across a remarkable proverb—

“Stūpiyilirunthu kuthikkirēn endru shonnavan tūngi pōṇanām  
Vazhiyil pogura pārppān pārttu vandikkattī kondanām ”

(“The man who said, ‘I will leap from the pinnacle,’ fell asleep, they say ,

“The wayfaring parson, seeing it, yoked up his cart [bulls], they say ”)

It appears that in ancient days, when there was danger of a temple being looted, one of the priests would climb the gōpuram, or temple tower, and threaten to throw himself down and be killed, so that the guilt of his death might attach to the robbers The mere threat was generally sufficient But there is a legend that at the temple (which I have visited several times) at Tīruparankundram, two and a half miles W S -W of Madura, an English force arrived, more than a century ago, and were about to desecrate the temple in spite of the remonstrances of the priests Thereupon a man did cast himself from the lofty wedge-shaped gōpuram, or temple tower, and was killed The English (so the legend goes), realizing what a spirit of fanaticism would be aroused, stayed their hand The rock beneath which this temple stands and the gōpuram in question are illustrated in the South Indian Railway guide-book

In the actual proverb there is a reference to a story of a man who offered to take the leap somewhere, but his heart failed him, and he pretended to fall asleep , whereupon the priest thought it high time to pack up And some people say that the priest was afraid the guilt of homicide would fall on him, so he selfishly went off instead of going to try

and take the sleeper down. However that may be, the proverb exemplifies a grammatical point of the highest importance in Tamil, viz, the possession of a relative form of the verb, which takes a little time to master, but, once learnt, is a great help in composition and conversation. There are also verbal nouns which have a singular and plural and have masculine, feminine and neuter forms. Here we have the simplest relative verb form "pōgira," "who is going," a neat abbreviation for "pōy-kkond-iruntha," "who was going." I only mention this in passing, and add that "of the people who were not beaten" can be conveniently—if not briefly!—expressed in Tamil by the polysyllable "adikkapadāthavargaludaiya," which may be rendered "which belongs to them that did not suffer beating." Another word we meet in this proverb is "pārppān," literally "seer" but a colloquial and not very respectful name for "Brahmin," rather like the English use of "parson." But the feminine form of the word is the delightful Tamil word for "butterfly," which is called a *pārppārtti* on account of the gay silk dresses Brahmin ladies wear.

A very common proverb is

"Kūzhukku māngāy tōrkkumā "

("Will the mango yield to the gruel?")

It does not seem so very long ago since I had the honour of serving under our Honorary Secretary as his Sub-Collector and Joint Magistrate, at Vellore in North Arcot district, and he knows as much about "kūzh," or ragi gruel, as I do, probably even more. But for those who do not know the Tamil country, of which North Arcot forms the extreme northern end, I should explain that this ragi gruel plays a most important part in the domestic economy of the ordinary villagers. It is made of ragi flour boiled with water into a thick paste and kept until it ferments and has an acid taste. It is only ready for eating eighteen to twenty hours after it is made. Although not agreeable to

our taste, it is a splendid food, especially valuable as it can be given, in small quantities, to people who are more than half-starved without risk of making them ill, and it is therefore one of the staple foods prepared in the kitchens of famine camps. When people can afford it they add "noy," or broken rice, to the "kūzhu," and this is the case round the splendid Dūsi-Māmandūr tank (or reservoir) near Conjeeveram, which is a proof of a higher standard of living in those parts. The proverb shows that it would be absurd for the humble gruel to place itself on the level of the mango pickle on account of their common acidity, and it may refer also to the fact that mango pickle is a luxury of the well-to-do, whereas the gruel is the staple of the common labouring classes.

It is time, however, to strike a higher note. I think the following proverb is as fine an acknowledgment of Providence as I have ever met, in a rather quaint form

"Kallukkul tērayai kāppātravillaiyā."

("Did He not preserve the toad within the rock?")

One has only to be among the Tamil people at a time of undeserved misfortune to see what uncomplaining faith and trust really are. Such calamities as a fire that has burnt down half a village, or a flood that has burst the reservoir on which their crops depend, constantly reveal the fine qualities of heart and mind which crystallize into their best proverbs. Of course there is plenty of rustic sarcasm. When the Tamil wishes to say that all men are liars, he observes

"Kurang 'ellām oru muham "

("All monkeys have one face")

But against this we may fairly set the delicious proverb, familiar to all students of Ingē Vā, that is, to a vast majority of planters in Ceylon and the Malay States

"Kurangukkum tan kutti pon kutti "

("Even to the monkey its own baby is a golden baby")

The monkey figures pretty often in the Tamil proverbs, as it does in the high Tamil version of the immortal Panchatantra, the original (I believe) of Pilpay's Fables.

For instance

"Sēṇṇanukku yēn kurangu "

(" Why should a weaver keep a monkey?")

It would only damage his work

Another proverb, on compulsion, lets us into some of the secrets of animal training in its simplest form

"Tadī āḍa kurangu āḍum "

(" As the stick dances the monkey will dance ")

The dog does not always come out well in Indian proverbs His value as a sentinel is well recognized, and he is extremely well treated by shepherds, but in the generality of cases the dog appears as a yelping cur, bringing annoyance, defilement, and even a sign of death wherever he goes

The dog enters so much, and so differently, into English life and thought that to recapitulate a few Tamil proverbs illustrates very remarkably the difference between the villagers' point of view and ours, though they recognize, as another proverb shows, the difference between the squire's dog and their own

Our first one is the most common

"Nāyāi kkandāl kallaḷi kkānōm

Kallaḷi kkandāl nāyāi kkānōm "

" If we see a dog we can't see a stone,

And if we see a stone we can't see a dog ")

One never finds things when one wants them is the meaning of the proverb , because in India one stoops down to pick up a stone to drive a dog away, and the mere act of stooping is often sufficient.

But here is a more kindly proverb, about fussy people

"Nāyḱḱu vēlayum illai

Nirḱḱiratharku nēramum illai "

(" The dog has no work [to do] and no time to stop ")

I think that shows a very nice observation So does the next one

“Nāyaḷ valarttu naragalum varuvanēn ?”

(“When I keep a-dog why should I come crawling myself?”)

This strikes me as even better than our version, “keeping a dog and barking oneself” This proverb is also an illustration of a most important idiom, the way we express “Why should I?” “Why should he?” and so on, in Tamil The particle “yēn” (=“why”) is added to the third person masculine future of a verb, and according to the pronoun employed one knows whether it is “Why should I?” or “Why should she?” and so forth The origin of the idiom puzzles me, because the verb is, invariably, the third person masculine future, whatever the pronoun But though I never understood the origin of the form, I have found it quite indispensable to idiomatic conversation If one really is to talk Tamil, one cannot afford to be without it

The next three proverbs—all about dogs—illustrate splendidly the proper way to vary the position of the interrogative -ā in the sentence according to the exact shade of meaning It underlines that particular word

For instance

“Nāyaditta duttu kulaichchā kanpikkirathu ”

(“Ought you to *bark* as you show your penny-fee for dog killing?”)

“Nāyā singattirku narpattam kattukirathu ”

(“Is a *dog* to tie a decoration on the lion?”)

“Nāyāl āgumā kokkai pidikka ”

(“Will a *dog* succeed in catching paddy birds?”)

It is the ability to place the interrogative particle idiomatically that makes the difference between proficiency and hesitation in Tamil speaking Yet it can be learned with absolute precision from Tamil proverbs, and with the same unfailing memory which, when I suddenly observe,

“Common are to either sex,”



spurs on most of the men in my audience to reply

“*Artifex and opifex*”

The Tamil proverbs offer as complete a key, and one as easily learned, to all possible forms of Tamil prose syntax as is provided by the illustrations to the syntax in the dear old Latin primer. Moreover, they are so neat, compact, and pithy, that they can be driven into the mind as immovably as the jingling rhymes, in the same book, fix the masculines and feminines in the youthful memory.

I believe that this discovery of the use of Tamil proverbs as a key to the language and its pronunciation is absolutely and entirely my own. I think this is an appropriate place in my paper to make the claim, and I do so very deliberately, with a comfortable feeling that, so far as the Tamil language is concerned, no one is very likely to challenge my priority. It is true that I only began to study Tamil proverbs on Monday, October 15, 1906, when I had only twelve more years to serve, and that six of those years were spent out of the Tamil country, but my interest in the subject has grown steadily, and as I ended my service as Judge of a Tamil district I was able to extend my vocabulary very considerably, and to quicken my powers of comparing and working up the few materials that I had gathered myself, and the vast stores that Percival, Jensen, and Lazarus had laid up for me and for anyone else who likes to wander over the same province of study.

As there may be language students among my audience, or among those who may have the courage to read this paper in print, I will let them into a secret. There are few more engrossing hobbies than collating, cross-referencing, and writing up notes in books, in their margin, and, when that shows signs of repletion, in pages that have been interleaved for one's special delectation. There is only one danger. One is extremely likely to develop hypertrophy of the grammatical sense. You remember how one's schoolmasters used to flinch and wince, and even groan, at

some particularly flagrant "howler"? I used to think (Heaven forgive me!) that this was mere affectation, intended to impress the scholar with the vastness of the master's learning. Alas, it is nothing of the sort! If one only works hard enough at a language, even such a refractory one as Tamil, there comes a time when one begins to begin to know something about it, and then hypertrophy of the grammatical sense is the agonizing ailment which is almost certain to attack you, and it requires all one's sense of humour to overcome it.

It is refreshing to find that among these proverbs are many which show that the Tamils and ourselves have many things in common. I had not been very long in India before I found that toys and games had their fixed seasons just as in England. I don't know any Tamil equivalent of "Tops is in, marbles is out," but the top-season, the marble-season, and the kite-season—varying, no doubt, as regards kites with different parts of the country—are much more distinct than the difference between spring and summer. In fact, I had been eight years in India before I recognized that there was such a season as spring, but then the Madras Presidency, or at any rate, the Tamil country, does not mark the springtime very clearly. As we find in the proverbs whatever is in the life of the people, there are plenty of good proverbs about tops. Here are a few

"Vallavan āttina pambaram manalilum ādum "

("A top spun by a clever man will spin even in sand")

"Kairu illātha pambaram "

("A top without a string"),

*i.e.*, as Jensen explains it, "A master is necessary everywhere "

"Uzhuvukku oru suttrum varāthu, unnukku pambaram "

("At ploughing he won't plough a furrow, but for food he's a top")

The Indian rice fields are subdivided to facilitate flooding, so a round, "suttru," may be rendered "furrow "

“Ādi ōyintha pambaram ”  
 (“ A top that has done spinning ”)

Said of one who has been humbled  
 My favourite top proverb is

“ Manmatan avanai pambarampōl āttukirān ”  
 (“ Cupid spins him like a top ”)

You remember, in Tennyson’s “ Palace of Art ”

“ And over hills with peaky tops engrailed,  
 ’Twixt fields of corn and rice,  
 The throne of Indian Cama slowly sailed  
 A summer fanned with spice ”

Manmatan and Cupid and Cāma are one and the same Of course, being an Indian, Cāma is a married man, with a wife, Ratī, and a father-in-law, the great god Siva , and the legend forms the subject of an annual festival, which I have tried to describe in the *Calcutta Review* in 1902 or 1903, in “The Cāma Mystery Play · a Study in Comparative Dramatics ” But we must leave Cupid and his bow of sugar-cane and his seven reed arrows, each tipped with a different flower, and his bowstring of bees—I prefer that idea to the swallow’s chirp which the bowstring suggested to the Greeks—and return to humbler themes

It is the everyday life that is so hard for a foreigner to learn—the little words, the little household customs and sayings , and it is precisely these which he will meet with in these proverbs And if he learns a little, and uses that little, then he can learn a little for himself , for in India, if one is out fishing for information, you must bait the hook with a little knowledge Then people realize you are a learner, not a scoffer, and will take a pride and a pleasure in explaining their manners and customs.

So here is a household saying

“ Yēdākūdam pēsinaḷ agappai sūniyam vaippēn ”  
 (“ If you speak haughtily I’ll put a spell on the ladle.”)

That is to say, "You shan't have any food" ! This is said to children, servants, or daughters-in law, the last-named have had a doleful time of it since India was India, and when that alters, India will be changed indeed, and changed immeasurably for the better

When people think that anything requires no further proof, they say

"Kannārak kandatarku yēn agappai kuri "

("For what one has seen with one's eyes, what needs the mark of the ladle?")

The conclusion is really a perfect little picture the hut left empty for a short time, some hungry person creeping in and making a scoop at the hot boiled food, rice or cholam, then dropping the prize, all steaming, into the front fold of his or her cloth, and sticking the ladle back in the thatch and going out, leaving the good wife to come and utter a litany of shrieking curses on whoever has done it—a litany so poignant that if the offender is a neighbour the sting of the abuse overcomes the natural desire for concealment, and in she rushes, and there is what may be called "the father and mother of a row" Or the mark of the ladle may betray the work of a child playing in the back garden who has fraudulently anticipated supper-time—

"Agappai kuraittāl mattattarku varuvān "

("If you make his ladle smaller, he will come within bounds"),

used of a froward child that needs management

As the village artisans are very important in country life, we meet them freely in these proverbs Jensen gives ten about barbers, whose services are constantly needed for mourning, for vows—as in St Paul's case—and so on, as well as for ordinary occasions So one proverb says

"Pudiya vannānum pazhaiya ampattanum tēdu "

("Seek a new washerman and an old barber")

You may remember that Mark Twain in "More Tramps Abroad" said that India was the only country where he'd

seen a man breaking stones with a shirt. But perhaps you may not know that in this, as in everything else, "it is an ill wind that blows nobody any good," and that the more rags he makes, the better the washerman can carry on his trade of hereditary torch-maker to the little village temple, or even some very important one. The rag-torches, steeped in oil, give a soft orange light, and emit a strong mouse-like smell, which is quite a feature of these beautiful temple processions

"Vāla jōsiyam, virutta vaidiyam "

("Young astrology, old medicine ")

That is, one should have a young astrologer and an old doctor. The reason is explained in my friend Pandit S M Natesa Sastri's second book of folk-stories, "Madiya Kāla Kadaigal ". Astrology depends on mathematical calculations, which the young man will make more correctly than the old.

Another proverb, on the value of experience, is cast in an odd form

"Kala panattai vida kizha pinam nalladu "

("An old corpse is better than a bushel of money ")

Indians distrust the judgment of young men, which is a remarkable fact when one remembers how quickly people mature in India. When a young fellow airs his opinion they say

"Muttaiyil kokkirkō kūvum kōzhi "

("A cock that crows in the egg "),

or else .

"Tambī varttai vandiyilē vaittu tān izhukka vēndum "

("Younger brother's words must be put on a cart and dragged round the town ")

In this, as in many other proverbs, one detects

"Apt alliteration's artful aid "

To go back to our washerman, a touching proverb tells us that the poor have no time to be ill :

“Vannānukku nōvu vanthāl kallōdē ”

(“If a washerman falls sick [his sickness must leave him] at his washing-stone ”)

Here the final ablative is very neat and subtle

What people think about little children is a good guide to their character. Judged by this standard the Tamils have a most amiable disposition, as everyone knows who has lived among them. I saw somewhere a proverb which I have never heard used, but which is equal to anything that can be said on the subject. I think it must come out of some poem. I can only quote from memory

“Pattinidu yāzhinidu enbār  
Pillaiḡalın konjal kēlor ”

(“‘Sweet is song, sweet the lute,’ will they alone say that have not heard the prattle of children ”)

So again

“Kuzhandai paṣiyō, kōvil paṣiyō ”  
(“Is the infant or the temple [ever] hungry ?”)

As both are dear to all, neither will ever be in want. Then we have a rhyming proverb, which shows the thought of the Tamils is just like that of the Jews of old. (I have hit upon a rhyming translation which just fits the original.)

“Jānpillai ānālum ānpillai irukka vēndum ”  
(“Though it be but a span child, it must be a man-child ”)

“Illātha vittirukku ilanjīyam ”  
(“A boon to the house that lacks it ”)

A mother of only one child will say

“Tēḡāyḡḡḡ mūndru kan enaḡḡḡ oru kan ”  
(“The cocoanut has three eyes, I have but one ”)

And what could be better than the following ?

“Tai muham kānātha pillaiyumu, mazhai muham kānātha payirumu  
uruppādāthu ”

(“A child that has not seen its mother’s face, and a crop that has not seen the face of rain, will not prosper ”)

And then a touch of Eastern hyperbole .

“Pūsanikkāy attanaṭ muttu.”

(“A pearl as big as a pumpkin”)

Could a child be praised more highly? We can end the subject of children with a rhyming proverb about disobedience

“Tāy varttai kēlātha pillai nāy vāyil silai”

(“A child that will not listen to its mother is like a cloth in a dog's mouth”)

—that is, marked out for destruction We cannot, in the space available, go through the whole moral world, nor even the whole animal kingdom, but the span-child mentioned above reminds me of a super-excellent proverb which I learned from the folk-story of Jagatpurattan, or “Turn-the-world-upside-down”, while the poor dhoby, or washerman, has reminded me of his long-suffering donkey The first proverb stands quite by itself

“Kosuvum tan kayāl ettē jān”

(“Even the mosquito is just eight of its own spans long”)

The meaning is, everyone is of importance in his own eyes The idea of the span of a mosquito is exquisitely ludicrous, and we find in the proverb a Tamil canon of human symmetry

The donkey has a group of proverbs to himself Through all he is the homeless, unpitied drudge, very different from his half-brother the mule, whose Tamil name “koveruk-azhudai” means “the donkey the king rides” I shall never forget how crushed I was one day, somewhere near Arcot, when, on asking the innocent question, “What do you give the donkey?” I was answered in an indignant chorus “We *never* feed donkeys!” I dare say there was a lurking suspicion that my question was sarcastic, as “to graze donkeys” seems to mean, to be sent on a fool's errand, or, at any rate, something like our phrase “to go wool-gathering”

“Kazhudaikku parādēsam kuttisuvar’

(“To go to a ruined wall to graze is a pilgrimage to a donkey”)

“Kazhudai punnukku terupuzhudi marundu”

(“The street dust is medicine for a donkey’s sore”)

In this word “dust,” *puzhudi*, we have a link with our old Norman judicial system the Court of Pie Powder, *pieds poudreux*, held at all our old fairs. Pie Powder in Tamil is “Puzhudi kāl,” or “Dusty Foot,” the name given to a system of rice-growing without irrigation.

“Kazhudaikku jini kattinālum kuthirai āhumā

(“Even if you put a saddle on an ass, will it turn into a horse?”)

About the horse I will quote only one proverb, which illustrates a point of view that will be new to most people.

“Kuthirai gunam arinthu allavō tambirān kombu kodukkavillai”

(“It was because He knew the horse’s disposition, wasn’t it, that God did not give it horns”)

We have the very old proverb, “God sends the shrewd cow short horns,” the word “shrewd” indicating the great age of this saying, but the Tamil form puts the noble animal in quite a new light. Agriculture, and the seasons as affecting it, come into many proverbs. There is a favourite one of mine, which I will give in Lazarus’s version, as the cadence is more pleasing than in the shorter form.

“Karttigaikku minjina mazhaiyum illai,  
Karnanukku minjina kodaiyum illai”

(“No rain excels November’s,  
No charity excels King Karnan’s”),

Karnan being one of seven princes noted for their liberality.

As caste governs Hindu life, the references to it in proverbs are innumerable.

“Sanniyasikkum jādi mānam pōgāthu.”

(“Even an ascetic will not lose pride in his caste.”)



You must remember that the "sanniyāsi" has renounced all worldly cares and trammels, and yet the proverb teaches us that he, too, never forgets his caste. The underlying thought in this proverb is profoundly true even to this day, and it has a very important bearing on many questions—burning questions, volcanic questions even—of modern South Indian politics. As the word "pariah" for a non-caste Hindu is a Tamil one, and merely means "the man who beats the big drum," we have many proverbs about him, kindly or unkindly, but generally showing great understanding and observation.

"Paraibuddi araibuddi "

("Pariah's wisdom half wisdom ")

"Parai pongal ittāl bhagavānukku erādō "

("If a pariah make a boiled offering, will it not ascend to God?")

South India is the country for boiled offerings, a variety of sacrifice that most people have forgotten, though we seem to see a trace of it in the story of Hophni and Phineas, the two sons of Eli.

The pariahs have always made brave soldiers, and there is a proverb (I cannot remember the Tamil at the moment) which has an ever-fresh significance—"Many a soldier who conquered in battle lies rotting in a parcherry," or pariah village, which reminds one of the two lines

"When the war is over and wrongs are righted,  
God is forgot and the soldier slighted."

A very curious fact is that the pariahs, who speak only Tamil, are not a Tamil race, but an earlier one. In the villages, if you want to know if a man is a caste man, you ask, "Tamizhan tānā?" ("Is he a Tamil?") And, if he is not, the answer is, "Alla, Paraiyan tān" ("No, he's a pariah"). I mentioned this to the people who are preparing the new great Tamil dictionary, a combination of Winslowe's work with Dr. Pope's additions, to which I have

been able to contribute a good many hundred words and phrases, a few picked up in Madura but most in South Arcot, where the remote Kallakurichi taluk is a mine of pure, living, colloquial Tamil. It so happened that the Dictionary Committee had forgotten this distinction between Tamils and pariahs, and discussion of it brought out the distinction between Tamils and Brahmins, which is shown by the phrase

“ Tamizh vazhakkāchāram āriya vazhakkāchāram ”

(“ Tamil customary law and Brahmin customary law ”)

As a result of this, they added to the meanings given under “ Tamizhan,” “ a Tamil man,” and I was very glad to make this contribution to such a very important work

As Tamil gives us the word “ mango,” let us not forget that Trichinopoly, a most famous Tamil town with a Tamil name, has given us the cheroot, which is merely Tamil for a roll. In English a roll means a particularly nice little loaf, in Tamil it is a roll of tobacco

“ Dādi eniyacchē cherūttukku neruppu kēttānām ”

(“ When one man's beard was burning, another man, it is said, asked for a light for his cheroot ”)

Just as, when I was lying desperately ill of fever in the Madras General Hospital, a kind lady wrote a letter of most anxious inquiry about a dog that I was looking after for her sister! Nothing could have been more lucky, the news of my illness had supplied her with the address—of the dog

I must be drawing this paper to a close. Among over ten thousand proverbs one can make but a small selection, but I hope that the specimens I have given suffice to prove my thesis, that the Tamil proverbs do really give a key to the language and to the mind of the people. Of all the hundreds of subjects not touched on by me hitherto, let me, in conclusion, choose but two, poetry and content, to

*and to the Mind of the People*

show you that these two essential ingredients in human life  
and thought are not neglected or despised

“ Kavi kondārukku kirtti  
Atha: sevi kollārukku avakirtti ”

(“ Fame to the hearers of a poem,  
Ill fame to those that give no ear to it ”),

“ Kamban vittu vellāttiyum kavi pādum ”

(“ The very maidservant in [the poet] Kamban’s house will improvise  
poetry ”),

and—

“ Pōthum enkira manamē pon seyyum marunthu ”

(“ The heart that saith, ‘ It is enough,’ is a philtre that can make gold ”)

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the East India Association held on Monday, May 17, 1920, at the Lincolnshire Room, 7A, Tothill Street, Westminster, S W, a paper was read by Mr Sydney G Roberts, ICS (retired), entitled "Tamil Proverbs A Key to the Language and to the Mind of the People" Sir Harvey Adamson, KCSI, occupied the chair The following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present Sir J D Rees, Bart, KCIE, CVO, MP, General Chamier, The Lady Katharine Stuart, the Hon Charles Patrick Stuart, Mr and Mrs H R H Wilkinson, Miss Webster, Mr J B Pennington, Mr J H S Reid, Miss Roberts, Mrs Nash, Mr H C Balasundaram, Mr S A Dass, Mrs Tracey, Mr W K Bowen, Miss F R Scatcherd, Mr F J P Richter, Mr Duncan Irvine, Mrs Van Der Linde, Mrs Drury, Miss Rosanna Powell, Miss Ryan, Mr C Leo Parker, Mr Robert Sewell, Mr S S G Viran, Mr W W R Lester, Mr and Mrs H R Cook, Miss Dunderdale, Mrs Mackenzie, Mrs White, Mrs E F Kinnier Tarte, and Mr Stanley P Rice, Hon Secretary

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and gentlemen, the paper to-day is rather a long one, so I will not detain you with many preliminary remarks I have much pleasure in introducing Mr Sydney Roberts, who is a distinguished Tamil scholar, and who has made a special study of Tamil proverbs Mr Roberts' acquaintance with the Madras Presidency is the accumulated wisdom of two generations, for he has been a Madras civilian himself and his father was a Madras civilian before him I will now leave you to enjoy the paper

The lecture was then read

The CHAIRMAN I have to apologize to you most humbly for being where I am to-day, in the chair, for I confess I know nothing about Tamil proverbs My only acquaintance with the Tamil people is derived from the butlers and cooks and ayahs that waited upon us in Burma, the land of my adoption They were good, faithful, and intelligent servants No better are to be found anywhere in India, or, in my opinion, even in this country They are, like the Russians, marvellous linguists There is scarcely one of them who cannot talk Tamil, Telugu, Hindustani, Burmese, and English with equal fluency, but their language to "master" is English Consequently, I know scarcely anything of Tamil I have heard it spoken to my sorrow Mr Roberts says it is not a sweet language, and I agree with him It came to me as a never-ending rumble of incoherent sounds from the godowns. From hearing it I gathered two impressions, first that there are more R's in Tamil than even in Scotch, and second, that the Tamils are the most loquacious people in the world, and that they have a powerful flow of words.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, you may ask, if these are my qualifications for presiding at a Tamil lecture, how can I have the face to appear in the chair? I will tell you Those of you who know Mr Sydney Roberts know that he has a very persuasive tongue, and that, like the Tamils of whom he speaks, he is a master of eloquence. When Mr Roberts asked me to preside at this lecture I said to him "My dear Sydney, the chairman at a paper at the East India Association is expected to get up and give an analysis of the paper, whereas I know nothing whatever about Tamil proverbs, and, in fact, I have never heard one in my life" Then Mr Roberts turned upon me the tap of his eloquence, and I was overpowered by the flood I do not remember all that he said but the gist of it was—"The more ignorant you are of the subject the better fitted you are to be an impartial chairman" So I rashly consented, and here I am apologizing for being where I am It would be a mere impertinence on my part to attempt any criticism of the paper Proverbs in any tongue are pithy and concise expressions of the experience of a people They are a sort of potted wisdom Their beauty lies in their wit and condensation To appreciate them properly you must understand them in the language of their origin However good a translation may be, it can convey only the meaning without the wit of the original Beautiful as are the Proverbs of Solomon in our English Bible, they must have lost much by translation Another reason why one who like myself is ignorant of Tamil can hardly venture on criticism is that it appears to me that this paper is not an introduction to Tamil proverbs for the benefit of the uninitiated, but rather a collection of tit bits for the consumption of those who are already enlightened Still I think that the proverbs which have been quoted are beautiful and expressive, even in their translation, and I am sure that all who have heard the paper will realize how fond an interest Mr Roberts has taken in his subject

I venture to express an opinion that the Tamil scholars who are present will find much of interest that is new to them in this paper I hope that Tamil scholars will continue the discussion, but, for my own part, I am just a little afraid that these Tamil scholars may already be thinking of me in Tamil in the words of their own proverbs, that I am but a "cock that crows in the egg," or "a top without a string"

Sir J D REES said that when there was a lecture on Tamil in London he thought it was satisfactory that some of those who were interested in the Tamil language should come and say a word or two about it, and his first remark after thanking the lecturer for so charming a lecture would be that he wished the Tamil proverbs had been given in the beautiful Tamil character because, although he could speak Tamil for many years pretty nearly as well as English, he confessed that even with the knowledge he had, he was unable to pronounce a word or understand a word when transliterated into the Roman character He said that not by way of complaint, but because it raised an issue which he believed had been much discussed by the East India Association He could understand a person who had no interest in languages, and who could not appreciate their aroma and their subtlety and their individuality, desiring to crush them all

into one mould, and to prescribe some horrible script in the Roman character, to the destruction of the beautiful and characteristic letters of the Eastern languages. He protested, however, that notwithstanding his familiarity with Tamil, he could make absolutely nothing out of any Tamil word in the whole of the lecture, because it was given in the Roman character. He did not believe anyone would ever learn the Tamil language in that way, or any other language. He was afraid his remarks would be regarded as rank heresy by the late Secretary to the Association, a good man who had been led astray by Esperanto and strange gods of that description.

He wished to say the subject was a most admirable one for a lecture, and so far from being remote from living interest he believed that if the joint committees of the Lords and Commons were familiar with the Tamil proverbs they would be very much more at home with their subject than some of them were. As an instance, he might take one from the paper, because it was a very instructive one, but he would not attempt to put it into Tamil. It was said in the paper "Even an ascetic will not lose pride in his caste." That would be a very valuable reflection for those persons who were proceeding on the assumption that caste was almost, if not quite, dead. As a matter of fact, it was the most living thing in India, and those who would like to see such institutions as caste abolished were the very worst guides to be followed by those who wished to get at the hearts of their fellow subjects in India. It pained him to read the offhand condemnation of caste in which our Bishops and clergy often indulged.

The lecturer had referred to Mr. Lazurus's Dictionary of Tamil Proverbs, which was a most interesting book, and he would like to say how very much like the Bible the Tamil proverbs are. There was a most extraordinary resemblance which must be obvious to anyone who had read them. In some cases they were really almost word for word identical with some of the most beautiful things in the Bible. "The tears of the poor are like a sharp-edged sword," which was just like Ecclesiastes. The same idea in almost the same words. Still another "You can stop the boiling pot, but not the mouth of the village." Who that had lived in India did not realize the truth of that and of many other Tamil proverbs? The lecture they had just heard added very largely to the very moderate information of those who, like himself and others present, realized what a beautiful language Tamil is—how complete and perfect, and how ignorant those are who sometimes describe it as a coolie language. It would be just as correct to call English an unpolished language, as it would be to say the same of Tamil, which was one of the most perfect languages that was ever invented. When he read books in Tamil the construction often reminded him very much of Thucydides where you begin at the top, and only get to the finite verb at the end of the page.

In conclusion, he wished to apologize for his rather disjointed remarks, and it only remained for him to express his appreciation of the lecture, and to say how very glad he was to have been able to hear something about the Tamil language from an expert in this country, and to express the hope that he would never again see an Indian language, be it

Hindustani or Persian, with the beautiful Arabic character, sacred to all Mohammedans, or Devanagari character, sacred to all Hindus, or the Tamil language, sacred to Tamulians, disfigured by the vain effort to present them in tortured and misapplied Roman characters underscored, over-dotted, and altogether incongruous and absurd (Hear, hear, and applause)

Mr RICE said he had spent a good portion of his time in the Madras Presidency, but he was afraid most of his time was not spent in the Tamil country, and Mr Roberts had given him credit for a good deal of wisdom he did not possess with regard to the subject of Tamil proverbs, of which the lecturer was a master and of which he knew comparatively little. As Secretary of the Association he would like to say to Sir John Rees that it was possible that the Tamil proverbs were not printed in the Tamil character, because as Tamil was not a universal language the printers were not able to get type in the Tamil character. Possibly, also, it was due to the lecturer having sent in his "copy" written in the English character. With regard to Sir John's reference to the late Secretary's fondness for Esperanto, he could assure him that he entirely agreed with all he had said on the subject of transliteration, he agreed that it absolutely took away the character and beauty of the language to have it in the form in which it was printed, and, although he put it down mainly to his own very limited knowledge of Tamil, he found himself in exactly the same position—he could not make sense of any of it. So far as he personally was concerned he had nothing to add to what Sir John Rees had said on the subject, and he felt he could not put it half so well.

The Chairman in his few remarks had referred to the Tamil language as a "rumble of incoherent sounds," whereas Sir John D. Rees had referred to it as very beautiful—one of the most beautiful and complete languages in the world. That rather brought him to what the lecturer had said on p 463—*etc*

"It is the everyday life that is so hard for a foreigner to learn—the little words, the little household customs and sayings, and it is precisely these which he will meet with in these proverbs. And if he learns a little, and uses that little, then he can learn a little for himself, for in India, if one is out fishing for information, you must bait the hook with a little knowledge. Then people realize you are a learner, not a scoffer, and will take a pride and a pleasure in explaining their manners and customs."

He would like to join those two together, because if one did not take a pride and a pleasure in trying to find out what the people were doing, then the whole of India was nothing but a rumble of incoherent sounds from end to end. He had not personally made much enquiry in the direction which the lecturer had chosen either in regard to the Tamil language or the Tamil proverbs, but he had taken considerable pains to make himself acquainted with many walks of native life, especially in the villages, and he found, as the lecturer had stated, that if one took a pride and pleasure in his work the Indians took great pleasure in explaining their manners and customs, religions and ceremonies, and he found in many ways that if one did not do that, then, as the chairman had said, the whole of one's

experience in India would be nothing but a rumble of incoherent sounds, which he had said Tamil was to him, but which he was certain Burmese was not (Hear, hear)

The Lady KATHARINE STUART said she was not a Tamil scholar, but she would like to clear up a little misunderstanding about the subject of Esperanto. It was not intended to supersede the beautiful languages of India, but was rather intended as an auxiliary to enable people to realize something of other languages and the thoughts of other people—to look at the ways and the thoughts of others through their own spectacles, as it were, and to look at life as they looked at it. She very much regretted she had not learned the local language when she was in India, but like the chairman she was spoiled by the fact that all the people about her spoke English so well that really no opportunity was given to one to commence learning the language. It seemed to her that each language contained a certain truth, and if one could take an international language as, say colour white, then each language as it became correlated with it would bring one especial colour, as it were, to add to it, and it was the same with individuals—they had to be loyal, not only to the general truth, but to the particular truth they were sent into the world for, called by Swedenborg the “*proprium*,” and she could not help thinking that Esperanto would help them to harmonize the general truth which all nations had, and the particular truth that each nation had to bring forward. Helpful and beautiful as were these proverbs with their sweet spice, was there not something even more divinely lovely in the living fragrance of the Beatitudes? for the worldly wisdom knew not God—nor so much as suspected *His* salvation.

Mr H C BALASUNDRAM said that he had had the privilege of hearing a good deal about Mr Roberts while he was in India, and they always looked upon him as one of their most distinguished and sympathetic administrators, and the name of their chairman was known to him as one of the friends of India.

He would not follow the example of one of the previous speakers by importing politics into so charming a lecture. In politics they were not often able to see eye to eye with their English friends, but so far as the lecture was concerned, the most charming portion of it was that which referred to the place of contentment in Indian life, and he would like to mention one or two proverbs which gave an insight into the real Indian life. When a wedding took place the elder of the family blessed the couple with a singularly effective phrase, “May you be as virtuous as Sita.” “Sita” stood for fidelity, devotion, and the fear of God. Then another which was very dear to those who lived in certain districts was “As the yarn, so will the texture of the cloth be”—that is, “As the mother, so will the daughter be.” As one went through the *inlying* districts of the Madras Presidency—where he had been working as a Missionary—one came across many fine instances of proverbs which all dealt with the warp and the woof and the little details of weaving, in which work the inhabitants *were engaged from morning till night*. Another proverb, of which a different rendering had been given, was “Even to the crow its little one is



precious" When a child went astray, and when the others pointed the finger of scorn at him, the devoted mother and the affectionate father throw out the proverb "So even this son who goes astray so often is precious to me" Another which was perhaps not very elegant was indicative of the kind of the particular kind of life "A cat which always finds a place in the temple," which was often applied to people who lived in the temple, and who made the offerings their main source of income That had both a ridiculous and a charming side to it, because when it was applied to a man about whom they had not a good report, it meant that the man had been making a fortune out of the temple offerings, but it was used in other cases to mean "As poor as a church mouse," which meant that his poverty was due to his devotion to the temple services

He did not know enough about the different Provinces to enable him to speak as an authority, but he did agree with the lecturer that, so far as Tamil was concerned, if an administrator or a missionary wanted to help the Tamil districts of India he should first of all attempt to learn its proverbs, for the Tamil proverbs were a true indication of the life that was behind them (Hear, hear, and applause)

The LECTURER in reply said Mr Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I feel that the criticisms which my former colleague and Sir John Rees have uttered on the crime of transliterating or attempting to transliterate Tamil are fully merited, if one has done anything which would suggest a belief that the script of a language is not closely connected with the character of the language I have had the pleasure in India of hearing a most marvellous lecture by a gentleman whose name I cannot, for the moment, recall, on the inward meaning of Tamil script, especially that marvellous letter "O" At the same time I must plead in mitigation of my offence that while it is not possible for any person in England, not surrounded by the speakers of the language, to get any sort of idea of the language from anything short of the Tamil script, yet it is found in practice by the very people who compiled that little manual for the use of prompters of all kinds in Ceylon and in the Malay States—it is found possible to transliterate the English form with some usefulness, and it helps one to some extent to fix the thing more firmly in one's mind than would otherwise be the case, because people who use manuals of that kind are not generally able to devote the time which is necessary for properly mastering the script When you consider the enormous amount of work that a young planter has when he first goes out to India, and who has not the time or the facility for study—when you consider that the transliteration may help him to a more extended knowledge, that is some mitigation of the crime to which I have been a party I am glad to have a confirmation from one born and bred in the Tamil country of the opinion which I have formed of the value of Tamil proverbs So far as my opinion goes (I can only say I have not borrowed it from other people), it is one which was confirmed in my mind in one of the few ways in which you can form a proper theory—that is, by the process of crystallization If you fill your mind with as many facts as possible, and drop the thread of a question into that supersaturated solution, then very often

it will enable a theory to crystallize out which is really true, and, being composed of facts, is not only beautiful to look at, but does really afford an answer to the question before you. In the case of Tamil, of course, I would also say that the Tamil writing is, strictly, a process of engraving. I remember being told in one of the Arcots that the old village accountants were so expert that, with a narrow strip of palm leaf lying on their forefinger and with the thumb nail of the left hand prolonged into a shovel form and notched for a fulcrum to their stylus, they were able to go along pushing a palm leaf this way and that way, incising letters on it whilst they trotted along by the side of the Tahsildar's palanquin, and so they could write in a perfectly regular and neat manner, and in a perfectly indelible way, whilst running. You read in the Bible, "He who runs may read," and I think this practice amongst these village people shows they were the first persons to find out that "He who runs may write." I do not know anywhere else that people can write whilst running, even with fountain pens, but this wonderful Tamil script can be used even under such difficult circumstances as that, and therefore I agree with Sir John Rees that the Tamil script is a very strong and inseparable part of the language, and that Tamil cannot properly be represented except by the script. With regard to the peculiar Tamil R, Sir Harvey Adamson is right in saying that the Tamil has more R's than any other language. It certainly has three R's. I may say that I was able to my own satisfaction to settle in my own mind from which coast of India the word "ginger" came. Ginger is an Indian product, and the word "ginger" must come from the west coast of India. For whilst it is true that *Inji* is the word for ginger, common to the sister languages of Tamil and Malayalam, the edible ginger is always known on the west coast as *Injivēr* (= ginger root), and this became *Zinziber*, from which we get *gingembre* and "ginger".

In conclusion, ladies and gentlemen, it only remains for me to thank you for your kind attention to my lecture.

The CHAIRMAN I have pleasure in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr Roberts for his very interesting paper and for the interesting speech he has just given us. I would like also to apologize to Mr Rice for saying that the Tamil language was a rumble of incoherent sounds, but he will remember that when I said it I said it in my ignorance. I agree with what Sir John Rees urged that the languages of India should always be written in their proper script. I am best acquainted with the Burmese language, and I know that when presented in Roman script it is unreadable. I would like to say that the speech which impressed me most to day was the one which was most relevant to the paper, the speech by Mr Balusundram. It helped me to appreciate the beauty of Tamil proverbs.

Sir J. D. REES May I as another Tamil man be allowed to second this vote of thanks to Mr Roberts.

(The vote of thanks was then put to the meeting and carried unanimously.)

Mr RICE It is my pleasing duty to propose a vote of thanks to Sir Harvey Adamson for so kindly presiding at our meeting. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN I am obliged to you, ladies and gentlemen.

## THE REPORT OF THE HUNTER COMMISSION

BY STANLEY RICE, I C S (RETD )

PUBLIC opinion has been centred so much round Amritsar and the dramatic doings of General Dyer that the true perspective of the events in the Punjab and Bombay in the spring of 1919 is in danger of being lost. It is, therefore, worth while to narrate briefly the story of Ahmedabad, Kasur, Viramgam and Gujranwala, where the mobs were quite as savage, quite as determined as that of Amritsar, and where, as the Report itself says, they only lacked the opportunity to obtain equal fame.

All these outbreaks occurred within a few days of one another, all were attended with loss of life, but as the numbers killed were comparatively small, except at Amritsar, the other riots have been more or less neglected, though they each, in fact, formed part of a widespread movement, whether due to conspiracy or coincidence, which must have influenced the Punjab Government and General Dyer in the course they took.

The outbreak on April 10 at Ahmedabad was immediately due to the arrest of Mr Gandhi. Two Europeans were attacked with stones and fire, but managed to escape. A policeman, however, was captured, thrown from a balcony, and died the same day. On the 11th they burnt the Collector's Office and other public buildings, attacked three or four other Europeans, who escaped with their lives, and finally murdered Sergeant Fraser. On the 12th British troops arrived and the situation improved, though disturbances did not cease till the arrival of Mr Gandhi on the 13th.

The outbreak at Viramgam on the 12th was marked by a particularly brutal murder of an Indian official who tried to defend his charge. He was dragged into the road and burnt alive, his clothes being saturated with kerosene oil. They burnt the railway station and the Mamlatdar's office, and looted the Treasury.

At Kasur two European warrant officers were killed, other Europeans had to fight for their lives, and the usual attacks were made upon the Government buildings. It is significant that here the crowd was composed of very low-class people to whom the Rowlatt Act and Mr Gandhi's Satyagraha could have meant little or nothing without promptings from others.

Gujranwala rose on the 14th. Here no European lives were lost, but there were very few there, and apparently it was through lack of opportunity rather than of intention that murder was not committed. The post office, railway station, and other public buildings were burnt.

This bare recital of the excesses committed in three or four places gives but a very faint idea of the general condition of the districts. We are to imagine howling, gesticulating mobs, ready for any kind of mischief, be it even arson or murder, confronted by the wholly inadequate forces of law and order, and backed by a whole countryside prepared to break into flame on the slightest provocation. Leaving the murders out of account, the damage done in the Punjab alone (including, of course, Amritsar) was estimated at nearly twenty-six lakhs of rupees. No mention has been made of various other places where excesses occurred, particularly of Lahore, Gujrat and Sangla, because reiteration would be wearisome, but all these places contributed their share in making the situation critical.

It is hardly necessary to record in detail all that happened at Amritsar. Suffice it to say that the mob, which "was no crowd of mourning" but was bent on "angry and obstreperous protest," before the Deputy Commissioner was

transformed into a raging mass of savagery—some say was provoked into excess—by three or four shots fired under the compulsion of events. The National Bank was burnt, three bank managers were brutally murdered, Guard Robinson and Sergeant Rowlands were also killed, Miss Sherwood was knocked down and left for dead, and Mrs Easdon and other Europeans were saved more or less by accident. The total damage done in Amritsar District, a great part of which must have been in Amritsar City, was approximately valued at seventeen lakhs. Three days afterwards, while the city was still in the hands of the mob, General Dyer issued his proclamation by beat of drum and posted it in nineteen places. Finding it disobeyed, he fired upon the crowd in the Jalianwala Bagh and killed 379 men.

The Majority Report finds upon these facts that a state of rebellion which might at any time develop into a revolution did exist. The Minority, on the other hand, think that there never was any rebellion at all, and that therefore no revolution could have taken place. In Chapter III they contend in great detail that at all the principal places things very quickly resumed their normal aspect, and that, even granting the importance of communications, very many of the offences against them were trivial. Their principal object was to show that martial law was at no time necessary, and incidentally that the action of General Dyer was quite unjustified, since the city was peaceful on the 12th. In pursuance of their object they take the nine reasons of Sir Michael O'Dwyer for declaring martial law, and proceed not merely to minimize but to demolish them one by one and to argue, what is self-evident, that the aggregate of Zeros amounts to Zero. In their condemnation of General Dyer as un-British and inhuman—epithets quoted by the British press—they are at least consistent for having persuaded themselves that there was no rebellion at all, and that the city was peaceful, they naturally conclude that the firing was gratuitous. The Majority, on the other hand, having

premised rebellion and dangerous lawlessness, condemn General Dyer for two things (1) that he gave no warning, and (2) that he went on firing after the crowd had begun to disperse. That he gave no warning is technically true, at the same time the proclamation must have been read and heard by several hundreds if not thousands in Amritsar, and the doings of the last two or three days must have been in everyone's mouth. But to condemn him for continuing to fire is to confuse the issue. General Dyer, left to his own responsibility—for the civil authorities seem to have withdrawn altogether—conceived that by a sharp stroke he would end the rebellion, many people think he did so, and even the Government of India says that "his action resulted in an immediate discouragement of the forces of disorder." Indeed, they praise Sir Michael O'Dwyer for "quelling a dangerous rising which might have had widespread and disastrous effects on the rest of India." Sir Michael O'Dwyer approved the General's action, and reading the Government of India's resolution closely, one is forced to the conclusion that the one officer is praised largely because he profited by the action of the other who is condemned. In condemning General Dyer for continuing to fire after the crowd had begun to disperse, the Commission seem to have turned from the general situation to the particular instance, though they argue that "continued firing upon that crowd cannot be justified because of the effect such firing may have upon people in other places." Even granting this doctrine, it is still open to argument whether anything less than General Dyer's drastic object would have put a stop to the excesses in Amritsar itself. If force is to cease the moment that the immediate action is attained, a species of guerilla warfare is established which may be continued indefinitely. The mob have only to disperse and to concert measures for renewing operations in greater strength and in more favourable conditions.

The Commission has, however, done a great service in

confuting the hysterical shriekings of certain journals by bringing into prominence the actual state of affairs which existed in the Punjab at the time, and by placing General Dyer's doings in a truer perspective. The Majority and the Minority are in practical agreement on the facts, and their findings have been supplemented by the evidence of private persons who endured that anxious time. No doubt the evidence was mainly official, and the reason is given in Lord Hunter's prefatory letter. The Congress offered to produce evidence on condition that the Commission would recommend the release of the political prisoners. The reply was that such a course did not lie within the mandate of the Commission, but that they were prepared to call for the production of persons in custody who would be given every facility to consult counsel. This had no effect. It was evident that the aim of the Congress was to secure the release rather than to produce the evidence, and on December 30, when the principal leaders had been released, they offered to produce witnesses on conditions which amounted to reopening the inquiry. This the Commission declined to do. If, therefore, the Congress now accuse the Commission of partiality, they have only themselves to thank, for there is no doubt that the witnesses would have been produced, and that full opportunity would have been given for cross-examination.

The assertion that the crowd that went to the Deputy Commissioner's house on the 10th was a peaceful body, intent only on a lawful and constitutional protest, is summarily discussed by the Majority as "a travesty of facts." The Minority take a middle course. Without denying that the crowd were unruly, they imply that they were less truculent than their colleagues assert, and there is a similar divergence of opinion as to the result of the first firing. The Majority state bluntly that to say that "it was the cause of the excesses is simply untrue." The Minority hold that it was the spark which kindled the conflagration, and this is very likely true, but it is very far removed from the shriek that

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this small incident—the firing of some six or eight shots—was the brutal act of an irresponsible bureaucracy which turned a peaceful and law-abiding crowd into a mob of savages

Neither is it fair to talk, as more sober journals have done, of “being tarred with von Bissing’s brush,” or of imitating the Prussians. Systematic terror was part of the Prussian military creed, and in such cases as that of the Herreros part of the German colonial system. To institute such a parallel is like comparing the father who uses a strap to correct his boy with the fiend who turns his child out naked into a winter’s night with bruised shoulders and a bloody back. The British Empire has never yet relied and will never rely on the systematic use of brutal force, if it had it would not be where it is now, for no empire which has rested on force has ever lasted. But that does not mean that force is not to be used when the terrible necessity demands, and the question will always arise—a question as hard to answer in cold blood after the event as it is in hot blood at the time—what it is that necessity demands

Not many words need be wasted over the “crawling” and some other orders issued under martial law. The doings of General Dyer after the firing was over were most unfortunate, because they put a complexion upon it which was eminently calculated to cause misunderstanding. The justice of firing upon a crowd which may or may not contain innocent persons may be questioned, but is at least capable of defence. The justice of making men, guilty or innocent alike, crawl through a lane because a lady was brutally assaulted there, and also of flogging certain persons because they were suspected of the assault, was indefensible. Not much better was what is known as the “salaaming” order, partly because it inflicted humiliation on those who disapproved of the disorders as well as on those who had taken part in them, and partly because it was an attempt to revive an obsolete custom. These things were done



because the military officers thought it their duty to do them, they were a form of "frightfulness," and it is significant that no one, not even those who unreservedly approve of the proceedings in the Jalianwala Bagh, has been found to defend them

To men placed in General Dyer's position, who have to take their courage in both hands, there is no middle course. They must take their chance of reward or punishment. But if there was rebellion—and the Majority, the Government of India, and the Secretary of State agree that there was—and if as the Government of India admits, General Dyer's action put a stop to it, then he seems to have been treated with less than justice for doing, to put it very broadly, the right thing in the wrong way

#### POSTSCRIPT

Sir M. O'Dwyer's letter to the *Morning Post* of June 9 confirms the general conclusions arrived at in this article, but strengthens the case by introducing certain facts unknown to those who have only had the Report itself as the source of their information. We learn now that the meeting of the Jalianwala Bagh was definitely found by judicial trial to have been organized by a man who had taken an active and prominent part in the outbreak, and who was actually sentenced to death for his deeds. How, then, could the meeting have been anything but a defiant assembly, the logical outcome of the previous three days' doings, and what becomes of the ridiculous assertion that it was a crowd of peaceful citizens gathered together to concert measures to restore law and order? It is, moreover, perfectly true, as Sir M. O'Dwyer contends, that the whole inquiry was greatly prejudiced by the delay in starting it, because to the natural blurring of the memory, common to all countries, we must add the susceptibility of Indians to outside influences, to intimidation, to persuasion, to misrepresentation, not to mention other even less creditable methods of colouring or suppressing evidence. The composition of the Minority and the delay in disclosing the facts are startling in view of what Sir M. O'Dwyer now says, but the cardinal points of the whole letter are to show up the rebellion in a light more lurid than ever, and to press home the charge of a conspiracy of which there may be no proof, but the existence of which, nevertheless, there are good grounds to suspect.

## WHAT THE WORLD WAR GAVE TO JAPAN

By MICHIZO MASUDA

SOME Westerners may think that Japan is so far removed from the scene of the World's War that she has luckily escaped the terrible consequences of the strife. But this is only a one-sided view. Throw a piece of stone into the centre of a pond and you will find the rings thus formed spread ashore in all directions and at the same speed. The tidal waves caused by the sudden outbreak of an unheard-of struggle among nations at last came to wash and overflow the otherwise peaceful shores of the Land of Mikado, and many a change for better or for worse was witnessed within his sacred realm. The following is a description of some of the changes that were directly brought about by the war, with special emphasis on the cultured or intellectual side.

First of all, Japanese social life was entirely transformed by and after the European War. Hitherto the fourth estate of Japan was sleeping a peaceful sleep in complete enthraldom to the capitalistic classes. But at present they are awakened from their slumber and often resort to strikes in order to raise their wages or improve their conditions of living. The awakening of labour was especially precipitated by the International Labour Conference, for which the election of able representatives was necessarily made from among the labour classes. This procedure placed capital and labour on an equal footing, the latter being far inferior to and weaker than the former up to this time. Indeed, the awakening of the workmen is one of the most salient features of the post-bellum Japan.

Next comes the women's question. Japan is a country where the "man first, woman second" principle is maintained without raising any feeling of injustice or unreasonableness. Japanese women themselves have regarded their situation as natural, and therefore indisputable, and have never raised a cry of protest against man's tyranny. But since the introduction of Western literature they have no longer been mere "dolls," but have developed individualities equal to men—nay, even have become the "better half" of mankind, with the full enjoyment of heavenly as well as earthly gifts. The most remarkable precursor of such a tendency among Japanese ladies was the staging of Ibsen's "Doll's House" by the Bungei Kyokai (literally, the "Society for Art and Literature"), under the direct control of Dr. Tsubouchi, the most eminent—nay, the sole authority on Shakespeare in Japan. Toward the end of the play the heroine says pathetically: "We women must first find our true selves before we unite ourselves to men as their wives." This passage made a deep impression on the hitherto slumbering souls of Japanese women, who suddenly awoke to their wrong situation. Shortly afterwards the thoughts of Ellen Key arrested attention among the female reading public. Thus the Japanese women have gradually been led to enlightenment. Even at present they have no right of suffrage—nay, no right to attend a political meeting. They are still held in disrespect. In point of fact they are still inferior to men in intellect, capacity, education, etc. It will take a few centuries more to enable them to stand on an equal footing in deed as well as in name.

Last of all, let me refer a little to the inner life of the Japanese people as it has changed after the World's War. To speak candidly, the Japanese were waterproof against democracy, but the war has broken the hard crust of bigotry and permeated the sweet juice of democracy through the whole frame of the nation. Indeed, the word "democracy" became so popular as to be Japonized and adopted into the

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large family of vernacular vocabulary. Some foreigners still look on Japan with a little suspicion, thinking that she is a dangerous, aggressive nation. But nothing is farther from the truth. Even under bureaucratic rule she was never a warlike nation. She fought the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars for the defence of the country and the people. She has been forced to fight. Now Japan is a different country from what she used to be. If the Government in power is disposed to make war, the whole nation will not back up the scheme if it does not fall in with their wishes.

Hitherto Japan was in reality a land of nobles. The intelligent minority has been governing the uncultured majority. But the tables have been turned, and the power of the masses has come to be the central factor which set in motion the whole national machinery. Nothing can be done without the consent and support of the general masses. Such a change is a remarkable result of the World's War, and things keep on changing every day.

Indeed, Japan has undergone a complete transformation since the outbreak of the gigantic world's struggle. Visitors to the Land of Mikado before the war, if they revisit the country, will rub their eyes many times before they can assure themselves that they have landed on the same Mikado's Land. Foreigners who would form the latest views in regard to Japan and things Japanese must be quit of all their preconceptions and come face to face with Neo-Japan and Neo-Japonism.

## THE BURMESE SHAN STATES AND THE TAI

BY CAPTAIN H J INMAN

THE Burmese Shan States are bounded on the north by China, on the east by China, on the south by China and the French Lao territory by Siam and by Karenni, and on the west by the Bhamo, Ruby Mines, Mandalay, Kyaukse, Meiktila, and Yemethin Districts of Upper Burma, and by the Toungu District of Lower Burma

All the states are ruled over by hereditary chiefs, the most important of them are entitled Sawbwas, from the Shan "Sao," a lord, and "Hpa," father. The second-class chiefs are called Myosas, and third-class chiefs are called Ngwe-gunhmus.

The most important of the Shan States are North and South Hsenwi, Hsipaw, Kengtung, Mongnai, and Yawnghwe.

The Shans of Hsenwi have stronger Chinese affinities than the others more to the south.

There is a considerable percentage of Chinese and Chinese Shans in North Hsenwi, and there are some Chinese in South Hsenwi.

The Trans-Salween substate of Kokang, which is a part of the North Hsenwi State, was acquired under a convention with China in 1897. It was then thought likely that the Mandalay-Lashio Railway would eventually be carried on to the Kunlong Ferry, and up the valley of the River Nam Ting, on the other side of the Salween, into China.

The chief of Kokang is known as the Heng, and was a Chinaman when I was there in 1897. He was a man of considerable influence. The population of Kokang is largely

Chinese, and he was Lord of the Marches. He had had much frontier fighting, and was nearly blind through the explosion of his powder horn. He had had trouble with the Huetzu, or Chinese Muhammadans of Yunnan.

He lived at Satishu, a mountain stronghold overlooking the gorges of the Salween, which flowed thousands of feet below. This place was approached north and south by stone stairways, and with those exceptions was entirely surrounded by a dense mass of entangled creepers and thorn bushes. His house stood in the centre, a typical Chinese building.

Our frontier military police post was at Tawnio, eight miles from Satishu, and was under the command of an Assistant Commandant of the Lashio Military Police Battalion, and consisted of Punjabi Muhammadans, who were very friendly with the Huetzu, these latter were inclined to spread alarmist reports regarding the massing of Chinese troops with artillery across the frontier. It was considered advisable to send a civil officer, and I, being at Lashio at the time, was sent to Kokang.

While I was there the Heng came down to Tawnio and took part in the celebrations of Queen Victoria's second Jubilee, he came with a large following, with many banners and gong beaters. The Government decorated him with a Burmese title.

There is a large Chinese temple, or joss, at Tawnio, dedicated to Kwang-Fu-Tsz, a military god of the Han Dynasty, and effigies of Chinese cavalry and infantry guarded the portals.

Whilst I was there an English traveller arrived from Canton, having travelled by way of the West River, Kwangsi, and Yunnan.

The Chinese Muhammadans, or Huetzu, have a colony south of Kokang in the La-Wa State of Sonmu. They are a remnant of the rebels who tried to establish a Muhammadan kingdom at Tali in Yunnan during the seventies of the last century, but were defeated and scattered by the Chinese Imperial troops.

They are known to the Burmese as Panthes, and, like the Heng of Kokang, are great traders with mule caravans.

There is also a Chinese colony at Loi Maw in the South Hsénwí State, administered by a Chinaman, called a Myosa, who is subordinate to the Sawbwa of the South Hsenwí State.

The Hsenwí-Shans have a legend that a white tiger killed the daughter of the Emperor of China, and was tracked into Hsenwí and thence into Manglon, and was there trapped and carried via Tang-Yan, Mong-Pat, Ho-Ya, and Namhkam, to China in a basket. Tang-Yan in Shan means the "basket bends down." The local Shans say it is called so after the tiger that was brought there in a basket. One march farther north the *coup de grâce* was given to the white tiger at Mong Pat, which means in Shan the place of the cut, and still one march farther north at Ho-Ya the tiger's head was cut off—Ho-Ya means to cut off the head—and at Namhkam, in North Hsenwí, there is a pagoda sacred to the white tiger.

When the Emperor of China knew that the tiger had been killed he was glad, and presented the Sawbwa of Hsenwí with a seal authorizing him to collect toll from traders passing through his state.

Though the legend has not yet been satisfactorily interpreted, it shows that amicable trading relations have long existed between China and Hsenwí.

When King Thibaw was deposed in 1885, the son of the then Hsenwí Sawbwa was a political prisoner in Mandalay. His father was at war with an adventurer from the Tang-Yan side who had placed himself at the head of the Kachins, and when the Sawbwa's son was released he immediately marched against the usurper of his father's dominions, but was defeated near Lashio. When a British column moved north from Fort Stedman in 1887-88, it was decided at Mong-Yai that the Hsenwí Sawbwa should be recognized as a chief of the southern portion of the state, and that the leader of the Kachins should be recognized as

the chief of the northern portion. Thus the Hsenwī State became divided into North Hsenwī and South Hsenwī.

About the time of the annexation there was trouble in the Southern Shan States too. The Sawbwa of Kengtung had killed the Burmese Political Officer, and had attacked and burned down Kenghung, the capital of the neighbouring Chinese Shan State of the same name, and the Sawbwās of the Cis-Salween States of Mong Nai and Lawksawk joined him. The Limbin Prince, a member of the Burmese Royal Family, was at the head of the confederation.

But a British column under Colonel Stedman marched up from the plains and established a post in the high ground east of the beautiful Inle Lake, 3,000 feet above the sea. Here the Superintendent and Political Officer of the Shan States had his headquarters.

The Pax Britannica was soon enforced. The Limbin Prince surrendered, and the Superintendent and Political Officer, accompanied by a column, marched north into Hsenwī, as already stated, and a Superintendent of the Northern Shan States was appointed, with headquarters at Lashio.

All the chiefs acknowledged the British Government except Sao Maha Nalao, Sawbwa of West Manglon, who refused to meet the Superintendent and fled into the Wa States. His elder brother, Sawbwa of East Manglon, came in and met the Superintendent and was appointed as chief, not only of East, but of West Manglon too. I mention this as Sao Maha Nalao, after many years of wandering in the Wa States with his son and always refusing to meet any British officer, came in and visited me at Tang-Yan in 1904 with his son, and finally accepted the hospitality of the Southern Hsenwī Sawbwa and elected to live at Mōng-Yai, the capital of South Hsenwī.

The Manglon Sawbwa was an old man and the father of several children. He was half a Wa, but he was a Buddhist. He, too, lived in a mountain stronghold at Weng Takut across the Salween, and until he visited Lashio for the



Viceroy's Durbar had never seen a British headquarters station. He was alarmed when he saw the aide-de-camp wearing a diplomatic sword, and it needed all my power of persuasion to reassure him before he could be induced to follow that aide-de-camp into the Viceroy's presence. Needless to say, he was very kindly received with his two little sons.

The late Hsipaw Sawbwa was another remarkable character in the Northern Shan States, and had had a varied career. He was the first of the Shan Chiefs to acknowledge the British, and when he visited England had the honour of being received by her late Majesty Queen Victoria. His son, who has since succeeded him, was educated at an English public school.

All the Shan chiefs pay tribute to the Government, though in the early years after the annexation this was in some cases only nominal, for I remember when I was at Fort Stedman in 1891-92 the Kengtung Sawbwa used to pay some wax candles, some gold and silver flowers, and a pony, as annual tribute into the Treasury there, and the Manglon Sawbwa up to 1905 never paid more than 500 rupees tribute, but then we expected him to keep the Was in order.

The Superintendents of the Northern and Southern Shan States are assisted by a staff of Assistant-Superintendents.

All these officers when European British subjects are *ex officio* Justices of the Peace, and have District Magistrates' powers, and Superintendents are Sessions Judges.

All criminal jurisdiction in which the complainant or the accused is a European, American, or Government servant or British subject not native to a Shan State, is withdrawn from the chiefs of the states and vested in the Superintendent or Assistant-Superintendents. In such cases the criminal law in force in Upper Burma as modified by the Shan States Laws and Criminal Justice Order is in force.

Superintendents and Assistant-Superintendents exercise powers under the Foreign Jurisdiction and Extradition Act

The Superintendent exercises revisional powers in all criminal cases, and no capital punishment can be carried out until the Superintendent's sanction has been received

The Assistant-Superintendents act as advisers to the chiefs under their control in the maintenance of peace and order in their states, in the suppression of crime, in the administration of civil and criminal justice, in the assessment of taxes and collection of revenue, in the preparation of the annual state budgets, in the carrying out of works of public utility—such as the construction of cart-roads and bridges and public buildings—and in many other ways, such as census work, and collecting information for the Imperial Gazetteer of India, and intelligence work

Commissions fixed the boundaries between Siam, French Indo-China, and China, and when the last was being done in 1900 two British officers were murdered by the wild Was, one of whom was my predecessor at Tang-Yan in the North Shan States, and I was then appointed in his place to be Assistant-Superintendent there

The Was inhabit the Trans-Salween country east of the South Hsenwi State and south of the river Nam Ting and north of East Manglon They were unadministered, and British officers visiting these parts had to go with a strong military police escort In 1896 the Superintendent's party had to fight its way across the Salween, and there was more fighting there in 1897

The Was are Animists and Head-Hunters, and believe in spirits, mostly evil, haunting the woods and mountains, and they like to have human skulls outside their villages, because they believe that the "manes" of the deceased wanders around its skull, and thus prevents evil spirits coming near In fact it acts as a sort of ghostly patrol They are not pleasant neighbours, but I had them on my eastern frontier at Tang-Yan and no doubt they would have liked to add my head to their collection if I had given them an opportunity

In 1904 an adventurer calling himself Hkun Li, after

residing some time in the La-Wa country, collected a following and invaded the South Hsenwi State. He was credited with supernatural powers, and posed as an embryo king, or "Minlaung" He committed dacoity and murder, and attempted to collect revenue

The South Hsenwi and Manglon levies were called out, and, reinforced by a handful of military police, I accompanied the Superintendent and assisted in breaking up the gang, Hkun Li and several of his followers being killed in the action, which took place ten miles north of my headquarters at Tang-Yan

The Mandalay-Lashio Railway was completed in 1902, and another railway line is now being constructed in the Southern Shan States

The Sawbwas and their chiefs have constructed many feeder roads to these lines, and when I was at Tang-Yan the South Hsenwi and Manglon Sawbwas between them made a hundred miles of cart-roads, with bridges, thus opening up the country to wheeled traffic

The Shan is fairer and taller than the Burman, and is muscular and well-formed. He dresses in a pair of baggy cotton trousers, with or without a jacket, he wears a large head-dress rather like an Indian pagri, and crowns it with a limp, broad-brimmed grass hat. The Shan women dress like their Burmese sisters, but with the addition of a head-dress. The Shan man tattoos in blue often from the waist to the ankle, and in red on his chest and arms. The Shan braves, or fighting men, have little silver charms let in under the epidermis of their arms to render them immune from gunshot or sword wounds

The Shan is superstitious and believes in magic and enchantment, and though a good Buddhist, is often at the same time an Animist

He is very fond of gambling at festivals, and sometimes is given to opium eating

The Shans are thrifty people and harder workers than the Burmese, they are good cultivators, but excel as traders.

## *The Burmese Shan States and the Tai*

The necessities of life are not so easily obtained in the Shan Hills as in the fertile deltas and valleys of the Irrawaddy and Menam, and the Shan has by the force of circumstances become a trader with the plains, and caravans of pack-bullocks pass to and fro all through the open season between the interior and the railheads

When the Shan trader is not rich enough to own bullocks he becomes a porter, and often carries as much as 70 or 80 lbs weight of goods twenty miles or more a day, the goods being contained in large bamboo baskets slung on a pole balanced on the shoulders

The houses of the better class are clean and comfortable and are more homelike than in Burma, for in the rainy and cold seasons you will find the family often seated round a glowing charcoal fire drinking tea out of china cups, with which milk and sugar is never mixed, but only a pinch of salt

They are independent in character and are fond of travelling and adventure, are cheerful and hospitable, and ready to render help to each other. An innate restlessness of character gives rise to frequent change of residence, so that the inhabitants of a given locality are not always native born to the locality

The Shans are good weavers and dyers, using their own natural vegetable dyes, they are fair blacksmiths, and some of their gold and silver work is equal to the Burmese, though not so bold in design perhaps. They make paper from the paper mulberry, and use the natural oil of the wood-oil tree for lacquer work. They make earthen pots and practise wood carving, and are rough carpenters—not so skilled, however, as the Burmese in this branch

They cultivate rice mostly in the lowlands of the valleys and depend on the mountain streams for irrigation, and they also clear the highlands on the mountain side and depend on the rainfall. All Shan villages have gardens.

The River Salween is the principal natural feature, and throughout its course preserves—to quote the *Gazetteer of*

*Upper Burma and the Shan States*—the character of a gigantic ditch or railway cutting scooped through the hills, which rise thousands of feet on either side. Owing to the many rocks and rapids it is not navigable

Another important natural feature is the geological fault or rift running from the Goteik on the western side of the Hsipaw State to the Kunlong Ferry and continuing up the valley of the Nam Ting into China. This marks a line of great geological disturbance. The Mandalay-Lashio Railway crosses the Goteik Gorge on an iron girder bridge 800 feet above the stream and was a triumph of engineering skill

Limestone is much in evidence, and rivers have a mysterious way of burrowing underground and coming out again farther on

Gold washing in the Salween and other streams is quite a common practice, but the gold is only won in small quantities. Silver and lead are more plentiful. Inferior coal has been found in North and South Hsenwi.

The Southern Shan States Syndicate was carrying on mining operations in 1914.

The beautiful Inle Lake is a noticeable feature in the Southern Shan States.

The great Shan Plateau is west of the Salween and runs south from the geological fault into the Southern Shan States. Its average height is 3,000 feet. The bracken fern is plentiful, the crab-apple and wild raspberries grow, on the hills around are pine woods, and oak and chestnut are common.

Loi Leng is the highest hill in the Shan States, its peak being nearly 9,000 feet high. It forms the centre of the South Hsenwi State.

The Trans-Salween country is a medley of hills rising higher and higher to the watershed between the Rivers Salween and Mekong, and here the head hunters hold high revels when the heads come home.

Along the border between Burma and the Shan States

### *The Burmese Shan States and the Tax*

all kinds of game common to Burma are found, from an elephant to a snipe. The cry of the white-faced gibbon, or *Hylobates hoolock*, is a common sound in the Shan Hills during the cold season

Teak wood is found in the valley of the Salween and in the Hsipaw State, but the forests have been spoilt to a great extent by the cutting of green teak

The sal, or *Shorea robusta*, is a common and useful tree in the states, as are also the wood-oil tree, the silk cotton tree, the paper mulberry, and the giant bamboo

## COMMERCIAL SECTION

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### THE NEW CONDITIONS FOR BRITISH TRADE IN INDIA

BY THOMAS M AINSCOUGH, O B E

HIS Majesty's Senior Trade Commissioner in India and Ceylon, who is at present in London (Department of Overseas Trade), and is going on tour in the industrial centres to advise merchants and manufacturers as to openings for British trade in India

It was only to be expected that the war and its lessons wrought a great change in India and the trade conditions obtaining therein for exporters from this country. In the first place it was realized, as never before, what difficulties could arise when outlying portions of the Empire had to rely on the Mother Country for the most vital needs to ensure the continuance of their industrial life. In this difficult situation the Government of India led the way by establishing the India Munitions Board in 1917, which, primarily intended to meet the requirements of the war situation, has now been merged into a Department of Industries. They have been supported by all classes of the community, Indian as well as European, and in this way hundreds of manufacturing concerns have been floated which can produce in India goods for which that country had previously been dependent on exporters from England.

It is easy to see that this development will have a profound effect on the nature of British exports from now onwards. In the first place there is sure to be a great demand for plant with which to equip the new factories that are springing up in India. In that respect, unfortunately, the British exporter is at the moment handicapped by the difficulty of supplying these needs at short notice. Con-

sequently the United States are for the present in an advantageous position in this respect, both with regard to the time of delivery and the price. Secondly, an increased demand in stores and supplies of all kinds for these new factories may be confidently expected. And this demand is likely to continue for a considerable time.

On the other hand, the demand for certain manufactured goods from this country is sure to diminish, and this state of affairs will continue until the firms that handle those classes of export have learned how to adapt themselves to the new conditions. At the same time it should be remembered that the rise in the standard of living in India will produce a great demand for new commodities which hitherto were either not exported to India at all, or in very small quantities. Ultimately, therefore, we may look forward to a very great extension of the whole basis of trade as between Britain and India on lines hitherto not deemed possible. Thus India will not only remain our best customer in the overseas market, but will actually increase the lead she has already established over other countries. Only it must be borne in mind that conditions have been changed, and that British exporters must needs adapt themselves to these new conditions. Also it must be remembered that new and powerful competitors are in the field, where previously the position of the British exporter was deemed unassailable. The uncertainties of the sea voyage during the war and the restricted supplies from the home market must be deemed the chief causes of this new situation. Indian buyers have now established connections with American and Japanese business houses, and that has made them grow accustomed to look to these sources for goods which previously were obtained almost exclusively from England. In a word, through the circumstances caused by the war, India has become, in every sense of the term, a competitive market.

Japanese activity in furthering her trade interests has been very marked. The visible evidences of this new state of affairs are not far to seek, and anyone who returns to



India now would be immediately struck by them. In Calcutta and Bombay oversea branches of Japanese banks have been established. Japanese export and import houses have their offices in all the leading cities. From India's harbours Japanese steamers ply to all parts of the world. In fact, in practically every branch of Indian commerce Japan has endeavoured to obtain a footing. In the years 1913-14 Japanese shipments only totalled in value about £3,000,000. Since that date they have nearly doubled in value every year. In the years 1918-19 the total of £22,349,000 was reached as compared to £51,000,000 from the United Kingdom. Before the war the share of Japan in the import trade was  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, and for export  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. In the years 1918-19 Japan had jumped into the position of second place.

The imports are here given in the order of their importance, and comprise Cotton yarn and piece goods (47 per cent), silk manufactures (6 per cent), matches (4 per cent), iron, steel, hardware, cotton, hosiery, brass, bronze, chemicals, paper, instruments and appliances, tea chests, paints, beer, apparel, woollen manufactures, glass, machinery, cement, earthenware, haberdashery, manufactures of wood, toys, stationery, toilet requisites.

From this it will be seen that staple trades are the branch of trade in which Japanese competition has been most successful. In future their efforts will probably be most insistent in textiles. Incidentally the interests of Japanese traders are served by a large number of commercial travellers and enquiry agents, who traverse the whole country and are armed with a liberal supply of catalogues and circulars. In spite of this, however, there has been a set-back in Japanese trade in the year following the war, which may serve as an indication that with the return of normal conditions buyers are returning to their old markets.

Turning to American competition, we find that, in the years 1913-14, that country exported to India goods to the value of about £3,000,000. The conditions that favoured

Japanese entry into the Indian market applied in the same way to the United States. American trade has been able to make use of the same new facilities—improved steamer connection, the establishment of business houses, the enterprise of commercial travellers, the distribution of catalogues. Every effort is made to adapt the goods to local requirements. In spite of the fact that the exchange is an adverse factor, British manufacturers are often underquoted by them, and the goods are supplied more quickly.

Turning to the items that are exported from the United States, we find these to be chiefly iron and steel machinery of all kinds, canned provisions, motor-cars, and motor-cycles. The first necessity for British exporters is to be in a position to quote competitive rates. Further, it is important for them to be adequately represented in India by a trained staff out there, either by having their own branches and distributing arrangements, or, failing that, through being served by energetic agents. Owing to difficulties of various kinds, British exporters find it difficult to compete, in some branches of trade, with American rivals. At the same time we find Indian buyers taking British plant and machinery simply because, although more expensive, they have a high reputation for reliability, and the makers have a longer experience of local conditions.

But American imports, as well as Japanese, will probably continue to come to India. Japan is expected to retain the trade for cheap bazaar articles, which were never catered for by the British trader, and before the war formed more or less a monopoly of Germany and Austria. Japanese copper, sulphur, and brass are also likely to continue to be imported. Moreover, the new machinery and plant that has been already set up in Japan, or is planned, for turning out printed, dyed, bleached, and coloured woven goods is sure to mean strong competition with British manufacturers in this class of goods. But paints, apparel, beer, paper, hardware, iron and steel are articles where a decrease in the amount exported from Japan can be looked for. With

## *New Conditions for British Trade in India*

regard to imports from the United States, it is to be noted that prices have risen sharply, and deliveries are now being spread over a longer period

With regard to the position in India, it must not be forgotten that she is at the present going through nothing less than an industrial revolution, and the whole tendency is to purchase locally wherever possible. Further, it must be realized that for British manufactures to be readily bought they must be offered at a competitive rate. Politics do not enter very much into the matter. The bazaar dealer, on the whole, does not exercise his mind so much as to the country of origin of any particular article offered to him. He wishes to have his requirements met at the lowest figure possible. And what is true in this respect of the Indian bazaar dealer applies to some degree to the British merchant. He will not entirely ignore the foreign article, if it happens to be cheaper.

It should not, however, be thought that I take a pessimistic view as to the future of the British export trade to India. On the contrary, it is possible to look forward to great expansion in the future. But my advice to the British manufacturer is, if possible, to go for himself to India, and to see with his own eyes how India has indeed changed in the last five years, and note the altered conditions. If he is an exporter of goods which are in large and constant demand, he cannot do better than arrange for his own representation, or combine with others in so doing. Never before in the history of our trading relations with India have the opportunities been so good and promising as they are to-day. For India has gained strength and stability during the war, and is more prosperous than ever before.

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## THE FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC POSITION OF JAPAN

(BY PERMISSION OF THE JAPANESE CONSUL GENERAL IN LONDON,  
FROM INFORMATION COMMUNICATED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE)

### THE BUDGET

THE General Budget for 1919-20, passed by the forty-first Session of the Imperial Diet, totals yen 1,064,190,000 (£109,002,356) in revenue, of which the ordinary section amounts to yen 839,140,000 (£85,951,000), and the extraordinary section yen 225,049,000 (£23,051,214). Of the expenditure aggregating yen 1,064,190,000 (£109,002,356), the ordinary section claims yen 505,936,000 (£51,821,776), and the extraordinary yen 558,253,000 (£57,180,477).

In framing the Budget for 1919-20, the Cabinet, which witnessed the conclusion of the Armistice soon after its formation, found itself confronted with a critical turn in the affairs of the world. In view of the possibility of grave effect being brought in consequence on our finance and general economics, the Government felt it a matter of urgent importance to devise measures for placing the finance on the sound basis, so that they may be well prepared to meet the demand for various undertakings that may be occasioned on the restoration of peace. Having, at the same time, due regard to the possible state of revenue and expenditure in subsequent years, it was decided that matters of a permanent nature involving large outlays should be left untouched for deliberate treatment afterwards. The Government has, in pursuance of that consideration, adopted the policy of attending, so far as circumstances admitted, to measures of national defence and to expansion and encouragement of education, in-

dustries, and transport and communication services as demanded by the elevation of national status. At the same time utmost endeavours were made to check the expansion of ordinary expenses. As to increase of salaries of Government officers and others and additional allotment called for in various outlays in consequence of the general tendency of the times, it was decided that a definite programme be elaborated on economic affairs settling to normal condition, and that in the meanwhile temporizing measures judged necessary should be adopted.

#### EFFECTS OF THE WAR

Since the outbreak of the Great War the arrival of European articles having almost ceased in the Far East, South Seas, and other markets of the world, their place was taken up by those made in Japan. Besides, the supply of war materials and others to the Allies occupies an important place on the list of increased exports. And the imports, though affected by the war in some items, have also been on an increase, owing to the brisk demand for various materials occasioned by the unusual prosperity of home industries. For this industrial boom are, of course, responsible the ever-increasing exports on one hand, and on the other the stoppage of imports of some articles from Europe, thereby stimulating domestic production. The growth of sea-borne trade for the year, however, was due more to the advance of prices than to the increase in quantities. Since the U S A participated in the Great War, restrictions on both exports and imports have been enforced with greater severity by the Allies, while there was no knowing when the shortage of bottoms and advance of prices and freightage would be relieved. Then, towards the end of the previous year, a peace overture was suddenly made by Germany, and this was reflected on both foreign and home markets, where operations of precaution were manifest in anticipation that the end of the war would not be far distant. This naturally affected the foreign trade,

and the exports began to fall off, especially after the conclusion of the Armistice in November, 1918. Fresh orders were withheld, and even goods already ordered were countermanded. On the other hand, the imports grew with the arrival of goods previously ordered, such as raw materials and foodstuffs. All this contributed to the diminution of trade balance that had been enormously in favour of exports.

#### EXPORTS

Exports to French India showed an increase of 166 per cent, as against the previous year, those to British India of 100 per cent, and to Dutch Indies of 98 per cent. Still larger increase is seen in the imports. The arrivals from French India swelled by 650 per cent, that from Dutch Indies 180 per cent, and from China 110 per cent, the unusual proportion for the first two countries being chiefly due to the increased shipment of rice to Japan. In European trade, shipment to France gained by 45 per cent, but that to England and other countries recorded more or less decrease, owing to the restrictions on imports, shortage of bottoms, and other influences of the war, while exports to Russia fell off by 99 per cent. The decrease rate corresponded to 11 per cent for the total volume of exports. The imports from Russia declined by 48 per cent, and those from France and other European countries also showed a decrease, while, on the other hand, those from England and Holland were increased, so that there was a slight increase in the total imports. The increase of exports to France was chiefly due to the large shipment of habutæ and waste silk to that country. Notwithstanding the embargoes enforced on both exports and imports in North America, purchases from U S A and Canada grew 74 per cent and 200 per cent respectively, this latter being accounted for by the marked increase in paper pulp. Sales to U S A and Canada were also increased by 11 per cent and 69 per cent. respectively. Trade with South America

exceeded the level of the preceding year, due to increased imports of wool, india-rubber, etc., and to expansion of new markets in Brazil, Argentine, and Peru. The purchase of wool having decreased, returns for African trade rather shrank this year. On the whole, however, our relations with Egyptian ports and Cape Town had been growing closer in recent years. Australian trade was much improved, the imports gaining by 48 per cent and exports by 139 per cent.

Cotton cloth and yarns were sold largely to China, India, and other countries in the Far East, habutæ to England and South America, and crapes chiefly to U S A. All these substituted European manufactures which were scarce during the war. Beans and starch went in large quantities to Europe, where they were in demand as auxiliary food-stuff. Shortage of European paper swelled the export of Japanese substitutes to Australia and Far Eastern countries, while waste silk was shipped to France and U S A as material for silk spinning. Copper and zinc were purchased as war materials, the former by England, France, and U S A, and the latter by England, but the demand for them declined in the year under review.

#### IMPORTS

The swell in cotton purchase is due to brisk exportation of cotton cloth and yarns, most of the goods coming from China and U S A. The striking advance in the price of rice occasioned the import of Rangoon and Saigon rice to a large amount. The increase of iron, as shipped from China and U S A, and machines and machinery mainly from U S A, was stimulated by the prosperity of various manufacturing industries and the starting of new enterprises. Apart from the increased home demand, beans from China were required largely as material for soy-bean oil, which found extended foreign markets during the year. Bean-cakes as manure were much imported from China. The declined supply from China of lump brass and bronze,

zinc ores, and antimony is accounted for by the depression of their refining industries, which in turn was caused by the reduced demand for those metals from abroad. Ammonium sulphate from England saw a decline because of the difficulty of its import and the increase of domestic production.

As a member of the Allies, Japan, besides actually taking part in the conduct of the war hand-in-hand with them, also endeavoured to the utmost of her resources to extend help to them, both financially and economically. Naturally, Japan's economic market was profoundly affected by the war, either directly or indirectly, for it was unavoidable that whatever economic changes appeared in Europe and America should also be felt on these shores. Below will be attempted a brief survey of our economic movement during this memorable epoch of four years and a half.

#### FINANCE

When the European War broke out in July, 1914, Japan soon entered it on the Allied side, and promptly took steps to subjugate Tsingtao. The dislocation of the money market of Europe had adverse effect on Japan, threatening a recall at once of all her short-termed foreign loans. Our money market was placed in a strained condition. Then followed, one after another in quick succession, economic disturbances of grave moment, such as the peril of voyage, abnormal advance of marine-insurance rate, deranged condition of exchange market, and so on. Our oversea trade was thrown out of order, and the heavy fall in the raw silk market—the most important export—inflicted a severe blow to our economy. It was fortunate that it escaped with relatively less harm than it would otherwise have been but for the distance that separated Japan from the seat of war, and for the fact that the policy of contraction she had consistently pursued for several years past in finance left the central coffers in comparatively easy condition. The result was that the Treasury was enabled to pay the Tsingtao expense without falling back on any special financial devices.



The year 1915 witnessed a favourable turn in the financial and economic movement of Japan, due to succession of orders arriving from Europe for war materials and from the South Seas and neighbouring countries for Japanese goods to take the place of imports that used to come from Germany and other warring countries. Next, the growing scarcity of the world's tonnage exerted a favourable influence on the charterage and freight rate of Japanese bottoms, with the consequence that the amount of her "invisible international receipt" was materially increased. Meanwhile, the dislocation of the economic condition of the world stimulated the rise of various new enterprises in Japan, especially chemical and mechanical industries, the import of whose productions had become seriously obstructed, this occasioning abnormal advance of the market.

All these factors of economic activity acquired greater impetus in 1916—namely, increased demand for munitions from the belligerent Powers and for the Japanese substitutes from the Far Eastern countries and the South Seas. The result of this state of trade movement was shown in the balance of trade being returned continuously in favour of exports. Then the withdrawal of the world's bottoms for transport service and the destructive activity of the enemy submarine occasioned greater scarcity of shipping available for normal purpose of transportation, this accounting for the unusual boom the Japanese shipowners experienced in their business with enormous receipts realized from both charterage and freightage. The situation of the international account developed highly favourable to the credit account of Japan, and her specie hoard grew apace. This general economic tendency was reflected in the steady rise of prices of commodities and in the striking activity of all economic enterprises, which absorbed immense amount of funds. Bank deposits and loans and clearing-house returns marked a new record. Japan was now in a position to undertake the issue of a number of foreign loans, and, moreover, to

redeem to some extent her foreign liabilities contracted before the war. Amidst this state of universal boom a rumour circulated towards the end of that year that Germany had decided to propose peace gave a shock to a section of the economic world, especially to the stock market, in anticipation of possible sudden developments in the market of the world. It experienced a slump, to be soon restored to the normal condition. This incident served as a good warning to our economic world.

In the first half of 1917, thanks to the continued prosperity of her oversea trade and the great prosperity of the ship-building industry, Japan's economic activity reached the highest water mark ever known before. Meanwhile, the expansion of the scope of the war, with the necessity on the part of the belligerents to face the situation, resulted in restriction in the consumption of principal commodities, or to the subjecting of them to control, thereby partially limiting both exports and imports. Thus the development of our oversea trade experienced a great check. At home the greater advance of prices of commodities and the increased inflow of specie obliged the Government to adopt a special measure to counteract the economic policy of the other countries, to place the foreign trade under ban, and also to subject the money market, volume of currency, prices of commodities, and shipping under control. In the second half of the year the economic movement experienced a check, but fortunately it continued on the whole to move in a favourable direction.

In 1918 the downfall of Czardom in Russia and her independent peace with Germany, the spread of Bolshevism in Siberia, and the serious menace in consequence to the frontier of Japan, this even compelling her to despatch troops for its defence, brought about greater restriction on shipping, transactions on staple commodities, and foreign trade. However, it did not prevent the continued activity of our trade with the South Seas and South America. At the same time, import trade began expanding, export trade lagging far behind. It is noteworthy that even amidst

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these circumstances our business world continued lively, and, indeed, a similar phenomenon was witnessed in the general market. The advances in prices at last provoked the loud outcry of a section of people complaining of hard living, this developing into riotous agitation in several towns. The conclusion of the Armistice in November suddenly plunged the war-time enterprises in depression, though at the same time it raised hope of restored animation of normal enterprise. Both the money market and industries having been on guard, the economic world did not experience any great set-back even on the memorable occasion of the cessation of the war.

# THE ATTITUDE OF KRILOV TOWARDS LITERARY WORK AND CRITICISM

## I

### THE RICH MAN AND THE POET

(*Translated by* JOHN POLLEN, C I E , L L D )

WITH rich grandee a Poet issue raised,  
And Jove implored for his support  
They both were summoned to the Court  
They came one lean and half-starved and dazed,  
Scarce clothed and bare of feet  
The other all in gold, puffed up with proud conceit

"Olympian Autocrat, have mercy now !  
O Cloud compeller ! Lightning hurler ! thou "  
(The Poet cried) " How have I sinned 'gainst Thee,  
That from my youth I suffer Fortune's ban ?  
No rest ! No rest ! and all I have and gain

Merely imagination vain !  
The while my rival here so proud—  
Of wit and merit void—your image great outclasses !  
The Palace girt by an adoring crowd,  
A life of luxury in clover passes !"

" And is this really naught—  
Thy lyre to latest age with sounds will ring ?"  
(Said Jupiter) " And to remembrance brought  
Grandchild and great grandchild thy songs will sing  
Hast thou not fame and name thyself secured ?  
While I to him mere earthly ease assured  
Trust me ! Were he to knowledge more inured,  
And were it possible for him to see  
His utter emptiness compared with thee,  
He'd grumble more than thou against the lot by him  
endured "

## SIR HENRY COTTON

BY MADAME OLGA NOVIKOFF

It often seems to me that we do not sufficiently value the best things in life, particularly some of the pleasures and delights that are always within our reach. There are, for instance, certain books—do they not lead us into the society of the best and noblest of our fellows, mould our thoughts and guide our opinions, act on us as a happy influence to awaken and stimulate independent thought and reasoning? It is wrong to pass over such books in silence, for to do so is to leave unnoticed pleasures for which many a mind may yearn. To this category belongs, in my opinion, “Indian and Home Memories,” a book as fresh now as on the first day of publication, whose author, Sir Henry Cotton, having spent more than thirty-five years of his life in India and occupied there the responsible posts, first of judge, and later on of Lieutenant-Governor of Assam, was a great authority on Indian affairs. On his return to England in 1906, Sir Henry was elected a Member of Parliament, where his defence of Indian feelings has always been conspicuous by its solid foundation on fact and experience, and where his past judicial activity served him in such good stead, as much from the dialectical standpoint as from that of an extreme conscientiousness in relation to every question upon which he touched.

Of Sir Henry’s reminiscences I will refer to only such as concern ourselves—in other words, the pages that touch upon Russia’s rôle in Tibet, and upon the author’s interview with that sincere friend of Russia and that enthusiastic champion of sobriety, the great Gladstone. Let me

turn, first of all, to far-away Tibet, and afterwards to the question that unhappily touches us so closely, that of the unrestrained sale and consumption of alcohol, so rapidly abolished by the Imperial Order and infamously reintroduced by the Bolsheviki, together with their other infamous measures

It is obvious from Sir Henry's descriptions that every mention of Russia's policy in Asia was immediately converted by Lord Beaconsfield and his party into a scare. Even the Viceroy of India at the time, a man of wide culture and intelligence, did not escape this contagion, and on one occasion, indeed, the rumour having reached Simla that a stray Mongolian Buddhist had forced his way to the almost unapproachable Dalai Lhama, he grew seriously alarmed, and saw in the incident a dangerous Russian intrigue. These feelings, however, did not prevent the Anglo-Russian Entente from becoming a fact some years later.

But let us return to the distant timorous Tibet of that time, whose somewhat childlike prayer to its gods was that it might be left in peace and saved from the attentions of any uninvited guests that may find excuse or reason for entering its sacred precincts. Tibet, with its beloved Dalai Lhama, had acknowledged the supremacy of China, and was, as it seems, perfectly happy and contented in its inviolable isolation thanks to the distance that separated her from her ally, and turned that intimacy into a very platonic one. In England, however, at that time, they grew excited on account of the above-mentioned Mongolian, and sent to Lhasa the ironically called "peace-loving expedition." Sir Henry, however, at the time did not give it that euphemistic title. Things have changed, however, even in distant Tibet. I do not know whether a curious report has reached English ears to the effect that the last Dalai Lhama, so far from being afraid of foreign faces, some years later even negotiated with Russia for his personal visit to the Emperor Nicholas II. This naturally

would have been a great event in Tibet, and something new and very amusing for Petrograd

Let us turn now to another question touched upon by Sir Henry, a question of vital interest to Russia—that of sobriety I will quote Sir Henry's words on this subject, in connection with his reminiscences of that kind Slavophil, Gladstone

"I found Mr and Mrs Gladstone quite alone, with the exception of Mrs Drew, who was not well enough to come to table, and remained lying on a couch There were no servants admitted during the meal, so that complete privacy and frankness of conversation was possible, and we helped ourselves from the sideboard, Mr Gladstone refusing assistance in carving or in any other way He spoke of his departed son William with emotion, and pressed me to tell him of my recollections of him as a young man After that the conversation somehow drifted on temperance, and he indulged in reminiscences of his own past In his youth there had been heavy drinking at table, especially of port, in which he had himself shared, but he had early broken himself of the habit 'By drinking nothing,' said he, 'you can easily cure yourself from any desire to drink And so I trained myself until during a long day's tramping on the Scotch moors I would need to drink nothing at all, not even water Give me now a glass or two of good sound claret, and I want no more.' Then he asked me what I was accustomed to drink in India, and I said two or three long glasses of whisky and soda 'Too much' he interposed, 'one a day should be enough' And when I ventured to suggest that with the heat and exhaustion of the climate some greater stimulus than that was occasionally wanted—'Not at all, not at all'

"Then," continues Sir Henry Cotton, "I boldly raised the subject of India, and referred to the difficulties and intricacies of the problem we were destined to face in that country He lifted his hands, and in a tone of pathos cried 'All true! all true! Of that I feel sure. But who

is enough for these things? It all comes too late for me I am too old to take up any big question now! At last he said he must rest."

This little page of Gladstonian reminiscences interests me, and reminds me of countless occasions on which Gladstone spoke of the advisability of encouraging tea-drinking among the people. Indeed, there were many who even laughed at his enthusiastic advocacy of this harmless beverage. He himself, I am told, never limited himself to one large cup, but could do with many, and that draws a curious parallel between the great Gladstone and some of my Tamboff peasants, on the occasions when they came to tell me their troubles, and I also offered them tea.

It has always been my dream to see India, and it was also the dream of my brother Alexander to inspect the magnificent scenery, the numerous monuments, the different striking nationalities, the beauty of which has often been described in Russian books, and is grandly painted by our Vereschagin. When I was in England during the Slavonic agitation I had the chance of being asked to go out to stay with an English official. The invitation was tempting—but at that time I was very young, and suddenly got frightened at the idea that the presence of a Russian in an English official house in India could do harm to my host. So I declined the invitation, an action which, of course, was absurd, as they were sure to know their interests better than I. That did not prevent me, however, from travelling in my imagination to Hindustan, and I naturally enjoyed conversations on India, and I liked to see that Sir Henry, with all his sympathies for the Indian people, was always guided by his great sense of duties to his own country. However that may be, his remarks testify to the outspokenness of his political views.



## ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION

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### THE QUEST OF ANTIQUITIES\*

BY WARREN R. DAWSON

THE many visitors who inspect the antiquities in the Egyptian galleries of the British Museum, and who have before their eyes the masterpieces of the greatest of all ancient civilizations, must be affected in various ways by the great array of objects they see. One impression, however, can scarcely be otherwise than common to all temperaments, and that is the atmosphere of stately austerity and calm which pervades the great gallery. The statues of the august personages who sit stolidly on their thrones, or the massive sarcophagi which embraced the mortal remains of the Pharaohs or their nobles, seem to be the very embodiment of decorum, dignity, and power. One would imagine that their entrance into their resting place in the museum would have been accomplished in the most decorous and dignified manner, and with pomp and circumstance befitting their traditions, and yet we have to learn, by the narrative Sir Ernest Budge now lays before us, of the tortuous and adventurous paths by which many of these antiquities journeyed from the *caches* in which their ancient ministrants hid them to the haven they now occupy in the great *cache* prepared for them by the Trustees of the Museum. One could scarcely imagine, moreover, before reading these volumes, that the Egyptologist who sits as stolidly as the statues he guards in a study on the floor above them is the agent who devised and carried out the deeds of "derring do" which snatched so many antiquities out of Egypt and safely deposited them in London.

Sir Ernest Budge's activity is astounding. Since his student days in the seventies he has published about 130 volumes, many of them bulky tomes involving the transcription of hundreds of lines of hieroglyphic, coptic, cuneiform, and other characters. He has prosecuted his researches, discharged his official duties at the Museum, and, as we now learn, has made no fewer than seventeen expeditions to Egypt and Mesopotamia on behalf of the Museum. Added to this, one must suppose a minimum time for eating and sleeping, and we have a picture of crowded years of ant-like activity and industry.

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\* "By Nile and Tigris"—a narrative of journeys in Egypt and Mesopotamia on behalf of the British Museum, between 1886 and 1913, by Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, Kt., Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum. London, John Murray. 2 vols., 8vo., 1920. Price 3 guineas net.

It must be frankly admitted that in the two handsome and well-illustrated volumes which we are now examining the author has provided us with a narrative of the greatest interest. His introductory reminiscences of the late Dr Samuel Birch and other Orientalists of the last generation are no less interesting than the vivid picture he paints of travel and life between Baghdad and London, but all this is incidental to the main purpose of the work, which is an account of the missions he undertook to acquire antiquities for, and under the instructions of, the British Museum Trustees.

As regards the acquisition of Assyrian and Asiatic monuments, there is little comment to make. The British Museum was the authorized holder of certain sites from which, in the absence of the excavator, a leakage of antiquities became apparent, and objects emanating from the Trustees concession were coming into the "antica" market. Sir Ernest Budge's primary duty was to investigate and rectify this abuse, and from these journeys incidentally he returned with many other spoils acquired in various ways. It is, however, of the Egyptian journeys and their results that we would more particularly speak. Under local law, the details of which have been modified from time to time, all Egyptian antiquities are the property of the Government, and all treasure trove has to be rendered to the authorities, by whom alone permission to excavate can be granted. Whatever we may think of the principle, there is no doubt that the law as formulated was ill-conceived and worse executed, and the administration of the Service of Antiquities was, and is, anything but perfect, and in the teeth of all regulations clandestine dealing in antiquities has been vigorously carried on, and a great trade done with private collectors and the representatives of European museums. Under the two periods of administration by the late Sir Gaston Maspero technical difficulties were largely overcome by his charming and diplomatic personality, for he generally succeeded in maintaining the official standpoint and at the same time he satisfied all parties, both native and foreign, and if the letter of the law was not strictly complied with, at least matters proceeded smoothly. In the intervening period, however, the administration was in the hand of persons less gifted with Maspéro's peculiar qualifications, and the tactless and rigorous methods employed to enforce the law had no other effect than to make the zest of antiquities all the keener, and a steady flow of them was smuggled out of the country.

Rightly or wrongly—we will not presume to sit in judgment—Sir Ernest Budge determined that the British Museum collection should continue to acquire its share of all the antiquities it needed, if not with the consent of the Egyptian authorities, then directly in opposition to them. Again and again he tracked down his treasure, and to secure and export it became a battle of wits, a battle in which he was always the victor. As an instance of this we may cite the case of the group of papyri—those of Ani, Nu, Anhai, and others (Vol. I, p 123 *et seq*). Sir Ernest Budge and the Service of Antiquities were both informed of the "find," and both were determined to acquire it. To cut a long story short, he secured and hid the papyri before M. Grébaut, of the Service, arrived. Grébaut caused the house in which they were stored to be sealed and guarded, but Sir Ernest

secured his treasure by undermining the back wall of the house under cover of darkness, and by this rat-like means outwitted the guards who were posted in front. By means far more subtle he succeeded in getting his papyri from Upper Egypt to the coast, where, by another manoeuvre, they left the country, and finally arrived at the British Museum, whilst the finder continued his travels eastward.

The author tells us much, but he whets our appetite for more. We gather from his account, for instance, that the Papyrus of Ani was seen by him *in situ* in its owner's tomb, which was presumably inviolate, but he tells us nothing about this tomb or its other contents, indeed, its very site would seem to be unknown to all but him.

On the same adventurous journey the famous Tell el Amarna Tablets were secured for the British Museum, and the fight by which they were won is vivid and interesting, but perhaps the episode of the orange box, which attaches to a later journey, is the most original of all (Vol II, p 351). Sir Ernest Budge had secured the missing portion of an important Greek papyrus, and the authorities, who were aware of this, put every difficulty in his way to prevent his making off with it, and the Customs officials were warned to be particularly on the alert. The papyrus was laid by its captor between the sheets of a packet of souvenir photographs, and Sir Ernest on his departure from Egypt carried these, his greatcoat, and a box of oranges which he purchased. He checkmated the railway officials who were looking out for him, and had then the Customs officers to deal with. These latter demanded his orange box, and he made the most stubborn resistance to handing it over. The excitement became intense, as the officials naturally supposed that it concealed the papyrus, hence his reluctance to have it searched. Finally Sir Ernest, with an ill grace, gave in, the box was opened and found to contain—oranges, but during the scuffle he had handed his great-coat and the packet of photographs to his servant, who bore them safely away!

"Nile and Tigris" is a book of captivating interest, but it is amazing reading. It would be amazing enough if the adventures there related with such candour had been undertaken on behalf of a dauntless private collector, but when we reflect that Sir Ernest Budge was the official representative of a great British Government department, who instigated, aided, abetted, and approved, it gives us furiously to think whether in the interests of science the time has not come for a thorough overhaul of the entire law relating to antiquities. Now that Egypt is a British protectorate, the British Government should surely consider the necessity of using its influence with the local authorities whereby a just and equitable system might be formulated, to the end that every great Museum or Institution which will undertake the proper conservation and publication of its treasures shall be able to obtain a fair share of antiquities by more orthodox means. We know too well that, things being as they are, if Sir Ernest Budge had not succeeded in obtaining his specimens, the representative of some foreign museum would have done so, were he clever enough, but this does not affect the principle. Apart, however, from the main issue, there is no doubt that Sir Ernest Budge accomplished his tasks with

brilliant success, and as the result the British Museum collection is enriched by many unique and wonderful objects, but we cannot take leave of this interesting book without a regret that the *shawabti* figure of the Pharaoh Amenophis II was not replaced upon the mummy of the King, instead of forming, as it now does, part of the British Museum collection (Vol II, p 366)

## EGYPTOLOGICAL NOTES

BY WARREN R DAWSON

3 IN the notes on the religious reforms of Akhnaton in the last issue of this REVIEW,\* reference was made to the rigid and fixed order of precedence which obtained throughout the Pharaonic period of history In this connection some notes on a contemporary document which gives a classified list of the hierarchy may be of interest The British Museum has long possessed a document probably written about the time of the twenty-first dynasty, which is generally known as the Hood Papyrus † After the manner of Egyptian hieratic compositions it bears a most comprehensive and grandiloquent title, which may be rendered as follows

“Here begin the instructions whereby the ignorant as well as the learned may know exactly all that the Ptah has created and Thoth recorded, the heavens and the stars, the earth and all that therein is, the gushing waters, the mountains, the inundation, the oceans, as well as the things which are beneath the canopy of Rè, and all the hierarchy established on earth”

According to the title, this little document of two pages promises to be a veritable handbook to a knowledge of the universe, and after a mention of the name of the copyist, one Amenemopet, it plunges straight into a catalogue of all things animate and inanimate

The first section enumerates the sky, the stars, the phenomena of nature, and water and land in its various aspects, especially the former, land being treated of only in its relation to water, and the second section deals with the hierarchy, beginning with God and Goddess, the spirits of the dead, then the reigning King and his wife Next follow the princes, governors, and the higher civil and administrative officers of the State These are succeeded by the officers of the Pharaoh and his court, the nomarchs, military dignitaries and civil servants After these are viceroys and local governors of provinces and subject states

It will thus be seen that hitherto all the officers mentioned (below the rank of the royal family) have been secular as opposed to religious, and the following section opens with the priesthood The first prophet of Amon precedes the high-priest of Rè, a natural order under the Theban

\* *Supra*, p 338

† No 10,202 It was published in facsimile with a transcript translation and commentary as long ago as 1888 by Maspero in the second volume of his *Études Égyptiennes*

**dynasties** The religious functionaries are curiously punctuated by the insertion of a number of officials of the palace, after which the enumeration of clergy and laity of the temples is resumed, down to the attendants, porters, bakers of various kinds of sacrificial loaves and cakes, and craftsmen in wood, stone and metals attached to the service of the temples, when the narrative abruptly comes to an end in the middle of a word

Any kind of commentary on this interesting papyrus would be out of place on the present occasion. The above has merely been stated to show what an elaborate sense of order the Egyptians possessed, nor is this document unique. Scraps of a duplicate text were discovered amongst a mass of papyrus fragments on the site of the Ramesseum at Thebes,\* and a fuller and much more complete version, at present unpublished, exists in the Gollenischeff collection. In the main, the order of precedence is borne out by the monuments, although several titles mentioned in the papyrus have not been found elsewhere, and, on the other hand, a certain number with which we are familiar do not occur in the list. This may be partly accounted for by the fact that many titles held by the Egyptian aristocracy, and which are set out at length in their tombs, were merely honorific, and did not imply any definite or traditional function. A detailed study of this text raises many interesting problems as to the origin, nature and order of the titles, the investigation of which involves the whole history of ancient Egypt, political, mythological, and legendary.

4 *The Critical Study of Egyptian Art*—The Egypt Exploration Society has recently been most fortunate in securing the services of Monsieur Jean Capart to lecture on Egyptian art †. The study of ancient art in general and Egyptian art in particular has been pursued in a somewhat haphazard and uncritical manner, and the time is fully ripe for a more systematic handling of the subject. Monsieur Capart is known to a wide circle of readers by the numerous sumptuous publications which bear his name, and a new volume on the critical study of Egyptian art which covers the whole field is already in the press, and its appearance eagerly awaited.

In spite of the excellent work done by Perrot and Chipiez, ‡ by the late Sir Gaston Maspero, § and others, the systematic study of Egyptian art is hampered by a number of causes, which the lecturer described. These are (1) The hurried and sparsely recorded discoveries of early excavators, and the hazards of discovery, and the inevitable gaps in the series, (2) the dispersal of objects in various museums, (3) the uncritical accumulation of objects in the museums, (4) the absence of a comprehensive collection of plaster casts, (5) the imperfection and inadequacy of

\* *Hieratic Papyri and Ostraka from the Ramesseum*, London, 1898, Plate lxvii.

† At the Royal Society's Rooms, on March 23, 1920.

‡ *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, Tome I, *L'Égypte*.

§ *Études sur l'Art Égyptien*, Paris, 1912, and numerous separate memoirs.

## *Egyptological Notes*

publications, and the different methods and styles of illustration employed, which makes comparison difficult, and finally, (6) the mass of unpublished documents which still await proper treatment in the British Museum, the Louvre, the Turin Museum, and, in fact, in all the great collections

In addition to the above, the subject teems with internal difficulties. There is a lack of literary tradition, there is no Egyptian Pausanias, the names of the artists are unknown to us, and we fail to find analogies with other countries in tracing definite schools of art. Again, the varying quantities of documents of the same date from one locality, and indeed from a single tomb, embarrass us. Another great problem is an oft-recurring one—namely, the usurpation of monuments by later Kings, the misconception of which has thrown the chronology of the subject into chaos.

The history of Egyptian art is not so much a record of progress as the history of deviations and derivations (as far as rigid conservatism would permit) from a very ancient standard of perfection. With these preliminaries, each of which was illustrated by apt examples, Monsieur Capart proceeded to discuss the task which lies before us at the present time, the greatest and first of which is a critical examination of origins. We must next beware of preconceived ideas, which bias the mind and warp the judgment. We must draw logical conclusions from established facts, however disturbing to our pet theories the results may be. Art has always been an irresistible peg on which to hang a mass of hypotheses and dogmas. We must content ourselves for the present with making faithful use of our materials, and with realizing that the absolute beginnings of Egyptian art are still beyond our reach, much hard work must be done and many gaps must be filled before we can set about the task of building up a continuous history of the art of ancient Egypt.

## CORRESPONDENCE

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"A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR"

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### THE PRONUNCIATION OF GREEK IN ENGLAND

BY DR MICHAEL D VOLONAKIS

BEING a Greek myself, I have always admired the earnest and very active pursuit of classical studies, principally Greek literature, by the British people, most especially at Oxford and Cambridge, those venerable strongholds of Greek scholastic learning. Also I have often read with delight the opinions of leading scholars and prominent statesmen as to the high value of such education.

Owing to the zealous study of the treasures of the ancient Greek spirit, as revealed to the Western World since the Renaissance, the British Empire has produced most distinguished scholars and learned students of the distant past, who successfully led the youth of their day to a better conception of political duty and to higher ideals, embracing the welfare not only of the British but of the whole of humanity.

From the schools and universities of the kingdom, imbued with classical culture, recalling the ancient Hellenic and Roman world, there came forth authors of monumental works, the great pioneers of British statesmanship and administration, veritable ornaments of society, discoverers in the field of literature, science and art, who have held their country's reputation high in the councils and judgments of the world.

I have been happy enough in visiting—on a special mission—some of the most famous English schools, and witnessed the progress made in Greek studies, but I was very sorry to hear that the number of students of that language "to which," according to Professor Arthur Headlam, "the world owes mental discipline, humanism, political wisdom and the love of scientific truth," has been steadily decreasing.

Headmasters and professors have informed me that many students were beginning to consider Greek, like Latin, a dead language, and useless for practical life.

This made me think that the study of Greek would be followed up with more zeal, if certain modifications were introduced in the system of teaching, thus enabling parents and students to see that this reform would be to their own advantage as well as to that of the community in general.

This slight reform would extend to the method of pronunciation, which must be rapidly replaced in all the schools by that practised by modern Greeks. This alteration could be helped forward by the professors who are appointed in the Universities and colleges for teaching modern Greek.

## *The Pronunciation of Greek in England*

Such a reform, I am sure, would not militate against the most arbitrary Erasman arguments, for it is almost universally admitted that the pronunciation of modern Greek is not only handed down traditionally by the Byzantines to the modern Greeks, but also that this pronunciation is consonant with that which began to form in the fifth century B C and was crystallized in the Greco-Roman era.\*

Otherwise it may be considered from a practical point of view as a waste of time to try to learn a language not as it is actually pronounced by the nationals of that country, but according to foreign prescriptions, or as it may possibly have been pronounced thousands of years ago

The modern Greek pronunciation would considerably help the young to learn modern Greek easily, and so make them feel the joy of learning a living and a useful language, or as the distinguished Professor Spencer Wilkinson states, "to have the sense of having acquired a new power" Furthermore, the study of Greek, in accordance with the noble British traditions for *litteræ humaniores*, would be revived and maintained in the higher grades of education

Greeks, as is well known, preponderate as merchants and seamen in the Eastern Mediterranean

Owing to their wide commercial connections they are frequently brought into contact with the British, the great seafaring and manufacturing people, and consequently British interests, which are so prevalent in those waters, would greatly benefit thereby

This affinity of interests between the two peoples, cemented by traditional and mutual sympathy, will be highly strengthened and consolidated by a better and wider understanding of the two languages

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\* Some instances confirm it As is well known, Plato in "Kratylus" tells us that his contemporaries instead of the  $\tau$  perversely use either  $\epsilon$  or  $\eta$  We also know that a verse from the Delphic oracle quoted by Thucydides and running thus, "A Dorian war will come and a plague with it," raised a vehement discussion amongst the Athenians owing to the employment of a word the sound of which bore two meanings—namely, *limos* and famine, and *loimes* and plague The *istacisme*, therefore, commenced at that time can also be seen in later inscriptions, in manuscripts and in the prejudice which existed against it among the Latins



# LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

## OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

LIFE OF LORD KITCHENER By Sir George Arthur In three volumes  
(*Macmillan*) 1920

(*Reviewed by* LIEUT.-GENERAL F H TYRRELL)

It is just four years since Lord Kitchener met his mysterious fate, and the myth of his survival, which for a time excited the hopes of some of those nearest and dearest to him, has long since been finally dispelled. The story of his strenuous and brilliant career is told in these three crowded volumes by his friend and confidant, Sir George Arthur, who sums up his hero's epitaph in the words "He lived for his country, has served his country, he died in her service. His country will not forget."

He was born in Ireland, through the accident of his father having purchased an estate there, but there was no Irish blood in his veins nor Irish sentiment in his nature.

He was a quiet boy, not physically strong, for he outgrew his strength, and consequently was not good at games, he never went to a public school, but was educated at home, and was in consequence more cultured and better informed than most of his contemporaries.

His father, Colonel Kitchener, had been in the 13th Hussars and wished his son to follow his career in the cavalry, but the boy's genius was mathematical, and his father wisely allowed him to follow the bent of his mind, and he obtained a commission in the Royal Engineers at the age of seventeen. He had no advantages of birth or wealth, he owed his rapid advancement solely to the good opinion formed of his character and qualities by those under whom he served, or who came in contact with him. Carlyle has defined genius as an infinite capacity for taking pains. Kitchener's genius was of this description, plodding rather than volatile, he planned and prepared for all eventualities with care and forethought, and he left nothing to chance, but he was quick in decision and prompt in action.

Once he had made up his mind, he could not be turned from his purpose, he despised argument and declined to enter upon it. When he joined the corps of Royal Engineers he came under religious influences. It might be supposed that the study of the exact sciences would be apt to inculcate a distaste for theology, but, in fact, a larger proportion of religiously minded men are to be found in the scientific branches of the army, and in the good old days of the purchase system the officers of those branches were wont to be classified by their comrades of the cavalry

and the line under the three headings of "Mad, Married, or Methodist." Kitchener's religion took the form of attachment to the ritualistic practices and doctrines which were then beginning to permeate the life of the Anglican Church, and he became a member of the Army Guild of the Holy Standard, and remained so till the end of his life. His religious convictions probably influenced his acceptance of employment on the Palestine Exploration Fund, which first introduced him to the sphere of Eastern life and politics. When he was a cadet at Woolwich he had already begun the study of Hebrew as a recreation, and he was keenly interested in the geography and archæology of the Holy Land.

The opportunities afforded by military service in our widespread British Empire, with its various peoples and its varying climates, make the British soldier a man of the world in the best sense of the term, and dispose him to pity the ignorance of his continental brother in arms, whose experience of the world is confined to the military district within which his corps has its fixed and permanent abode. But few British officers have had such wide fields and such varied experiences of service as Lord Kitchener of Khartoum. His early employment was as an Engineer officer, surveying and mapping Palestine, Cyprus, and the Peninsula of Sinai, but the knowledge thus gained of Oriental men and manners recommended him to Lord Beaconsfield as one of the Vice-Consuls whom he was appointing to superintend the introduction of reforms into the Turkish Empire, with the vain hope of converting that moribund monarchy into an efficient barrier against the further advance of Russia in the Near East. This grandiose scheme was upset by Mr Gladstone's accession to power, whose first care was to reverse the policy and to cancel the appointments of his predecessor. Kitchener lost his job, but after a brief spell of home service he heard the East calling him, and fulfilled the wish of his father that he should be a cavalry officer by joining the Egyptian Army and becoming Major of the single cavalry regiment of the land which had once sent forth the horse-men of the Pharaohs and the Mamelukes. He took a share in all the desultory fighting with the Dervishes in the Red Sea littoral and the confines of Egypt, and became successively Adjutant General of the Egyptian Army, and then its Commander in Chief or Sirdar, that title being used by the Turks to denote an independent command. In this capacity he planned and carried out the reconquest of the Egyptian or Eastern Sudan, proving himself to be a strategist and a tactician of the highest order. In the crowning victory at Omdurman, ten thousand Dervishes were left dead in the field, while the loss of the victors, both in British and native troops, did not exceed fifty. In describing the gallant charge of the 21st Empress of India's Lancers in this battle, Sir George Arthur, in a note, makes the curious misstatement that "the 21st Lancers had only joined the British Service (from the E.I.C.) in 1862, and had not seen service since a detachment acted as a guard to Napoleon at St Helena." The regiment was only raised in 1858, during the Mutiny, previous to which time the East India Company had no corps of European cavalry in its army.

To the command of the Indian Army he was warmly welcomed by the

Viceroy, Lord Curzon, but as the poet Saadi says "Two Dervishes can sleep under one blanket, but one kingdom cannot contain two kings!" Lord Cromer and Kitchener had worked in perfect harmony in Egypt, unhampered by councils, rules, or regulations—these latter they made as they went along. But in Simla Kitchener found himself tied up in red tape, confronted at every step by the *non possumus* of some finance minister or Accountant General. Instead of the rule of thumb methods on which he relied, he found himself involved in an endless tangle of routine and circumlocution. It was patent even to a newcomer that Army Headquarters were paperlogged with a plethora of correspondence and minutes writing, and its work impeded by the defective co-ordination of departments, and the overlapping of their functions. Lord Curzon himself had written to Kitchener before his arrival "I regard military administration in India as bound up in interminable writing and over-centralization, from which I have been doing my best to relieve it." And not long after taking up his command Kitchener entirely endorsed this judgment. "I find I have hardly a moment here in this awful system of doing nothing but write minutes, which apparently make up the Government of India." To get anything done, however small, under the present system is the work of a lifetime, and as soldiers only hold their billets for five years, the result is evident, and is apparently what the Government of India like.

In Great Britain the Secretary of State for War, who had at first been only the mouthpiece of the Army in Parliament, had gradually encroached upon the functions of the Commander-in-Chief until finally he usurped them altogether, and a similar process was going on in India, the Military Secretary, who was a Member of the Viceroy's Council, assuming an independent authority, this Lord Kitchener would not brook, and when Lord Curzon backed up the Military Secretary a struggle commenced between the two strong men which led to the resignation of the Viceroy, and Kitchener gave his point.

After the expiration of his tenure of the Indian Command he succeeded his friend and patron Lord Cromer as British Agent in Egypt, where he proved as able and successful in the Cabinet as in the field.

He was called from his civil duties on the unexpected breaking out of war with Germany in August, 1914, to take the place of the civilian Secretary of State for War, and to prepare a totally unprepared nation for a struggle such as it had not been engaged in for a century. He surpassed all his previous achievements and proved himself a second Carnot in the arts of organizing victory and improvising armies.

These volumes contain two portraits of Lord Kitchener, one from the picture by Horsfall in the National Portrait Gallery, another in Field-Marshal's full-dress uniform, from a photograph by the London Stereoscopic Company, also photographic groups of the Field-Marshal and his Staff, and facsimile copies of correspondence, maps, and plans, among which is a map showing the distribution of the Indian Army as arranged by Lord Kitchener, and another showing his proposed scheme for strategic railways in India.

## RELIGION

**THE TEACHING OF THE QUR'ĀN**, With an Account of its Growth and a Subject Index By the Rev H. U. Weitbrecht Stanton, PH D., D D (London *Central Board of Missions and S P C K*) 1919 7s net

(Reviewed by T W ARNOLD, C I E )

For the present generation, the Qur'ān has assumed an importance that it has not perhaps had for several centuries. In estimating its influence, it must be remembered that for a large part of the Muhammadan world, Turkey, Persia, India, the Malay Archipelago, and China, the text of the Qur'ān, being written in Arabic, is unintelligible, and translations have not in former times been looked upon with much favour by the orthodox. During the last century, however, a growing desire for a more intimate acquaintance with the contents of the sacred scripture of their faith has made itself manifest, especially among those Muhammadans who have come under the influence of Western culture and education, and a number of translations in the living speech of those parts of the Muhammadan world, where Arabic is not the language of daily life, have been published in response to this need. Among the Modernists and the more advanced sections of educated Muslim thinkers there is a tendency to reject traditional methods of exegesis and to claim for themselves liberty and interpretation, with a consequent disregard of commentators and a direct reference to the original text.

Some Christian controversialists have been slow to recognize this changed aspect of Muslim theology, but Dr Weitbrecht Stanton, with his intimate knowledge of living phases of Muhammadan thought, has given it full recognition, and presents in this volume an exposition of the theology of the Qur'ān, as distinct from later comments. "Faced by the life and thought of a new age, Islam is struggling with the difficult task of adjusting its early medievalism to the demands of a modern world. Naturally the tendency of progressive Moslems has been to disown the accretions of their schoolmen, and to recur to the one sacred volume as the sole genuine expression of the faith and practice incumbent on the true Muslim. But, in making this use of an Arabian book of the seventh century, these progressives have claimed, or at least exercised, a great latitude of interpretation, many results of which are highly repugnant to the orthodox. The thoughtful missionary or other Christian will not withhold his sympathy from those who are striving to vindicate a place for a historical form of monotheism in the new thought world, but in order to form a judgment on their success or failure in so important and difficult an enterprise it is very necessary that he should be able to estimate correctly the actual teaching of the Qur'ān as a whole or in any given part."

Such is the aim of the present work, about half consists of conspectus of the teachings of the Qur'ān under the following main headings: the doctrines of God, revelation, judgment, and salvation, the law of life and the attitude of Islam to other faiths. The exposition is clear and

restrained, and will be of much use to students of Islam and to missionaries. The second half of the book is a subject index of the contents of the Qur'ān, which may prove even more useful to students. But it could with advantage be considerably enlarged, for the value of such an index very much depends on its completeness. As the purpose of the book is stated to be the presentation of the body of moral (as well as the religious) teaching contained in the Qur'ān, the heading *Virtues* might have been largely increased. Several references might be added under the headings *Martyrs*, *Friendship* (only 5, 56, in which friendship with Jews and Christians is forbidden, is quoted, but 4, 143 and 60, 1 also forbid friendship with unbelievers, the verse 5, 85, which speaks of Christians as nearest in affection to believers—given by Dr Stanton under the heading *Christians*—should also be added here), *Parables*, *Refugees*, etc. There might be also a more liberal use of cross-references e.g., *Freewill* has a cross-reference to *Decrees*, but none to *Responsibility*. The following headings do not appear at all: Bribery, Controversy, Life, Propaganda, Proselytism, Renegades, Righteousness, Wisdom.

To the bibliography may well be added "Le Koran analysé, par J. La Beaume" (Paris, 1878), which, like Dr R. Young's "Analytical Concordance to the Bible," quotes the verses under each heading in full, and thus the student is saved the time and labour of looking each passage up separately.

REDEMPTION, HINDU AND CHRISTIAN By Dr Cave (*Oxford University Press*)

This work is one of a series of books which are intended to place within the perspective of the average theological reader a concise study of Indian religions, and to show in what respects they resemble or differ from Christianity. Whether the result of the labours of the authors of the several volumes will be that the cause of Christianity will be advanced in the East it is too early yet to say. But it is unlikely that such treatises will be very effective. For one thing, it is doubtful whether more than a few Hindu religious teachers will read the present volume, and those who do will be unlikely to understand it. The language used is generally far too difficult, and had simpler words and phraseology been employed, there would have been better chance of a wider "public."

The general survey of ancient Hindu religious works in Part I is well, though not too lucidly, expressed. But somehow the exposition seems superficial when compared with the very excellent survey of the teaching, life, and religion of Jesus Christ, which forms the main thread of Part II. Some account of the life of Shri Krishna would have been welcome in Part I, and the concluding chapters of Part II fail to show what the author set out to do—namely, the features in which Christianity and Hinduism resemble each other. Their differences merely are made apparent.

The author fearlessly shows why Christianity has so far failed to supplant Hinduism to any appreciable extent in India. But we think

that he might have gone even farther. He might, for instance, have shown that Christianity as expounded by Protestant missionaries does not appeal to the imagination of the average Hindu. Indians generally are far more imaginative than are we of the Western world, and the religion which contains a measure of superstition or outward show makes more appeal to them than does any amount of prosaic teaching or preaching. Hence the greater vogue which Roman Catholicism has among Indians of a Christian turn of mind than has Protestantism in its various forms. The Indian sees in the average missionary's life too much of the strife for material comfort. He sees men who, with large families, in their home cares have little time left them for practising the meditative part of a religious life which they imagine to be a necessity for the truly spiritual man. Missionaries in India should be unmarried.

Christianity has not yet developed into a superstition, and for this, doubtless, the spread of education in Europe during the last five hundred years, and the imparting of religious instruction to other than a narrow section of people forming a priestly "caste," are responsible. But while avoiding Scylla we have encountered—and not yet safely passed—Charybdis, for the many sects into which the Church of Christ has been split up has done much to impede the spread of Christianity in India. Hinduism is one and indivisible, and Hindus will not accept, without more convincing proofs of efficacy, a religion which they see has disruptive rather than unifying tendencies.

The analogy between the Tamil proverb and the quotation from St Paul's Epistle to the Romans on page 164 is difficult to follow.

H W -B

A GENTLE CYNIC BEING THE BOOK OF KOHELETH By Morris Jastrow, jun (*Lippincott*) 1919 Pp 255

(Reviewed by W W CANNON)

Kohēleth is the Hebrew name of Ecclesiastes, one of the most perplexing books in the Old Testament. Its difficulty arises from its want of plan and consecutive thought, its abrupt and gnomic method of expression, its obscurities and its inconsistencies. In fact, some Jewish Rabbis wished to exclude it from the Canon because of its contradictory sayings (*Tract Shabbath*, 2). Professor Jastrow thinks that the difficulty of interpretation is owing to the fact that the original work was heavily interpolated, and seeks in this book to edit the real core of the work stripped of the additions inserted by (a) the *pious* commentator who inserted matter to make it look orthodox, (b) the *maxim* commentator who introduced proverbs and saws, (c) a third commentator, or perhaps more than one, who introduced various glosses. This method is not a new one. It has long been felt that the epilogue, c. 12<sup>914</sup>, in which Kohēleth is spoken of in the third person, is an addition to the original book, and that a few other lines were doubtful. In 1898 D C Siegfried put forth a very elaborate interpolation theory, postulating four interpolators and two editors. After this G A Barton

## Reviews and Notices

in 1908 seems very moderate. He only requires two interpolators, the *pious* and the *wisdom* commentators. Of course, these three schemes differ in results, such schemes always do. If we had space we should like to compare them, but we must confine ourselves to one or two places. In c 3<sup>1-6</sup> there is a well known list of appointed times "A time to be born and a time to die," etc. Jastrow says that twelve out of the fourteen are interpolated by his maxim commentator. Siegfried and Barton assign the whole to the original Koheleth. In 4<sup>17-56</sup> (divine worship and vows) Jastrow and Barton give the whole to Koheleth, Siegfried assigns the whole to interpolators. In the long piece 11-12<sup>6</sup> both Jastrow and Barton assign the whole (including the magnificent parable of old age) to Koheleth, except a gloss or two, Siegfried will not allow him a word of it. These results do not inspire much confidence in the method. We have little doubt that fifty years hence critics will still be discussing as to which parts are original Koheleth and which are not. It is probable that some matter, including the epilogue, was added to give the book a more religious tone, but we are disposed to lay more weight than Professor Jastrow does (pp 104, 126) on the quality of *inconsistency*, which is apt to mark the writings of discursive thinkers. May not Koheleth, like other gentle cynics in other ages, have lived "a life of doubt diversified by faith"? Anyhow, Professor Jastrow has retained enough of Koheleth to give us a very pleasant book. The general sketch (pp 27-62) of the present position of Old Testament criticism, while it contains some rather doubtful propositions, will give the general reader a very good insight into a complicated and difficult subject. The translation as a whole is very fine, and the exegesis most interesting. An example is 8<sup>10</sup>, where the rendering is really brilliant. "And so I have seen wicked men buried and [people] coming back from the sanctified ground and going about singing their praises in the city where they acted thus—surely this is vanity" (p 228). Perhaps in one or two places the explanation is a little too modern, more in the spirit of Pittsburg than Palestine. It is a little difficult to believe that when Koheleth wrote, "Cast thy bread upon the waters," 11<sup>1</sup>, he was thinking of business ventures in sending out goods on ships, and that when he added, "Divide it up into seven or eight portions" (a very doubtful rendering), he meant, "Do not put all of your investments into one stock, but divide them up into seven or eight companies" (pp 167 8). We have said enough to show how interesting and suggestive this book is. It makes Koheleth a real living man. In the early part of the book he may disguise himself as Solomon, but this mask soon falls off, and we get the philosophy of life as felt by a keen thinker in a decadent age. Professor Jastrow is not, like so many commentators, choked by the weight of his learning. His style is most agreeable and his book is extremely well adapted to the needs of the general reader, while, at the same time, the serious student cannot fail to profit by it. But oh! why is it sent out without an index!

## INDIA

TO THE NATIONS By Paul Richard. (Madras *Ganesh and Co*)THE SEED OF RACE By Sir John Woodroffe (Madras *Ganesh and Co*)*Reviewed by* STANLEY RICE, I C S (RETD)

Bacon has said of the philosophers that "they make imaginary laws for imaginary commonwealths, and their discourses are as the stars, which give little light because they are so high" Mr Richard's rhapsody "To the Nations" is of this type The world was very evil, nation strove against nation and no one was "clean of blood" Civilization, "vain glorious and false," was founded in greed and hypocrisy the greed of other people's land and the hypocrisy which preaches a crusade to free oppressed nations to those who are themselves oppressors And then came the Great War—the war of liberation, which shall free all the peoples of the earth, Belgium and Arabia, India and Africa, no less than Serbia and Poland "The old foundations must be replaced by the foundations of a better and truer civilization" The past belonged to the nations, the future, because of the cleansing of the Great War, shall belong to humanity For what was the law and what was the ideal of the peoples? A law which taught that what was a shame and an abomination to the individual was the glory and the boast of the nation, an ideal which made a monopoly of liberty, a guarantee of self interest of justice, a tool to serve greed of science Humanity was a "field for profits" civilization "a mask of fraud" All this will be changed The greatest country will be that which best serves humanity, for that is the life of the nation And so the Vision arises of a glorified humanity, the Supreme Deity in the Pantheon before whom the nations, the lesser deities, must bow, to whom Man will owe his first allegiance, "the Divine Being who sleeps in the bosom of men and of nations"

It is a glorious ideal, but it is not a new one, and M Richard does not give us much in the shape of constructive criticism Rabindranath Tagore, who appropriately enough has written the preface to the essay, has preached the gospel of humanity in passionate prose Swinburne has worshipped the same god in ecstatic verse. Alexander I tried in his limited way to put the gospel into practice, and the politicians of to-day are attempting to evolve a scheme to the same end

It is all very beautiful, passionate prose poetry, but it is unsatisfying The ideal is so far off that, like the stars, it gives little light because it is so high

Sir John Woodroffe's essay is in quite a different category The opening pages are a little alarming an excursion into the mysteries of Hindu philosophy makes one tremble, until it becomes plain that what the author is pleading for is merely recognition of the forces of racial heredity The Englishman is the product of the English race, the Indian of the Indian Both are, or should be, what they are by a process of evolution, and therefore it is wrong to try and turn the Indian into a thoroughgoing Westerner, just as it is wrong for the orthodox Hindu to cling to outworn superstitions and to effete practices But what the



English have done and are still doing is to educate the Indian boy as if he had no past, no country, no history to speak of. He admits that there is much that is good and even essential in the English education. He grants that we have an unsurpassed literature, and that commercial, industrial, and scientific education must be on English lines, but he asks very pertinently why we insist on school hours which are unsuitable to Indian boys, why we consider that buildings of brick, tables, benches, blackboards are indispensable when one can sit under a tree and write on the sand. And the answer is "because it is the European way." "The young Indian has been subjected to such a strong and continuous suggestion of his inferiority that it is a wonder that any spirit of self assertion has at all survived," in such circumstances "he will, according to every probability, come to depreciate his own people and culture." The Seed of Race, the Sangskara, cannot develop in such soil. If India is to be true to herself and to her own inherited nature, and if she is nevertheless to take her place in the modern world, she should be taught both her own culture and also English and other Western languages, modern science and the rest, and not the latter alone.

There is much in this little essay of sixty four pages with which the student of India cannot but heartily agree. We are perhaps too much taken up with the government, and do not always recognize the supreme importance of the Educational Department. Yet there are many who would gladly see its methods changed and a little more of the racial native element introduced. It is a pity that here and there there are lapses in style and even in grammar. It is irritating to read that the English are "one of the foremost, if not the foremost, power in the world," when so very little would have made the sentence unobjectionable.

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GREAT GANGA THE GURU By Kavita Kaumudi (*Kegan Paul*) 6s net

Kavita Kaumudi is the "private title" conferred upon the author, Elizabeth Arnold, by a saintly pundit of Benares. Thakur Tagore, the elder brother of Sir Rabindranath Tagore, the poet, declares that these poems "are reminiscent of the inspired utterances of our *rishis* of old."

The "conceptions of our India of old" are assuredly very like the modern schools known as New Thought or Higher Thought, and all such bodies of thinkers will find much to interest them in this beautifully printed volume, the subtitle of which gives the key to its object, that of showing "how a seeker sought the Real."

"Is thy soul sick?      *Fear nothing*      thou canst not pray!  
But sit at least thou canst      Sit in the Presence of Him  
who is Fire      sit and fear not      seek not to speak, nor to think!  
But only BE      and—as thou shalt realize thy One-ness  
with Him the Glorious—then shall the tears of an all-great peace and love suffuse thy happy cheeks

"For in that One-ness thou shalt realize that not only has He healed thee, but He has made thee *more His* than thou wert."

What is this but the modern methods of "sitting in the silence" for help and healing?

THE COMING GREAT CHANGE IN EDUCATION By Captain Petaval,  
R E (ret) (Board of Industries and Commerce Bulletin No 1  
Bangalore City)

(Reviewed by THE LADY KATHARINE STUART)

Among the many pressing problems which await our attention at the present time, there is one calling for special attention because it is the basis of all national reformation, and that is the special system of education by means of which we hope to see and believe that we shall see physically sound, mentally equipped, spiritually instructed, and hence divinely guided, young people becoming worthy citizens of numberless beautiful and holy cities. In everything, but more especially in dealing with the young, let us have as our ideal, "The utmost for the Highest." Let us be fully persuaded that the goal in view is no less a thing than the creation, by faith in God, of a regenerated and sanctified humanity, inheritors of all things by the "open sesame" of an open mind and all embracing heart, and a hunger and thirst after righteousness, that such individuals constitute nations who shall be in reality a holy people, living in harmony together in their lovely abode, the earth, so enamoured of the Law of Him who made it, that "nothing shall offend them." Is this thing impossible to us?

"Nothing shall be impossible to you"—such is the keynote of Captain Petaval's book, "The Coming Triumph of Christian Civilization." Let us turn, then, from the contemplation of this glowing Mount Everest of an ideal back to the Eiffel Towers, the rolling switchbacks, the harassing restrictions of modern existence, with a new hope, a new zest. The ideal exists, transcending for ever the lesser altitudes of wealth, reputation—yes, even of earthly honour or glory, but "*are your minds set upon righteousness?*" Let us pause and ensure it. Let us cherish the ideal till it becomes an oasis in the mind, a sanctuary in the heart, an eternal incentive to the soul ascending. It is now many years since the author of "The Great Change in Education" first captured the wise with a word, and satisfactorily showed how the adoption of the simplest code of Christian conduct—the ideal of loving service from the very dawn of life—would surely lead us to bring up children, not in dreary barracks under a harassing, cramping regime of countless restrictions and regulations, but in self supporting communities in which labour and play would be a combination called occupation, in which the work would be adapted to the child, not the child sacrificed to the work, in which the lowliest industry with the hands should by no means preclude, as in apostolic precedent, a simultaneous initiation into the deepest mysteries of the Christian faith, work of which the yoke would be easy and the burden light, in which the Fellow worker would be our Divine Guide, in which the pedagogue would have become a lesser foreman of the works, realizing himself as but "a child of larger growth." The transition from a Judaic, mammon governed semi barbarism to a civilization by love may thus be made almost insensibly. By the creation of numberless agricultural industrial colonies—upon somewhat similar lines to the Bournville, for example—the principle of love as the initiator, promoter, and perfecter

of all enterprise may become a reality, soon even the circumlocution by means of cash may come to be superfluous, and "production for use" or "from everyone according to ability to everyone according to need" be the universally accepted solution of economic distress, but this can best be brought about by the intermediary of an international language like Esperanto, and thereby the love of the Father for every man may find at length a perfect expression and His salvation be seen by the ends of the earth

### NEAR EAST

FORTY FOUR MONTHS IN GERMANY AND TURKEY By Har Dayal, M A  
(P S King and Son)

(Reviewed by CAPTAIN P S CANNON, M A)

THE author of this book is, as is explained in the preface, a late active member of the Indian faction most hostile to Great Britain, who has been led by his experience of the Germans and Turks, while visiting Germany and Turkey during the war, to recant his old opinions. These experiences he relates in four sections of the highest interest to all students, not only of the "Nationalist" anti British movements in the Near East, but also of German and Turkish psychology. In the second and fourth sections Mr Dayal gives us, in no uncertain fashion, his opinion of the Germans and Turks as they appeared to the Orientals of all races who arrived in those countries hoping to find in both German and Turk faithful and useful allies in the struggle against Britain, and who invariably seem to have departed shorn of all their illusions. On the subject of the Turks Mr Dayal is quite unequivocal, and his words might well be worth studying by those earnest Indian Mussalmans who are so anxious that Turkey should not be ousted from Constantinople. "The Turks," he remarks on p 31, "are a predatory tribe without culture and political capacity," and again "History has clearly demonstrated that the Turk has no intellectual potentialities. He is really unfit for leadership of any kind, as a leader is distinguished by his intellectual pre eminence over his colleagues" (p 32). He thoroughly castigates the Indian Mussalmans in some pithy sentences. "As the Turks are a barbarous tribe, the Muslims of India make a great mistake in identifying their cause with the fortunes of the Ottomans. If the Muslims of India wish to appear in company with their Hindu brethren on the public platforms of the civilized world, they must first wash their hands clean of Ottomanism in all its shapes and disguises" (pp 34 and 35). He goes on to say (p 38) that "it is the fashion of some Muslims to be enthusiastic about everything out of India, and to remain indifferent to the claims and needs of their co-religionists at home. Such an attitude is fostered by the hollow cant of Pan Islamism. I have been at the heart and centre of Islam, in the innermost court of the shrine of Pan-Islam, and I declare that it is all a fraud and a hoax, designed to impose upon credulous Muslims in distant lands." He concludes with the witty and scathing remark (p 49), "There is nothing but dirt and dead dogs and scheming rascals in Stamboul."

Mr Dayal is equally outspoken when he discusses Germany. Moving about as he did among the "conceited Young Turks, fussy Egyptians, acute but pessimistic Persians, nondescript Arabs, handsome Georgians, and others who fancied that the triumph of Germany would redress their wrongs" (p 55), he soon lost all his illusions on the subject of his hosts. "These Orientals, thus gathered together in Berlin, soon found out that they lived in a society of snobs, bullies, boors, churls, and cads," and were compelled to admit that "the English are at least gentlemen" (p 58). They complained that they were treated like dogs, as indeed they seem to have been from Mr Dayal's account of his own personal experiences, and they were miserable and puzzled till they realized that "morally, socially, and politically," the Germans were "in a lower state of development," and that Germany was a "strange and startling mixture of rampant mediævalism and modern civilization." Mr Dayal concludes that, as the world in general has realized, the spirit that animated Germany was one of "excessive megalomania" and due to "the delirium of the parvenu."

In his last section, Mr Dayal describes the "German adventure," how they came as allies and champions of the Oriental nations, until Turkey, Persia, and many others, realized that their only object was to place themselves in the position of rulers. The result was that the Germans (p 80) failed "not only from the military standpoint, but also in a moral sense. They are now hated and despised wherever they have shown themselves during the war, from Stamboul to Kabul, and from Medina to Teheran. Germany is to day morally bankrupt in Asia."

Space precludes us from any more extracts from this truly admirable little book. But those we have given will have served their purpose if they lead to the reading of the book itself by every reader of the ASIATIC REVIEW who wishes to realize the utter bankruptcy of the much-boasted German diplomacy in the East and the entire failure of the German to understand Oriental psychology, and is willing to see from a new angle the question of Constantinople and the Indian Muslims.

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FROM AN EASTERN EMBASSY. Memoires of London, Berlin, and the East  
With illustration (Herbert Jenkins) 16s net.

In her opening chapter the author, whose picture in Turkish dress adorns the frontispiece of her book (and by which she will be easily recognized by her friends), gives us a vivid description of her life at the Turkish Embassy at Bryanston Square, when Rustem Pasha, by birth an Italian (Count Marini), was Ambassador to the Court of St James, and her husband his councillor and lifelong friend. Her descriptions of what was going on in the interior of that Embassy, the official dinners prepared by cooks summoned from Paris, the small family dinners, composed of the Ambassador, herself, and her husband, with her little son Lucien, who behaved so well that the Pasha declared "he could have dined with the Queen," are charmingly related. Not less interesting are the records she gives us of the London social life in those days. Purposely and wisely she avoids politics. It was the time when Sultan Abdul Hamid and his predecessor

made it very difficult for his representatives in England and other European courts to remain loyal. As Rustem Pasha was an unmarried old gentleman, the author represented the female element of the Turkish Embassy, and had therefore the entrée at Court and to all the leading houses in England. She gives us interesting touches of well-known ladies in high positions, not devoid of wit and sarcasm, of brilliant functions at Devonshire House, Lansdowne House, Ham House, etc., etc. At a party of the well known Baroness de Reuter, in Kensington Palace Gardens, where literature and the arts were fully represented, she describes her meeting with Mascagni and Adelina Patti. The latter her husband had met as a young man when Secretary at the Embassy of St Petersburg, where she had been still the fêted Marquise de Caux. The Czar, who admired her very much, sent her most magnificent furs and jewels, etc., and on more than one occasion spoke of the pleasure it would give him to welcome her at the balls in the Winter Palace, "*quand elle aura quitté la scène*," "*Tempi passati*" indeed!

The author's description of the Private Views of the Royal Academy of the old days, where she met Mr and Mrs Gladstone, Whistler, Mr and Mrs Kendal, in the days when Lord Leighton was President, will be interesting to those who also remember when, among many famous visitors, were the great art patron, the Duc d'Aumale, Lord Northbrook, Lord Lansdowne, and others. Through all these reminiscences there goes an element of occultism which gives a curious air of mystery to the book. Her own long illness, the death of Rustem Pasha, their subsequent transfer to Berlin, were events long foretold to her before they actually happened. And what is more, she herself predicted to her friends on many occasions what the future would hold in store for them.

The chapter devoted to occult experiences plays even a more prominent part in her life in Berlin. She attends spiritualistic séances, which were held in well known houses. There was a clairvoyant at Frau von Moltke's private apartments, where the Kaiser was present. He sat on this occasion in a dimly lit room, when first of all a hymn was chanted. His stern, frowning face looked most protestingly incredulous when a young girl about fifteen, an offshoot of the Manteuffel family, fell into a trance and began to speak. She did not lean back or fall asleep, but sat bolt upright, her large eyes opening to their widest extent. Her voice changed in timbre and became like that of a man. In strident tones she spoke of certain of her ancestors who were to her present in spirit, and who foretold great misfortunes and violent death hanging on the reigning house. It seemed to upset the Kaiser very much, yet he remained for the whole time the girl was in a trance, which lasted forty minutes. Subsequently a command was issued in the daily papers that he forbade any public mention of psychic matters in the press.

Later at Bucharest, she stayed with a lady-in-waiting of Queen Elizabeth, known as Carmen Sylvia. In her drives round the gay city she dwells on a beautiful Greek church surrounded by a garden with blooming oleander-trees, which had been recently built by a daughter of Musurus Pasha, who had married Prince Brancovan. The Princess was known at

Constantinople as a highly gifted musician, who so delighted the Sultan Abdul Hamid (himself a gifted musician) with her playing that he was ready to give her anything she asked. Eventually this took the form of a gorgeous parure of jewels. Mustapha Bey, who was at the Turkish Legation at Bucharest, was a great admirer of the beloved old Queen, who proved to be a second Florence Nightingale during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877. Her motto was "I am not here to judge but to help." The famous Schools for the Blind in Rumania were erected at her instigation. "Ce n'est pas votre couronne que j'aime, ô Madame, mais c'est ton fâme, ô Elizabeth" was significantly written in one of her books by an admirer of hers. After Bucharest she paid a flying visit to Constantinople, from whence she and her son embarked to Beyrut, at which port they took tickets for Chemlan in the Lebanon. There a great disillusionment came over her, and she feels that it would be banishment to live in those far off climes.

Again she is haunted by prophecies and predictions. The last evening of her stay in the Lebanon, which she spends with her friends, she is asked by her hostess to foretell her fortune by cards. She could not refuse, although she felt that she should not do it. When she turns up the cards the verdict was to her hostess "You will very shortly have news of a death which will cause you great grief," and again, "It is not a relation, but somebody very near and dear to your husband." Just before she left the next morning, the author received a telegram of her husband's sudden death. It was he who was the great friend of whom her host and hostess of the previous evening were to be bereaved. Subsequently her only son's premature death was also not without foreboding. Involuntarily we ask ourselves: Why should we see in the future our destiny before it comes about, if we have no power to avert it? Is it not a curtain which is best not lifted?

The author's intention to give the reader the impressions she gathered throughout her interesting life at the various Turkish Embassies which have long since receded into history has been successfully carried out in this fascinating book, which will no doubt attract many readers.

L M R

**RUSSIA IN RULE AND MISRULE** A short history by Brigadier-General C R Ballard, C B, C M G, with a foreword by General Sir William Robertson, B T, G C B, K C V O, D S O (*John Murray*)

From the foreword we learn that Brigadier-General Ballard was personally in touch with Russian affairs during 1919. He was thus able to come into contact with some of the chief actors in the Russian drama, and furnishes some useful explanations of the causes of the Revolution. A Russian statesman of the former regime, whose observations are given in full, ascribed the Revolution to a suppressed and disappointed *intelligenza*, but these were joined by a number of impracticable dreamers and youthful and rash university students. "If only one party had grasped the power firmly from the very first the Revolution might have

been a success" An advanced socialist said that the Revolution of the *intelligensia* had not taken place

The earlier chapters form a summary of Russian history from Varang days The alphabet of Cyril and Methodius was intended for South Slavs rather than Russians, though it is the general basis of Russian, Serbian, and Bulgarian Temoochun is better known as Genghis Khan One of the khans said to a missionary "We Tartars believe there is a God in whom we live and die He gave you writings which you don't observe, He gave us soothsayers whom we obey, and we live in peace" The outline will suffice for readers unacquainted with Russian history, being based on Ivanov and Kluchevsky, and the inquirer will probably turn to these and other historians The later chapters relate the revolutionary movement from Radistchev and Novikov (Catherine II) to the murder of Stolypin by the Jew *provocateur* Bagrov, and the abdication of the Czar, the Kerensky and Kornilov incident, and the Bolshevik misrule

There is evidence that the work has been hastily written, and names are not always to be recognized—*e g*, Mephod (Methodius), Shoosky (Shuisky), and Lagarp (Laharpe) The minister Plehve's name is incorrectly given These, however, do not detract from the value of the history

F P M

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BOHEMIA AN HISTORICAL SKETCH By the Count Lutzow, D LITT, PH D, with an introduction by President Professor T G Masaryk (*Everyman's Dent*)

The late Count Lutzow, a popular figure in English society, author, diplomatist, soldier, and sportsman, did more than most men to make Bohemia known in England He used to say that the Czechs had few friends here as they were so little known, but largely through his efforts their number has greatly increased Besides this sketch, the Count wrote on Bohemian literature, an illustrated work on "hundred towered golden Prague," lectures on the historians of the country, the life of Jan Hus and the subsequent Hussite wars, and translated the "Labyrinth of the World" of J A Komensky (Comenius), a kind of "Pilgrim's Progress," but of a more mournful character

This history furnishes an account of age long struggles and tenacity on the part of one of the most advanced members of the great Slav race against determined Teuton hereditary efforts at supremacy In the Hussite wars Zizka and Prokop carried the conflict far beyond Bohemia, and earlier than that Premysl Ottakar ruled from the Baltic to the Adriatic, while more than once Poland and Bohemia were under one crown It seemed as if all was lost in the Thirty Years War, but revival began in the reign of Joseph II, and for more than a century it has progressed During the late world conflict the sympathies of the Czechs were with the Allies, whom they aided in every possible way, and President T G Masaryk became a chief actor in the drama Count Lutzow sustained the efforts of his countrymen in Switzerland, where he died The last words of this volume refer to dark, menacing clouds overhanging Bohemia, and President Masaryk says that these were swept away

in the tempest, while the sun of freedom now shines upon Czechs and Slovaks united. They are fortunate in union under a wise statesman, respected in the Old and New Worlds. The writer has been in the country in stormy times, and rejoices at the happy ending of a reactionary rule.

Messrs Dent have performed an important service in issuing Count Lutzow's story in the *Everyman* series, which brings it within the reach of all. We would like to dwell at length on the links between England and Bohemia, but must refrain, hoping that many readers of the ASIATIC REVIEW who have not done so will take an early opportunity of procuring this fascinating narrative.

F. P. M.

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THE RED INSURRECTION IN FINLAND IN 1918. A study based on documentary evidence. By Henning Soderhjelm. (Translated) (*Harrison and Sons*).

For the first five months of 1918 Finland was in the throes of an insurrection. A Red army had taken possession of the southern part of the country, and a White army, with Swedish volunteer assistance and the help of a German relief expedition, captured Helsingfors and inflicted a series of defeats upon the Reds. The author was engaged in official work of liquidating the affairs of the insurrection, and with the help of Senator F. Frey and others was enabled to compile his record.

During a period of twenty years Finland had undergone a transformation. The introduction of manufactures, as in Russia, had unsettled a pastoral and agricultural population, town immigration had created a housing problem, and labour difficulties arose. Cold and adverse climatic conditions have made the Finn a stubborn, rather sullen, primitive individualist; consequently something like a religious appeal is necessary in order to arouse him. The national language movement against the predominance of Swedish and the effort to improve education took this character, and the zeal for the total abstinence cause and co-operation was that of crusaders. Apart from social or economic considerations, the Finns struggled against Russification by means of passive resistance. The older Russian revolutionaries were welcomed and aided, but the aims of Finnish and Russian revolutionaries were divergent. Those of the latter we know, but the former sought what they considered to be their just natural rights. The Finnish Labour Party had no leaders of character and ability, and soon began to look at politics with Russian eyes. Against their will the Finns were drawn into the Russian struggle, since many Russians wished to abolish their state, and a number of Finns caught up the cry against the upper classes, bourgeois, and capitalists. The Revolution of 1917 was hailed with joy, as the Finns saw the prospect of release of some of their own exiles. The worst elements of the Russian garrison, however, started an orgy of terror and assassination, and the Finnish Labour Party did not, and perhaps could not, interfere.

Plainer perhaps than by anything else, the Russian colouring of the Red is shown by the fact that they were entire strangers to such conceptions as law and order. Their whole rule bore the impress of the East,



with contempt of the rights of others, of discipline and self-control. The revolution of the Red was as foreign as possible to our character, as it was foreign to any deliberate, carefully planned, coolly carried out revolution.

In conclusion, the author claims that the mission of Finland has been to stand as an eastern outpost of Europe, receiving blows intended against Scandinavia. Having beaten down an attack of "the East," Finland aspires to become "a Western culture state and law state." Certainly the country deserves sympathy and goodwill after the troubles narrated by Mr Soderhjelm, but their antagonists and their policy are not as entirely "Eastern" as he describes.

F P M

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EUROPE IN THE MELTING POT By R W Seton Watson, D LITT, Lecturer in East European History, King's College, Editor of *The New Europe* (Macmillan)

The author is widely known as a foremost living authority on the racial and political problems of Central Europe, which he had made his own for many years before the war. In the course of time he found that earlier views had to be modified, since "few countries have ever been more fatal to preconceived notions than the now vanished Hapsburg monarchy." Dr Seton Watson had observed and exposed the policy by which the Magyars maintained their ascendancy in Croatia and Slovakia, and he foresaw that the South Slav question would develop into a wide conflict unless solved by wise statesmanship at Vienna. Instead, however, Vienna was practically forced by Berlin into war upon Serbia. The main theses urged by Dr Seton-Watson by voice and pen were (1) necessary dismemberment of Austria Hungary and Turkey to complete Allied victory, (2) more than local importance of the Jugo Slav solution, (3) the vital importance of the Macedonian front. In view of general ignorance on these various burning questions and lack of information in responsible quarters, he and a small group of friends decided to found *The New Europe*. Foreign policy should, he contends, become the vital interest of every English man and woman, and he hopes that the Worker's Educational Association will extend such studies among its members.

The chapters are grouped under problems of policy, politics, and war, Russia and the New Europe, and the work starts with the Austro-Serbia dispute. It consists largely of articles written at different periods and brought to date, but some solutions have been arranged since it was published. The Turkish question is being settled as we write, but while the "bag and baggage" policy is not to be enforced, American bishops telegraph to the Archbishop of Canterbury that they support the movement to turn the Turks out of Constantinople. There is no longer a question of placing the city under Russia, where there is no Catherine II to be considered. Who in Russia now can be regarded as champion of the Slavs and Orthodoxy, and what has become of the dreams of Kollar and Hemiakov, *inter alios*? Dr Seton-Watson's essay on Panslavism will retain its interest, but the reconciliation of Poland and Russia is more remote than ever. The Adriatic settlement is still open. The account of

political gerrymandering in Transylvania by the Magyars is a grim indictment of the oligarchy, who employed similar methods against the Slovaks. Both these long-oppressed peoples are able to work in accord with their brethren of Roumania and Bohemia. In the Banat there are claims of Magyars, Roumanians, Serbs, and Germans (Suabians). The chapter on the evolution of Bulgaria refers to the Pan Turanian theory of an alliance of Turk, Bulgar, and Magyar against Westernism and Panslavism. For centuries subjugated by the Turks, like Serbia and Greece, the Bulgars, Slavonized Mongols, were lost sight of. Few rulers, according to this account, have been more shamelessly astute than King Ferdinand, now in exile. The account of the Ukraine problem reads like a romance. Memories of the old Cossack chieftains, men of the type of Gogol's Tarass Bulba, who held their own against Moscow and Warsaw, account for the tenacity of the Ukrainians (people of the border) in their struggle for independence of Russia and Poland, with their Uniate Church.

Dr Seton Watson acknowledges the help of eminent colleagues in four years of work. Mr H Wickham Steed (editor of *The Times*), Mr A F Whyte, M P, Dr R M Burrows (Principal of King's College), whose prolonged illness calls for our sympathy and best hopes for speedy restoration, and President T G Masaryk. His opinion of those largely responsible for direction of foreign politics in the past may be gathered from these words:

The Great War is in itself a hideous revelation of the futility and artificiality of the purely diplomatic paces and compromises of the last century. At the future Congress history and philosophy must be the handmaids of diplomacy.

F P M

## CURRENT PERIODICALS

PROFESSOR E H PARKER has written a very interesting article on the Japanese Chinese question for *The New China Review*, in which he enters very thoroughly into this difficult question, which proved so embarrassing to the statesmen of Versailles. After a sketch of the historical side of the question he proceeds: "It would be a sad spectacle to see unfortunate China, with her nigh 3,000 years of history recorded almost day by day, her magnificent literature, her capacity for education, religion, industry, and morality—to see all this go under without a friendly effort to save her, to give her yet a chance. In a sense, it may be said that in 1904 Japan saved China from Russia, and China was duly grateful for it, she was even disposed to accept the fraternal guidance of Japan." About the present impasse, he writes that it "is perhaps owing as much to the excessive eagerness of party spirit in Japan as to excessive carelessness and timidity on the part of inexperienced Chinese negotiators. The suggestion made by *The Times* a few months ago that Japan, by a voluntary *beau geste*, might arrange a reasonable settlement direct with China without there being left the slightest feeling of having had to yield to Western pressure, seems very much to the point." The concluding paragraph of his article

is as follows "There is little danger except under extreme provocation of Bolshevik confusion taking root in the practical Chinese mind, though the brutal riffraff levied by Lenin from among the miners and freebooters of Manchuria show what a peril to Europe larger hordes of disgruntled Chinese might become. The political aims of the steadier element both in North and South China seem to drift more and more towards a federation of states after the American model, for local sentiment in China is strong, and the old idea of having non-provincial civilian officials seems to have gone by the board. The "my country right or wrong" feeling so powerful in the United States takes a reverse direction in China, where the hereditary instinct is rather "myself right or wrong", "my family right or wrong", "my clan, my district, my province, right or wrong". Thus the feeling of national loyalty inherent in the orderly Chinese mind enfeebles itself politically the higher it goes."

Lovers of Indian art will welcome the appearance of a new publication, edited by Mr Ordhendra C Gangoly in Calcutta, entitled *Rūpam: An Illustrated Quarterly Journal of Oriental Art, Chiefly Indian*. Such a journal makes its appearance at an opportune moment, the death of the *Journal of Indian Art* leaves it without a rival in the field, and other magazines of art that have survived the catastrophe of the war devote but scanty space to the art of India. The first number, issued in January, 1920, contains four articles. I. A stone panel, admirably reproduced in heliogravure, with a slim, graceful figure on it, representing, apparently, a prince standing at the door of a shrine—taken from one of the moonlight temples at the Seven Pagodas, near Madras, which are believed to have been carved in the reign of one of the Pallara Princes, in the seventh century A.D. II. A study of Garuda, the carrier of Vishnu, with a detailed comparison of representations of this king of the birds, in Bengal and Java. III. "The continuity of pictorial tradition in the art of India" opens up an investigation of this obscure chapter in Indian art, hitherto so little studied, with a special study of miniatures from the covers of a Buddhist palm leaf manuscript, executed either in Nepal or Behar about 1090. The last article gives a detailed study of one of the artistic motifs, the Kirtimukha ("Glory face"), which is found especially on Saivite temples, but occurs persistently throughout the whole history of Indian art and can be illustrated from buildings in Burma, Java, and Nepal. The plates are of an excellent quality, and will come as a welcome surprise to those who are not acquainted with the progress in book illustration made in India during recent years, the letterpress is of as high an order of excellence as the plates, and the journal has started off with a good exemplification of the aim of the editor to admit only articles containing original matter. The subscription rate is eighteen rupees, but until an agent, to whom subscriptions may be paid, is appointed outside India, there can be but little hope of the extension of the sale in England and America, to say nothing of other countries, such as France, Germany, and Holland, in which there is a growing interest in Indian art.

## NEAR EASTERN NOTES

BY F R SCATCHERD

BRIEF as they were, the *Greek Notes* last April aroused considerable interest and some criticism. To those who consider that the lessons to be derived from the Great War have never been more lucidly summarized than by the small band of Greek reconstructionists referred to I have little to say, but will deal with a letter to which an answer has long been due, thus covering points raised by other critics also adverse.

The writer, a well-known Greek, begins by saying that Part I is "particularly effective,"\* and then ridicules the text upon which it was based by adding—

"The powers of the nebulous world seem for once to have inspired Sir Arthur Conan Doyle with a worthy message."

Is it necessary to say that a knowledge of history and a keen sense of justice prompted the creator of "Sherlock Holmes" to write me the letter from which I quoted words I repeat here, which came as an inspiration to my own soul when the whole horizon was dark and menacing? He wrote

"I agree with you. Greece should have Constantinople. Her hall mark is over all the stolen property."

It may be objected that this was merely a harmless jest. That might be were it an isolated case, but the correspondence too often reveals a shallow cynicism and lack of reverence for ideal truths and aims that augurs ill for the future of that Greater Greece, to ensure which so much is at this very moment being risked and sacrificed, for as I write the news-vendors are crying "Greece goes to war!"

## II FOUNDATION PRINCIPLES FOR THE FUTURE

"As for Part II," continues my correspondent, "I appreciate your point of view, which is no doubt correct when based on the facts you have been given, but I cannot refrain from pointing out that the truth has been utterly and completely distorted, and that incomparable harm might be done to the Greek cause, of which you have shown yourself so zealous and devoted a defender, by throwing into prominence questions which I can assure you are entirely fictitious and non-existent!"

Unfortunately, I am rarely "given" facts. Outside of ordinary propaganda, one meets few Greeks who will trouble themselves to further one's desire to befriend the Greek cause. I admired them for this until forced to the conclusion that, though *they love Greece devotedly, the Greeks do not*

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\* See note at end

*love Greeks* One loves races as one loves individuals, one knows not why, but that love on the part of a foreigner must be very deep-rooted to withstand the perpetual assault of Greek against Greek. This unlovely trait, however, may be merely the perversion of the superstition that caused a Greek mother in one of the islands to shrink in terror when I praised her infant, and I had to take back the praise and perform some simple rite of exorcism before she could be comforted.

What are the questions my correspondent calls "fictitious and non-existent?" The only questions raised in Part II are well termed "foundation principles for the future"

(a) That Parliament should only consist of representatives of productive national exertion

(b) The entire community is involved in any desired change

(c) Economic solidarity among nations is the only guarantee of permanent peace

As to the first, surely the day is coming when an enlightened electorate will insist on the democratic control of its interests, no sane individual questions the second, and every hour that passes since the signing of peace reveals the deep truth of the third.

What the writer has in his mind is that the *social question barely exists if at all in Greece*

On my first visit to the Near East, 1909-1910, I enquired of the British Minister as to the position of the social problem in Greece. He replied that it did not exist in any real sense, so far as he was aware. Others said the same. "Why, then," I asked, "did 10,000 workers come to greet us at Volo?" and "Why, wherever we went, were even women so keen to hear addresses, which only men are supposed to attend, that I myself have been a party to their concealment that they too might listen unseen?" To such questions I could get no satisfactory answers, and am amused, when not pained, to be told that after the lapse of so many stirring years the social question still does not exist in Greece. The statement has become a shibboleth, like the "gentlemanly Turk" and "crafty Greek" traditions, and will be harder to destroy, since it has become an ostrich-like attitude of the Greeks themselves, and is tantamount to saying that the Greeks, whom I soon characterized as "the brains of the Near East," are in this respect behind all their neighbours in the Balkans.\*

Later on, the writer says that the Socialist Party is unknown in Greece "except to those who imagine they constitute it," and that he has only "just" heard of its organ *Erevna*, but has never seen a copy.

I believe it is possible for the writer to have spent years in Oxford, and yet not to know of the review in his own language founded there in 1901. Such defect of knowledge is characteristic of the diplomatic classes almost everywhere, even in England. When I warned Mr. Venizelos of this

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\* "Je me souviens d'avoir entendu que la question sociale n'existe pas en Grèce" *La Grèce Contemporaine*, by I. M. Cossano, East and West, Ltd. 1s post free

before his first visit to London, he said he feared I was unjust to my own people. Later, I heard that at one of his first dinners here he was asked by his charming neighbour

"Are the Greeks Christians?"

"Have you not heard of the Greek Orthodox Church?" was the Socratic reply, but his fair questioner insisted

"Yes, yes, of course! You have not answered my question. I want to know whether you are Moslems"

Most Greeks in Constantinople, however, know of the founder of Balkan Socialism. When on my first visit to that city, I lost myself in the native quarter. Knowing no Turkish and barely a word of Greek, I was at a loss, until I noticed Greek names over many of the shops. A bright idea struck me. Entering one of these shops, and placing my right hand on my breast to indicate myself, I said "Platon Drakoules"

The effect was magical. I was instantly surrounded by friends and conducted to Pera Palace Hotel with the greatest courtesy. This plan never failed me, and I no longer hesitated to go about alone, as it succeeded with Turkish friends also.

The writer further says "The locality in Athens in which the offices of the Greek Labour League are situated is sufficiently indicative of its nature," and having a secretary in "the wilds of America" is found to be "ridiculous"

Just what the writer means I do not know. But the same might be said of the People's Palace in Whitechapel, which would hardly serve its purpose were it removed to Mayfair. Recognizing as he does a genuine "Labour Movement in the Piræus," one would have thought he would find 40, Rue Piræus as a central spot of Athens most appropriate headquarters, with the Acropolis dominating the horizon, and I fear he may find the existence of an *Erevna* colony near Milwaukee more ridiculous even than a secretary "in the wilds of America." However, he may retort he has only "*just*" heard of Milwaukee, notwithstanding that Milwaukee is a city with half a million inhabitants.

### III THE GREEK LABOUR QUESTION

"To turn to the Greek Labour Question," continues the writer,

"I admit that there has been some unrest in Athens, and this must be attributed to

- (1) Wild spirits infected by European unrest
- (2) Royalist and anti-Venezelist schemes
- (3) A genuine Labour Movement among the labourers (comparatively few) of the Piræus

But in a country like Greece where, apart from Athens, Salonika, and, to a much lesser degree, Patras and Volo, the whole country is entirely agricultural, composed chiefly of small farmers, how can there be a Labour Question, which is *par excellence* the product of industrial countries?

Even Athens itself, in comparison with European towns, is industrially insignificant, and the interests of a handful of labourers are not going to be promoted at the expense of the discomfort of a whole nation."

The writer has evidently never taken the trouble to read modern works on the Labour Movement, or on Social Science, or if he has done so, he has utterly failed to understand them, as is evidenced by the superficial remarks quoted, which go to show that he has not grasped the elementary facts as to Labour and political change. He is still living in the middle of the last century. His mind is embedded in traditional notions as to the sanctity of institutions, which must remain unalterable in the midst of perpetual change. His ignorance is betrayed by his anxiety to have us conclude that in Greece only a handful of men produce wealth, and that the rest are idle. Agriculturists are not labourers, according to his view, and as in the towns only a handful are labourers, then we must say that, with the exception of that handful, the rest are non-producers, and therefore it is not worth while to bother ourselves about the problem of the handful of men who enable all the rest to live!—a *reductio ad absurdum*.

He ignores the fundamental truth of all political thought, that labourers are all those who render service to the community by their exertions, manual or mental!

Does he consider Aristotle ignorant because he laid down the principle that the sole purpose of the State is the well-being of its members?

Does he consider that the citizens of Greece or any State enjoy well-being according to the ideal of Aristotle and Plato?

The Parliaments for which he has such a superstitious regard are too often but moribund institutions of a moribund social system which has lost touch with the true democratic principle underlying the parliamentary idea. When composed mainly of lawyers, landowners, and profiteers, Parliament will have to yield precedence to another form of supreme assembly, more representative of the coming social system, composed of those who are rendering useful service to the community by hand or brain, for the war has given a *coup de grâce* to all institutions whose position in the past was mainly to represent the interests of a favoured, and too often self-seeking, minority.

NOTE—In view of what is taking place, it may be well to reproduce the paragraph referred to, as the suggested trend of events has been literally fulfilled.

The acuteness of the Constantinople problem brings into relief the competence of Hellenism as the key to its solution. The Supreme Council seems to be gradually driven to the conclusion that an end must be put to the Turkish domination in Europe, and that this end can only be fittingly put by the Greek arms—thus avenging in a final battle against the hereditary foe of Hellenism the woes and throes of five centuries.

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For the moment Greece, in striking self-abnegation, forgets all that she is enduring in the expectation of the signal to inaugurate her career of social reconstruction. *Events march so rapidly that the signal may be given before our next issue*—From "*Greek Notes*" (now "*Near Eastern Notes*") ASIATIC REVIEW, April, 1920



## WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

A RECORD OF IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE DAY, AT HOME  
BEARING ON ASIATIC QUESTIONS

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CONTENTS *East India Association—Royal Asiatic Society—Royal Society of Arts—  
National Indian Association—Shakespeare Hui*

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THE next meeting of the East India Association will be on July 12, when Mr W H Moreland, C S I, C I E, will read a paper on "The Study of Indian Poverty" Lord Meston will be in the Chair The first paper in the autumn will be read as usual in October, when the Rev T Van der Schuren will lecture on "The Education of Indian Boys belonging to the Better or Upper Class Families" The Proceedings of the East India Association for this issue will be found on pp 395 478

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On the occasion of the opening of the new premises of the Royal Asiatic Society at 74, Grosvenor Street, on March 30, the Chinese Minister, Sao-Ke Alfred Sze, in his inaugural address, entitled "China and Western Education," paid a tribute to the importance of the work on which the Royal Asiatic Society was engaged that of unravelling the tangled threads of the past, and reconstructing its history, religion, language, customs, and buried mountains A long line of scholars had thus interpreted the East to the West, and thereby enabled the West to understand more clearly the needs and aspirations of the East His Excellency made special reference to the movement of sending Chinese Government students to England The first effort was made about forty years ago These were followed by more detachments The most noted among them were Admiral Sir Shan Chen Ping, who is at the head of the Chinese Navy, and Sir Chihcen Lofenglu, who served as English Secretary to Li Hung Chang, and later became Minister to England At present there were about 190 students in this country The Anglo-Chinese Friendship Bureau was rendering most valuable assistance to Chinese students in this country During the war, when there was a shortage of doctors in this country, Chinese medical students, in order to show their gratitude for the education they had received here, stayed behind after they were qualified and served at different hospitals in various posts, ranging from consulting officers, house surgeons, house physicians, and resident medical officers to registrars and



tutors In some instances they were in charge of military wards. A qualified lady doctor became the school medical officer at Bradford, and three men successively held the post of resident medical officer at the General Post Office, London

Lord Reay, in his speech, pointed out that the most noteworthy events in connection with Oriental Studies in England that had occurred during the past five years were the opening of the School of Oriental Studies by His Majesty the King in February, 1917, the amalgamation in 1918 of the Society of Biblical Archæology with the Royal Asiatic Society, and the joint meeting of that Society with the Societe Asiatique and the American Oriental Society in 1919 Under its energetic Director, Sir Denison Ross, the School of Oriental Studies had already achieved remarkable success It was thus only after many years of fruitless agitation that London was placed in possession of a School of Oriental Studies which removed the anomalous situation in which we had been with regard to the training of men who in various capacities would represent us in the East We had among returned members of the Civil Service all the elements for the personnel of such a school, and had until then not given them an opening for their talents Now the prospect before us was exhilarating, we had no lack of tents and a wide expanse of research in various directions to cover The republic of letters did not appeal to popular passions, neither was it plutocratic, but it had its own reward It contributed to remove prejudices In the past administrators had found time to investigate problems of philology, ethnology, and archæology We might look forward to send out to India young men well equipped to continue these traditions

A joint meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society and Central Asian Society was held at the School of Oriental Studies on June 8, when Sir Aurel Stein, K C I E, lectured on "A Chinese Expedition Across the Pamirs and Hindukush in A D 747" The lecturer, with the aid of a fine selection of lantern slides, entered very thoroughly into the military geography of those regions, and paid a tribute to the military genius and the stratagems of the Chinese Commander It would appear that this campaign was the result of very elaborate preparation At any rate the problem of supplies must have been studied very carefully before venturing into these inaccessible and barren regions The undertaking culminated with a great victory, but, as the lecturer pointed out, the results were largely reversed a few years later

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At a meeting of the Royal Society of Arts on Friday, June 18, a paper was read by Sir Valentine Chirol entitled "The Enduring Power of Hinduism" This lecture was delivered in memory of the late Sir George Birdwood, who in the past contributed a great number of interesting articles to the ASIATIC REVIEW We quote "If East and West can meet, they met in the heart of one who was as passionate and understanding a lover of India as of Britain Again and again, during the Great War, he loved to dwell on every incident that showed the heart of India to be in unison with that of the whole Empire, and with his special worship of the Rajputs as the incarnation of Indian chivalry He seemed to identify all India with the

gallant figure of old Sir Pertab Singh, who sought, though he did not find, a hero's death on the stricken fields of France "

The lecturer concluded with the following important statement

"To those who hoped for a more rapid fusion of Indian and Western ideals, some of the phenomena which have marked the latter day revival of Hinduism have brought grave disappointment, but the inrush of Western influences had, perhaps, been too violent not to provoke a strong reaction. It is easy for us to pass judgment on such institutions as caste and Brahmanical ascendancy, and in a paper read only a few years ago before this Society by Sir Krishna Govinda Gupta we heard very severe condemnation passed upon them by one of the most distinguished pioneers of enlightened Indian Nationalism. But let us not forget that to those institutions India owes the one great element of stability that has enabled her to weather so many tremendous storms without altogether losing the sense of a great underlying unity stronger and more enduring than all the manifold lines of cleavage which have tended from times immemorial to divide her. Hinduism has not only responded for some forty centuries to the social and religious aspirations of a large and highly endowed portion of the human race, almost wholly shut off until modern times from any intimate contact with our own Western world, but it has been the one great force that has preserved the continuity of Indian life. Could it be expected to yield without a struggle to the new forces, however superior we may consider them and however overwhelming they may ultimately prove, which British rule has imported into India during a period of transition more momentous than any other through which she has ever passed, but still very brief when compared with all those other periods of Indian history which have only recently been rescued from the legendary obscurity of still earlier ages ?

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On Tuesday, June 8, the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the National Indian Association was celebrated at 21, Cromwell Road. The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., presided. The company present numbered over two hundred. The dominating note that was struck in the speeches proved to be the expression of the hope that the Indian students now in this country would be able, on their return to India, to fill successfully the new posts that were open to them there, and also to assist in the emancipation of Indian women. Mrs. Pennell, a Parsee lady doctor, recounted her experiences in India, and how she hoped that the difficulties in her path would now be removed. Dr. J. Estlin Carpenter pointed out the importance of increasing the number of branches in India, so that the progressive women's movement should be able to spread. Sir Krishna Gupta, K.C.S.I., dwelt on the critical time through which India was now passing and the opportunity for the young men present to prove their worth in administrative posts. Many references were made to Miss Mary Carpenter, of Bristol, whose work was now being admirably carried on by Miss Beck. At the conclusion Mr. M. Banerjee proposed, and Mr. K. K. Chatterjee seconded, on behalf of the Indian students, a hearty vote of thanks to Miss Beck.

Of late the accommodation available at Cromwell Road has been much appreciated by students on their first arrival from India, and an effort is

made to keep them informed of educational, technical, and academical activities in this country

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There was an interesting gathering at the Y M C A Hut, Gower Street, on June 12, in honour of Dr Tagore Mr Ali Khan delighted his audience with the manner in which he was able to adapt Indian words to English music Mr Roy's Bengali songs and the Bengali National Anthem, sung in English, with words written by his father, were also much appreciated Mr Shah recited a Sanscrit poem, and Mr Abarsı rhapsodized Tagore A very interesting speech in Urdu was read by one of the students, after which Dr Tagore said a few words to those present A large number of Indians were in their national dress, and the general effect was thereby made very picturesque

On July 6 a joint party will be given at Cromwell Road by the Northbrook Society and the National India Association The "Maharanee of Arakhan" will be performed It is hoped that an Indian ladies' orchestra will be present Further, in the middle of July it is intended to give a recital of "Post Office" Dr Tagore has promised to be present

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The "Id" (Idulfitr) was celebrated, as usual, at the Mosque, Woking, on June 17

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#### OBITUARY NOTICE DR BURROWS

THE news that the career and work of the late Principal of King's College have been cut off came as an arresting shock It is not easy for those who saw him regularly, and knew his mental and physical vigour, to realize that Dr Ronald M Burrows is no more To all appearance he had a long tenure of office before him, with opportunities of extension of work for the College We are led to think of a fine sportsman, who has started on a brilliant race, admired by spectators who predict a glorious win, suddenly compelled to retire from the field through an unsuspected and fatal hindrance

A special feature of Dr Burrows's work at King's College was encouragement and extension of modern language studies, and the introduction into the curriculum of little known languages—e g, Polish, Roumanian, Serbian, Bulgarian, and Modern Greek, of the last of which the Principal was a master During his term of activity Professor J Fitzmaurice Kelly was appointed Cervantes Professor of Spanish, Professor George Young is the Camoens Professor of Portuguese, and Sir Bernard Pares occupies the Chair of Russian There is no professor of Czecho-Slovak, but it will be remembered that during his exile Professor T G Masaryk lectured at King's College in connection with the Slavonic School on European political problems, Russian literature, and his native land Dr Burrows organized a send-off at College when Dr Masaryk left for Prague in triumph, to assume the duties of President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic (The writer had long known the country, and had written and lectured on Bohemia, but it was Dr Burrows who first introduced him to President Masaryk) The number of public lectures, such as those arranged by the

## *Where East and West Meet*

United Russia Societies Association, and the Anglo-Spanish Society, has increased, and a series of eminent men presided, *inter alios* the Earl of Plymouth, Lord Bryce, and the late Sir D Mackenzie Wallace. Dr Burrows was associated with Dr R W Seton-Watson, the authority on Central Europe, in the work of the *New Europe*. Mention should be made of Sir Israel Gollancz and his work of widening and deepening interest in Shakespeare. On practically every occasion the Principal was on the platform, and made some wise and often witty contribution to the discussion. As an old student at King's College, the writer is convinced that the loss sustained is heavy and irreplaceable, and the burden for Dr Burrows's successor is far from light.

Another side of Dr Burrows's activity was social welfare work at Cardiff and Manchester, in which Mrs Burrows was a great helper. The engrossing duties as Principal in London did not permit of his continuing this work, and consequently many London students were unaware of his record in this direction. He also belonged to the Fabian Society. The educational world is vastly the poorer through the loss of Dr Ronald M Burrows.

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FRANCIS P MARCHANT

## THE CYPRUS DEPUTATION

Dr Lanitis has communicated to us the following "The Cyprus Deputation has returned to London in order to lay before the British Government the reasons for the union of the Island with Greece. We had gone back to Cyprus last December, but meetings which were held there exhorted the deputation to return to England and to interpret to the British Government the anxiety of the people for the union of the country with Greece. The deputation has now submitted a new memorial urging the early solution of the question. What the Cypriots submit is, that four-fifths of the population are Greek, and they are ready to meet the views of the military experts by the cession of some port, in the Island, if necessary, for they fully realize that a strong England means a stronger safeguard for liberty."

# THE ASIATIC REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1920

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## THE PRESENT POSITION IN INDIA

BY SIR VERNEY LOVETT, K C S I

ON September 13th a telegram appeared in *The Times* from Bombay announcing that the outlook in India was gloomy. The National Congress had voted for Mr Gandhi's programme of non-co-operation and boycott. The reformed Councils would be shunned by Congress men. The future could not be forecast. The Bombay correspondent ascribed the perverse action of the Congress mainly to the "almost universal bitterness" left by the Punjab disturbances and their aftermath in India and England. Another factor was the Khalifat agitation.

The correspondent states that Mr Gandhi's influence is immense, that the "fair promise" of the reforms may be blighted, that all India may be drawn into a movement of boycott and passive hostility.

It is not, however, probable that these melancholy forebodings will be entirely shared by persons acquainted with the history of Indian politics. Given the antecedent circumstances, they would expect some such conclusion to the recent Congress meetings. They might, indeed, consider that these gatherings presented some refreshingly novel features. Mr Gandhi appears to have been stoutly opposed by politicians less impervious to reason, and although after a division he secured a large majority of votes, more than half of the registered delegates absented themselves from the poll. It must be remembered that ever since the year 1916 the Indian National Congress has been dominated by Extremists who have steadily become more violent and unreasonable, who, with a few isolated

exceptions, in no degree altered their tone after the passage of the Reforms Bill through Parliament. On the contrary, the releases of certain prominent agitators which were ordered under the amnesty of December, 1919, both strengthened the hands of the most irreconcilable section and intensified the Khalifat agitation. It is true that the capture and domination of the Congress by the Extremists has led to the secession from that body of almost all the Moderate leaders and to the formation of the new "National Liberal Association." But the fact remains that for some time the Congress has been an Extremist body. That Mr. Gandhi has persuaded a preponderant number of its members to vote for his proposals was to be expected, and does not show that his influence in India is "immense." There is no doubt that the riots of 1919, the public sittings of the Hunter Committee, the divided Report, the debates in the Imperial Parliament, have left sore and bitter impressions on both sides in India. The Khalifat agitation, too, under the fostering care of those who cultivated it for political purposes, has borne much evil fruit, and has produced the atrocious murder of a British civil servant of high character and promise. Within India springs of mischief are potent. But who can doubt that the bold tone of the Extremists is largely due to events in other countries?

In the state of Ireland, in the recent history of Egypt, in our own Labour troubles, there is much to attract, much that doubtless has attracted, the regards of Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues. They seem to be preparing for a day when, as they anticipate, the destinies of the British Empire will be controlled by those who are indifferent to its beneficent achievements, and would view its dissolution with complacency. They appreciate that weighty saying of Warren Hastings "In no part of the world is the principle of supporting a rising interest and of depressing a falling one more prevalent than in India." These words are as true now as they were in his day. There are those

who not only wish to see our interest fall, but think that it is fast falling. They desire to hasten the process.

Is, however, the prospect really as gloomy as the Bombay correspondent of *The Times* represents it to be? Is the majority of Indians likely in the near future to dance to the piping of Mr Gandhi and his associates? Is this majority preparing to follow such people into sullen racial hostility, nominally passive but really absorbed in active propaganda which has already borne, and is likely to bear, fruit in bloodshed? I cannot believe it. No thinking and patriotic Indians can be under any delusions as to the nature of Mr Gandhi's influence on present-day politics. All are well aware that, in spite of his pious professions, in March, 1919, he initiated and led a movement of civil disobedience—a movement which, in the words of the Hunter Committee, "if extensively preached and practised, would mean the paralysis of government." As was said in the *Waqf* newspaper, an organ of his followers, "If the entire country resorts to passive resistance, who can withstand it?" It is impossible to believe that Mr Gandhi was not well aware of the dangerous and subversive nature of his civil disobedience agitation. He is an exceedingly astute person, with long experience of affairs not only within but outside India. It is true that his enterprise did not achieve its object, but, supported by his reputation for sanctity, it produced such horror and bloodshed that, wrapped as he generally seems to be in a triple mantle of self-complacency, he was for a brief space obviously taken aback. There were, he said, "clever men behind the lawless deeds, and they showed concerted action." He was sorry that when he embarked upon his mass movement he "under-rated the forces of evil." He advised a temporary suspension of civil disobedience. This repentance, however, was short-lived. A month later he contemplated a resumption of civil disobedience in the following July. Further on, together with Extremist leaders, both Hindu and Muslim, in the words of a

prominent Moderate newspaper, he "extended his passive resistance movement in a very subtle manner from domestic politics to international affairs," and, in the absence of a satisfactory settlement with Turkey, advised his fellow-countrymen to boycott the peace celebrations. Then we find him active on the Khalifat Conference, and issuing a manifesto on March 12, 1920, which contained the following passages "I trust the Hindus will realize that the Khalifat question overshadows the Reforms and everything else. If the Muslim claim was unjust apart from the Muslim scriptures, one might hesitate to support it merely on scriptural authority, but when a just claim is supported by the scriptures it becomes irresistible." He then enumerated the Khalifat Committee's demands, deprecated violence or boycott, advised the Viceroy to put himself at the head of the movement, and concluded by recommending "non-co-operation." Government service must be given up. "But," he added, "advice to the soldiery to refuse to serve is premature. It is the last, not the first step. We should be entitled to take that step when the Viceroy, the Secretary of State, and the Premier desert us. Moreover, every step in withdrawing co-operation has to be taken with the greatest deliberation. We must proceed slowly so as to secure retention of self-control under the fiercest heat."

If all these expressions are to be taken at face value, we must conclude that, after the sittings of the Hunter Committee and before the publication of the Committee's report, Mr. Gandhi and his friends were boiling with determination to proceed to certain extremities if they could not impose their will regarding the future of Turkey on the Imperial Government. Subsequent events confirmed their purpose, which has been very widely proclaimed in India, and if outward results are any indication, it would seem that they have found their appeal to Muslim fanaticism the most potent weapon in their armoury. But they have not carried on this campaign without still further alarming and repelling



all sober opinion I may quote some passages from a Moderate newspaper of November 8, 1919

“Mr Gandhi supplies merely a popular motive at one time it is the Rowlatt Act, at another time it is the Khalifat question, a third time it may be any other matter which is exercising the public mind to push on his passive resistance movement. Nothing else probably matters to him than the success of his movement, in which he profoundly believes as being calculated to overcome the powers of darkness, as he apprehends them. We do not wish to express on this occasion our views on the question of passive resistance in the abstract—it is unnecessary to do so—but we can say most emphatically that we are not among those who make a fetish of passive resistance and think that all good resides therein and nothing evil can come out of it. Indians should decide once for all intelligently and with a full appreciation of Mr Gandhi's bent of mind whether they are going to play the rôle of passive resisters at his bidding. Such of them as are not prepared to be the instruments of his policy should without the least hesitation disregard his advice.”

Much water has flowed under the bridge since November, 1919. Mr Gandhi has received the ardent support of certain particularly mischievous men, who were released in the following December, and one would fain hope that now, if ever, all sober Indian opinion is prepared to declare itself vigorously and strongly opposed to his activities. Indeed, there are substantial reasons for such hope, a short time ago all but four of the non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council publicly denounced the non-co-operation programme, and it is certain that among the landed and agricultural classes it can find no spontaneous support. But it certainly will give more trouble, for its advocates will persistently endeavour to terrorize all active loyalists, and to pervert both the lower orders in towns and the simple cultivators by insidious appeals to religious sentiment backed by the grossest misrepresentations. “A liar,” wrote a prominent Extremist journalist a short time

ago, "is not regarded as a gentleman in society, but the cleverer the liar is in politics the more successful he becomes as legislator or administrator"

The other day I heard from a military officer high in command in India "The land," he wrote, "is full of lies" These lies have already brought calamity to many We have read of the recent migration to Afghanistan of thousands of deluded Muslim cultivators who had been persuaded that, by breaking up their homes, selling their property and departing to an unknown country, they were doing God service Many of these unfortunates are practically starving in Afghanistan, about 13,000 have either found life there impossible or have been bidden to retrace their steps They have returned, and now daily others are streaming back through the Khybar Pass The returned emigrants are full of indignation against those who beguiled them into folly, but there is nothing to show that the latter have in any way desisted from persistent endeavours to foment racial and religious hatred *The object of their leaders is to take up movement after movement until they have produced a revolution*

Let us, however, see things in their true proportions It is clear from the Viceroy's speech at the opening of the Legislative Council that the Government of India is carefully watching developments, and is not disposed to allow Mr Gandhi and his associates to mould the gullible masses to their heart's desire Those responsible for India's present and future must be anxious that the cure for present evils should come from Indians themselves, that the Khalifat movement and Mr Gandhi's propaganda should melt and dissolve before Indian energy and Indian common sense It is difficult for us here to appreciate the waves of feeling that are passing over thinking India But it is certain that the murder of Mr Willoughby and the misfortunes of the Muslim emigrants must have induced a more vivid perception of the mischief that has been going on Let us hope that this perception may lead to the

speedy confusion of the mischief-makers at the hands of their countrymen But if it does not, then the responsibility of the Government is pressing This is assuredly recognized

The *Westminster Gazette*, in commenting on the situation, states that what India requires is "a dozen of the right men in the right places" and a Viceroy "who knows India thoroughly and is acceptable to both Indians and Anglo-Indians" In search of such a man the Imperial Government should not hesitate to go, if necessary, to the often decried Civil Service There is, however, no "nostrum" which can speedily cure all the evils of India We must remember the times in which we live, and must be patient The personality of the next Viceroy is a matter of supreme importance But all Viceroys are human, and no Viceroy was ever more absorbed in and devoted to his work than the high-minded gentleman who soon quits office His successor will not be an archangel He will not immediately remedy all that is wrong But we may trust that he will be equal to a post of unique importance At the same time, we at home must remember that behind all Viceroys, behind the Provincial Governors who are just now a highly capable body of men, behind the British and Indian groups of unremembered workers in the great administrative field, behind the non-officials of all races who co-operate with them, must be the strong assurance that Britain believes in her task in India, that there is an end, and a worthy end, for which her sons labour there, that their efforts will be supported by the understanding sympathy of their countrymen Otherwise neither these efforts nor the coming reforms can succeed The key of India is still in London It is "in the spirit of the British Parliament, the inexhaustible resources, the ingenuity and determination of the British people" If we do not fail India, India will not fail us

## NON-CO-OPERATION AND MR. GANDHI

By N M SAMARTH

[Mr N M Samarth is a distinguished lawyer and publicist of Bombay and a prominent leader of the Moderate movement in India. He first came to England in 1914 as a member of the Deputation on behalf of the Indian National Congress to the Marquis of Crewe, who was then the Secretary of State for India. He successfully organized the first All India Conference of the Moderate Party which was held at Bombay in October, 1918, to accord support to the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme. He is a member of the Senate of the Bombay University, and was for some time in the Legislative Council of Bombay as an elected representative of that university. He was selected by the Bombay Government as a co-opted member for Bombay on the Southborough Committee on "Division of Functions." Last year he came here as Honorary Secretary of the influential Moderate Deputation in connection with the Government of India Bill. He is the founder of the Indian Reforms Committee, which is an organization in England on behalf of the Moderate Party of India, now known as the National Liberal Federation of India.]

It is to be hoped that British statesmen and British publicists, of whatever political persuasion, will appreciate, in its true perspective, the deplorable situation which has arisen in India and which has resulted in the adoption of Mr Gandhi's "non-co-operation" programme by a majority of the delegates who voted on it at the special session of the Indian National Congress recently held at Calcutta. Some are apt to exaggerate the gravity of the situation, in order to justify a policy of severe repression—a policy which would never allay but would assuredly aggravate the situation. Others may be inclined to belittle its significance, so that no serious notice be taken of the underlying causes which have gradually brought it about. While the latter would look upon the present state of things in India as a mere passing phase of Indian agitation which is bound to fizzle out in course of time, the former would account for it solely as the result of the pernicious activity of Indian Extremists, who deserve to be repressed and suppressed with a high hand. Either will be a mistaken view.

Mr Gandhi is not an Extremist in the sense in which that

term is generally applied and understood in Indian politics Indian Extremists, rightly viewed, are Indian patriots in an angry mood That mood necessarily postulates absence of cool-headedness Mr Gandhi is nothing if not cool-headed He is an idealist, pure and simple—an idealist with an unshakable faith in adamantine “soul-force” as the only force opposed to physical force which can compel the most powerful Government, however stern and unbending, to yield to the dictates of justice, as he conceives it His strength lies in his transparent sincerity and honesty of purpose and his unflinching determination to practise what he preaches at all risks and at all hazards His weakness lies in the fallacy of his supposition that the vast mass of the people can be trusted to imbibe his doctrines of peaceful aloofness from Government without transgressing the limits of law and order Further, it lies in the inherent impracticableness of his concrete proposals, notably the boycotting of the Courts by lawyers and of foreign goods by the public generally, and the withdrawing of boys and girls from schools and colleges His proposal, which he puts in the forefront of his programme, that the reformed Legislative Councils should be boycotted, may succeed for a while and to some extent in certain quarters But the vast bulk of the thinking public in India is not going to be guided in this matter by Mr Gandhi’s suicidal policy of not availing themselves of the opportunities which the Reform Act throws open to Indian talent and Indian capacity, to further the growth of Parliamentary institutions in India, to have control of the administrative machine from within and to utilize it to the best advantage for the welfare and uplift of their own countrymen, so as to justify and secure complete responsible government as rapidly as possible Mr Gandhi’s programme and activity, therefore, need not cause undue anxiety and apprehension on the part of the authorities in India and betray them into any indiscreet action of a repressive character The fact that his programme has been endorsed by a majority vote of those who were present at the time of

voting at the special Congress—for more than half of the registered delegates absented themselves when the vote was taken—does not necessarily mean that the people at large or even the bulk of those who voted in his favour are going to carry out his programme. Mr Gandhi himself has enunciated the doctrine that a resolution of the Congress is not binding upon anyone whose conscience dictates that he should not abide by it. Many of the Extremist leaders are opposed to his programme, and it does not seem likely that they will, in spite of their own convictions, carry out that programme. Besides, that programme is opposed to the constitution of the Congress itself. Article I of that constitution lays down that “the objects of the Indian National Congress are the attainment by the people of India of a system of government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire and a participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those members.” “These objects are to be achieved,” says that Article, “by constitutional means, by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration.” A resolution, therefore, which says in effect, “Don’t participate in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire,” “Have nothing to do with the administration,” “Don’t strive for its steady reform at all, but boycott it altogether,” drives a coach and four through the constitution of the Congress itself. Article II of that constitution explicitly lays down that “every delegate to the Indian National Congress shall express in writing his acceptance of the objects of the Congress as laid down in Article I of this constitution.” It follows that it was not *intra vires* of the special session of the Congress to pass a resolution in terms of Mr Gandhi’s non-co-operation programme. Any such resolution passed by the Congress is, therefore, a mere *brutum fulmen*, not binding upon any delegate to the Congress. It is not unlikely that this solid objection to the validity of the resolution will come in the way of its acceptance, even as

a pious resolution, by many Congressmen throughout the country. In any case, it seems to me that the followers of Tilak, particularly in the Deccan and in the Central Provinces, are not likely to follow Mr Gandhi's lead in this matter. It will be remembered that Tilak's manifesto of what he called "the Congress Democratic Party" appropriated the creed of the Moderate Party as its own, namely, "co-operation with Government wherever possible and opposition whenever necessary." That being so, a programme which says "co-operation with Government nowhere, but non-co-operation throughout" runs counter to the policy, not only of the Moderates, but ostensibly also of "the Congress Democratic Party." The Tilakites, again, are too shrewd to be taken in by the idealism of Mr Gandhi, which would prevent them from contesting, as they intend to do, as many seats as possible at the forthcoming elections under the Reform Act.

As for the Moderate Party or the National Liberal Federation of India, as it has been recently known, I can say with confidence that there is not one among that vast body of sober opinion in the country who favours Mr Gandhi's movement. Several of them have publicly pointed out its unwisdom and absurdity. A capable writer in an open letter to Mr Gandhi, published in the *Times of India*, points out that his policy of non-co-operation is impracticable and impossible of adoption, and observes "Even for you it is impossible to follow. Are you prepared to avoid all Government concerns? You must cease to take advantage of post and telegraph services, law courts, and Government protection. You should have nothing to do with the Government officers. You should avoid Government coins and currency notes, and so on and so forth. Will all those who advocate the policy of non-co-operation observe it strictly? Then it will be a blessing to many a man, because debtors of such creditors can die in peace. Is it not idle to imagine that Government can be brought to its knees by the policy of non-co-operation?"

## *Non-Co-operation and Mr. Gandhi*

Thus there are many factors militating against the acceptance in practice of Mr Gandhi's programme by the people at large. No useful purpose will, therefore, be served by exaggerating the importance of the resolution passed by the Congress, or imagining that something disastrous is going to take place in the near future as the result of it

There is no doubt that it reveals a sulkiness which the Government can scarcely afford to disregard. But the task of wise statesmanship lies not in intensifying it by playing the agitator's game, but in diagnosing the real inwardness of this outward manifestation, and in doing so, the question which naturally suggests itself is What is it that has created such a ferment in India latterly as to have made it possible for an idealist like Mr Gandhi to succeed to the extent that he has? He first started his campaign of what he called "*Satyagraha*" as a protest against that ill-advised measure known as the Rowlatt Act, which was in excess of the necessities of the case, going, as it did, in its drastic provisions, even beyond the Irish Crimes Act, and which, although there was no urgency for it, the Government of India passed in the teeth of unanimous Indian non-official opposition to it in its Legislative Council. It is sometimes urged by some of the advocates of the measure that the opposition to it meant nothing else than sympathy with sedition and anarchism. That is an unjust accusation against a whole body of non-official Indians, nominated as well as elected, in the Government of India's legislature. Apart from the intrinsic demerits of the measure, what provoked and exasperated Indian feeling against it was the manner in which it was passed by the Government of India, betraying a spirit of riding rough-shod on Indian public opinion, as though it was absolutely unworthy of considerate treatment. Mr Gandhi exploited public feeling on the subject to propagate his doctrine of "soul-force." The soil was ready for the seed. But he sowed the wind and reaped the whirlwind. He owned his mistake, however, and recoiled from it, but only when it was



too late. Then came the Khilafat agitation. Mr Gandhi, ever on the alert to take advantage of any general grievance, found in this an excellent opportunity to enlist Moslem opinion in favour of his favourite panacea. It is idle to deny that Moslem feeling in India has been embittered by the way in which Turkey has been dealt with by the Allied Powers in the Peace Treaty. There is a large body of thoughtful Indian opinion, however, both Moslem and non-Moslem, which is fully alive to the fact that the Government of India and the Secretary of State pressed the Indian Moslem point of view with vigour and emphasis, and if the result has not been in accordance with Indian Moslem feeling in the matter, they cannot be held responsible for the ultimate decision, and there is no justification for carrying on a campaign of hatred against the Government of India and inflaming popular opinion against it. If this were the only handle available to those who are creating discontent in India, the agitation would have soon subsided. But, unfortunately, there are other circumstances which have given rise to a general feeling of indignation against the Government of India and the British Government. The foremost among them is the Punjab affair. The attacks made on Mr Montagu in the House of Commons and in a certain section of the British Press in connection with the Dyer debate, the vote of the House of Lords in favour of General Dyer, the funds raised in England and by certain European ladies and gentlemen in India to present a purse to General Dyer, and the considerable amount thus collected, the lavish praise bestowed by the British Cabinet on Sir Michael O'Dwyer, whose iron rule in the Punjab made the iron enter into the soul of the people in that province, and the failure of the Government of India to mete out adequate punishment to those Punjab officials who were guilty of excesses, and whose punishment was promised in the Cabinet's despatch on the Hunter Committee's report—all these have produced a general feeling of resentment among all sections of the Indian

public. Add to these the grievances of Indians in South Africa and East Africa, and the perpetuation of their unfair treatment based on racial grounds, and the tendency of the Government of India to provoke even moderate public opinion against it by its arbitrary and despotic action now and again, and these, apart from the events in Egypt and in Ireland, will explain the unfortunate, but by no means unjustifiable, tension of feeling which has been gradually brought about among generally all classes of the people in India, and it is this state of things upon which Gandhism as well as Extremism work and thrive. And they will continue to thrive so long as this state of things is not radically remedied.

No radical remedy is perhaps possible unless a broad-minded statesman of the Canning-Ripon-Hardinge type is sent out to India to succeed Lord Chelmsford, and, further, unless the present Secretary of State for India, whose splendid work, against heavy odds and amidst tremendous difficulties, on behalf of India has won for him the esteem, regard, and admiration of all those who are not blinded by prejudice, is given an absolutely free hand by the British Cabinet to improve the situation by pursuing a wise, courageous, and sympathetic policy, and, in regard to the status and treatment of Indians in the Dominions and Colonies, proposing a solution compatible with the rights of Indians as King's equal subjects, which the British Cabinet should not hesitate to enforce in any part of the British Commonwealth in favour of India, which is now a member in her own right of the League of Nations. Until an atmosphere of genuine goodwill, fellow-feeling, sympathy and confidence in British sense of fairness and justice in regard to Indian aspirations and demands is created, there is little hope, I fear, of a substantial improvement in the tone and mood of a large section of the Indian public.

LONDON,

*September 16, 1920*

## THE SITUATION IN INDIA AND THE PROSPECTS OF THE REFORMED COUNCILS

[The writer of this article returned only this summer from India, where he was in a position to be in close touch with the political movements throughout the country ]

It has been accepted until recently that the East was unchanging, but the experiences of both the Near East and the Far East have shown that this statement is no longer the supposed truism of the writers of the last generation. The East is changing, and economic and political changes are taking place with a rapidity which is perhaps not fully appreciated in this country. Even before the European war the East was finding a difficulty in digesting the diet furnished by the West. It is true that the effects of the great war in the economic sphere became apparent in India at a later date than in European countries, and that even now, notwithstanding the hardship to the poor and middle classes from the high prices of foodstuffs, and the political unrest arising from the fermentation of the spirit of nationalism, it can be said that the economic and political difficulties are small in comparison with those existing in England and in parts of the European continent at the present time.

In the economic sphere, in spite of difficulties due to the vagaries of exchange, and the contraction of credit among purchasers of India's raw products, there are grounds for satisfaction and even reassurance. The granaries which had been depleted owing to the failure of the monsoon of 1918 were partially restocked from the good crops of 1919; and although the monsoon season of 1920 is not yet over, there are hopes that the rainfall as a whole will not be below the normal. Good autumn and winter crops should go far to redress the balance of India's own food-supplies, especially

as the export of both rice and wheat has been kept under control, wherein the interest of the producer has been subordinated to that of the local consumer. As in the case of domestic coal in Great Britain, the local purchasing price of these food-supplies is below that of the world's market. In one very important factor affecting prices—namely, the inflation of the currency, from which other Western countries equally with Great Britain are suffering—we find that in India there has been a considerable reduction in the paper currency, and that a proportion of nearly 60 per cent has a metal backing—a percentage which the Viceroy has said would challenge comparison with any other country. The industrial outlook is bright. The British Trade Commissioner in India wrote only two months ago that it is possible to look forward to great expansion in the future. But he has also advised the British manufacturer to see with his own eyes how India has changed within the last five years, and to take note of the new state of things. Moreover, there are signs that the employers of labour in India are prepared to take warning from the history in the West, and to realize the necessity for further measures for the welfare of their employees and the co-operation of capital and labour. The presence of representatives of India at the International Labour Conference at Washington was significant.

Nevertheless, though India is strongly entrenched behind its ramparts of finance and rural economy, its position is being undermined by the political anti-British propaganda which has been steadily increasing for the last fifteen or sixteen years, and which has been accentuated by the agitation over the Turkish peace terms and the measures taken against the disturbances in the Punjab. As regards the latter, it appears, unfortunately, to be the case that the feeling even in moderate circles is still bitter, whilst as regards the former the extremists among the Muhammadans are receiving the powerful aid of a non-Muhammadan to keep alive a spirit of resentment after the terms have

become a *fait accompli*. Meanwhile, the electorates for the constituencies with the vast increase of the franchise under the Reform scheme have been prepared with considerable difficulty in all the provinces, and the lists of voters are being published. In November next these electorates will be called upon to elect representatives in the enlarged Legislative Councils in the provinces and in the new bi-cameral Imperial institutions. Furthermore, the office of Law Member in the Government of India has again been entrusted to an Indian, after the retirement of Sir George Lowndes, while Mr Sarma, from the Madras Presidency, has also been appointed to the Executive Council of the Imperial Government. Finally, in the new appointments under the Reform scheme, an unprecedented departure has been made by the appointment of Lord Sinha for the headship of the Government of the Province of Bihar and Orissa, and, in fact, in all official services Indianization is proceeding more extensively and more quickly than is realized.

It is after these tangible proofs of the reality of the Reform scheme and on the eve of the elections, constituting a momentous advance towards Parliamentary government—an advance which the authors of the Reforms of 1909 admittedly never contemplated—that the Indian National Congress has seen fit to make coincident steps towards irreconcilability. It is well known that the Congress has been captured by the extremists: their policy has become more audacious during the time that efforts were being made by the British Government to give to the Indian increased power and responsibility. The opinions of all the Provincial Committees of the Congress were invited in August last on the advisability of the policy of non-cooperation—that is to say, boycott of Government. The grounds adduced for supporting this policy appear to have been the measures taken in the Punjab, the alleged disregard of Muhammadan feeling in the framing of the peace terms with Turkey, and past coercive measures against

sedition and revolutionary activities. The mentality of these Provincial Committees may be gauged from two examples in the Central Provinces it was resolved that non-co-operation is the only effective, legitimate, and constitutional method of agitation left for working out the destinies of India, while in Bengal it was held that non-co-operation is a perfectly constitutional weapon of political struggle between a people and its Government. The Bengal Committee, however, thought that the elections to the new Councils should not be boycotted, but that new members should be elected who would resort to non-co-operation within the Council,

In the beginning of September the Congress met as a body, and though more than half of the registered delegates were absent, both in the Subjects' Committee and in open Congress this "sovereign panacea" of Mr Gandhi—in the words of *The Times* correspondent—was pressed and carried. It is difficult to prophesy what the result may be. The passive resistance movement of 1919 produced grave results that the author did not contemplate. The failure of the economic boycott in Bengal in 1905 is remembered by the elder politicians in that province with a sense of humiliation. The leading Bombay journal has pertinently remarked in an issue of last August that there is no half-way house in non-co-operation. "Either it is completely successful, in which case it is revolution, or it is not successful, when it is a failure and must provoke reaction." Representative moderates, such as the veteran Sir Narayan Chandravarkar, have strongly discountenanced this non-co-operation policy, and even some extremists have declared it impracticable, yet the influence of Mr Gandhi may prove too strong. On the one hand, it is probable that the United Provinces and possibly Madras may remain unscathed, and that in Bengal there will be competition for the Council seats. On the other hand, it is conceivable that in Bombay, and possibly in the Punjab, the movement may produce considerable embarrassment in the elections.

It is difficult to exaggerate the folly of this movement, inspired by the perverted ingenuity and truculent egotism of a man whom so many Indians respect for his selflessness. As *The Times* has stated in commenting on the report of its correspondent in Bombay "Deliberate refusal on anything like a national scale to take part in the working of the Reforms Act would be heartbreaking for all who have hoped that the Act would be the beginning of a new era in India" The general attitude of the services has been, since the Reform Bill became law, notwithstanding conscientious misgivings based on past experience, to accept it as a fact, and with traditional and characteristic loyalty to carry it into effect, while the view of many is that the sooner discussion gives place to realization the better. The point of view of Government has, moreover, been quite recently expressed in several important pronouncements by the Viceroy and heads of provinces on the subject of mutual co-operation.

On August 20 last, at the opening of the autumn session of the Imperial Legislative Council, the Viceroy made a grave and eloquent appeal for a truce to fresh recriminations, which would only lead to further racial exacerbations. Lord Chelmsford asked whether they were to enter upon the new era in a spirit charged with the animosities of the past, and he suggested that nothing would be more futile or ill-advised than this campaign of non-cooperation, because the Allied Powers have not found themselves able to accept the contentions of the Indian Moslems. It may be stated in passing that all fairminded persons appreciate that the Indian Government pressed the cause of the Indian Moslems to the maximum. His Excellency went on to say that the Government of India had faith in India's common sense, and had preferred to leave the movement to fail by reason of its intrinsic inanity, but the Viceroy did not hesitate to state that the Government would use all the resources at its disposal, if it became necessary, to protect the interests of the community at large.

Later in the same month of August the Governor of Bombay, Sir George Lloyd, emphasized, in reply to a municipal address, the necessity of harmonious co-operation between official and non-official, and said that co-operation was the one thing which was certain to bring peace and progress, as no mere efficiency in administration could. Earlier in the month Lord Ronaldshay, the Governor of Bengal, also made an appeal, when laying the foundation stone of a Victory Memorial in East Bengal, in terms which profoundly moved his audience. He said that it was not necessary to look beyond the confines of India to see that the political sky was overcast. He asked for a supreme effort to call a halt to the stirring up of strife. Lord Ronaldshay obviously alluded to the protagonists of this non-co-operation policy when he said that a terrible responsibility lay upon those who, *whatever their motives*, declared themselves by word or deed to be the disciples of a gospel of hate. In Burma, at the same date in August, the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Reginald Craddock, referred in a Durbar speech to the paramount necessity for co-operation between the British and Indian races. He alluded to the present campaign of calumny and hate now rampant in India, and said that it is the work of the enemies of the British Empire, who are therefore enemies of all ordered progress.

It is to be hoped that appeals of this nature, which have been supported by all the reputable press in India, may have some effect, but it would be futile to ignore the advance which anti-British propagandism has already made. A detached observer, in this case a Frenchman, has recorded his opinion in connection with the peace with Turkey that in no other country in the world has an alien Government shown the same impartial and meticulous respect for the religion of its subjects as is shown by the British in India. Yet, owing to the calumnies circulated, the Mahammadan masses, without understanding much more than that the Sultan of Turkey, the Khalifa, has been



### *Prospects of the Reformed Councils*

in danger, have come perilously near the belief that the British have been interfering with their religion. The pitiful collapse of the so-called *hijrat* movement, through which the dupes were induced to emigrate to Afghanistan, may open the eyes of the masses, as the news circulates, as to the character of their advisers, but if that belief is ever reached, the time for logical reasoning is over. The moderates have a great opportunity it is for them to show that they are capable of withstanding the forces which, under the extremists, are dragging the country to the edge of the abyss of disorder. To quote *The Times* again "Let India understand where the path may lead down which Mr Gandhi invites her"

## THE WORLD IMPORTANCE OF THE POLISH QUESTION

BY OLGA NOVIKOFF

It has been said, and not without reason, that the Polish problem is one that concerns not only the present Russia and Poland, but the future peace of all Asia and Europe. If the Bolsheviki can be checked in the West there may be an end to their designs in Persia and India. If, however, through weakness, the Bolsheviki are allowed to have their way in the West, their criminal megalomania will hanker after unrealizable dreams.

As, therefore, the Polish question is one of such paramount importance, and affects Asia's future as well as that of Europe, I think it only right that it should be examined impartially and in its true perspective.

In the year 1862 a decisive endeavour was made by Russia to bring about a real and lasting peace with Poland. Neither the provocative activities of the Polish mob, which would hardly have been tolerated for a single day by any other Government in Europe, nor the flagrantly open attempt by the Polish "Intelligentsia" to organize a rising, could throw a damper on the Emperor's generous decision to conclude the desired peace at whatever price. Poland received in 1862 a far-reaching autonomy, the Emperor's brother being entrusted with the duty of moulding this autonomy into complete working order. With the exception of the Marquis Veliapolsky, whose culture and profound political tact placed him on a much higher intellectual level than most of his compatriots, all contemporary Poles, without regard to their various political opinions, were united in one idea—their enmity towards Greek Orthodox Russia. Shortly before that time, indeed, Prince Gorchakoff, the then Governor-General of Poland, had remarked, not without good reason, that he could rely on nobody in the whole country, and that the "Russian Party" was non-existent. "Les uns veulent me mettre

dehors—les autres veulent me mettre dedans,” he cleverly said in a joke. The Poles refused to take the friendly hand that was held out to them. Perhaps, indeed, we Russians could in one way blame only ourselves for this, since by hoping to pacify the Poles with constant concessions we only succeeded in weakening our authority, and, through our mistaken leniency, the whole of Poland and Western Russia was allowed to slip into insurrection. My brother, General Alexander Kiréeff, wrote on that question exactly in those words. I heard several bitter reproaches from old Poles who had taken part in the rising of 1830. They foresaw that our liberality could lead to no good but would only encourage the people to rebel openly, trusting in our weakness, and so oblige us in the end to take, in self-defence, severe measures. This prediction was completely fulfilled. In that sad and troublous time I had many opportunities of discussing the situation with Poles of the most varied views and social positions. With the exception of two or three adherents to the wise policy and ideas of the Marquis Veliapolsky, they all unwaveringly refused to consider any of our concessions unless those should include the annexation by Poland of Russia’s Western borderlands. It once fell to me, in the course of my official duties, to travel from Warsaw to Gatchina with the Archbishop Felinsky, who was taking part in the rising on the side of the “Whites” (the moderates). My fellow-traveller spoke Russian excellently, but refused to converse in this language, and our discussions were therefore conducted in French. I remarked that the Russian Government had made such great concessions that it was impossible to go any further, and that the Poles ought to accept these concessions instead of continuing to dream of the Western border.

“Of course,” answered the Archbishop meditatively, “the concessions are certainly such that no government could *motu proprio* go beyond them.”

“But, then, for Heaven’s sake accept them!” I exclaimed.

“Never!” he answered sharply. “This may seem

illogical, but the Polish people act much more under the influence of their hearts than of their heads "

To my observation that this argument denies the Polish people the possession of any reasonable judgment, the Archbishop retorted

" That may be, but I nevertheless maintain that as long as there remains in your Western provinces a single Pole who desires to be united to Poland, there will be no peace "

I made a note of this conversation at the time, and it has often returned to my mind, together with the conviction that the words of the Archbishop on that occasion, now long past, very accurately reflected the ideas of his fellow-countrymen \*

Many years have passed since then All that was said and demanded in the years 1862-63 was naturally uttered under the stress of the emotions of that time, and it would therefore be unjust to hold up as a reproach to the Poles all the passionate words that were then spoken But even now, when passions should have cooled down, and when a new generation has sprung up, we often come across the old arguments that formed the catchwords of the old rebellion I repeat ask any Pole to-day whether he is ready to live at peace with us on condition that he remains within his ethnographical boundaries Would he feel quite happy and satisfied with his former German and Austrian provinces, which actually constituted the Polish kingdom ? Would he renounce all hope of subjugating to his rule many millions of Russians, Lithuanians, and Letts, who inhabit the nine Western provinces ? His answer will invariably be in the negative, though he may sometimes add that he himself would have nothing against giving such an agreement, but that he could never impose it on any of his countrymen who are of a different opinion Such an answer is the key to the Polish question Nevertheless it would be quite incorrect to suppose that good feelings ~~between~~ between Russians and Poles can never exist—on the contrary, they have often fought, and fought brilliantly, in Russian armies, and if they sympathized with our success how can

\* My brother's letter, alas ! turns out to be very true

we forget that. We can never go beyond the granting of autonomy to Poland within her ethnographical boundaries. We sometimes have to love people not only because of their qualities but in spite of their shortcomings, don't we? Otherwise we should be acting in contradiction to our own Pan-Slavist principles, and Poles entertaining such fantastic dreams are thus becoming the bitterest enemies of Pan-Slavism. Still, we Russians do not forget that the Poles are Slavs, that they are courageous by nature, that they are talented. Many among them fought in the Russian armies against Germany, and being Christians were faithful to their Russian oath. However, they are wrong in one respect, as my country no doubt may be wrong in others. The mistake and the misfortune of the Poles is their foolish greed for acquisition, for seizing territories which will never belong to them and will never be given up by the Russians. Instead of being grateful and happy that the three Polish provinces have once more been united within their historical and legal limits, they even now quite lately began to show their hatred for the Greek Orthodox Church by trying to close and demolish our churches in Poland at the first opportunity. They also openly expressed their determination to seize Volhynia, Smolensk and Kieff—the very heart of Russia. Had that Polish attempt succeeded, it would have meant a death struggle between the two sisters of the Slav family. So what we wish for Poland with all our heart, is not only complete success over the diabolical Bolsheviki, but wisdom and moderation. In conclusion, let me cite General Denikin's beautiful and noble letter quoted in *The Times* of Friday, August 27. "I consider it inevitable," says the General, "and absolutely necessary to fight the Bolsheviki till they are completely defeated." Otherwise not only Russia but the whole of Europe will be in ruins. These views, undoubtedly, are shared by General Vrangeli, and have been equally firmly expressed by both.

\* Meantime, as I write, the Bolsheviki are announcing an "Oriental Congress" at Baku!

## THE PRESENT POSITION IN CHINA

BY PROFESSOR E H PARKER

IN one sense the Chinese are only re-experiencing the events of a thousand years ago, when the powerful T'ang dynasty, after a brilliant reign of 300 years, fell to pieces much as the once powerful Ts'ing dynasty has done now, and in those days ten military upstarts set up ten provincial kingdoms, ignoring the Centre. In another sense the Chinese are perhaps only giving us in Gilbertian form an understudy of recent events in Europe, where a number of "provincial governors" (for a European kingdom corresponds in average size and general topical conditions to a Chinese province) have been moving under the labarum of self-determination towards freedom from imperial rule. In a paper published in the *ASIATIC REVIEW* for July, 1918, an attempt was made to show how closely the Prussian hegemony, ambitious for *Weltmacht*, resembled the aim of the "First Emperor" of 2,300 years ago. The material war damage done in backward China, where the basis of wealth is natural—that is to say, widely distributed and agricultural—is nothing like so impoverishingly serious as in Europe, where the costly and artificial accumulations of "capitalists" have first of all been switched off into new service in the shape of unproductive and expensive munitions of war, and then blown away altogether out of existence into thin air, thus leaving all simple wealth—the means of life, food, clothing, and so on—scarcer than before, and thus, of course, making us all poorer than we were before, for, after all, money is only worth what money will buy, even if that money be in precious stones and metals, and not in paper.

Apart from the personal ambitions of each provincial

*tuchun* (*tuh-kün*, or " army leader "), there always has been, and still is, a decided tendency in full-grown China to disintegrate itself into two main states or empires, which may be roughly described as that half north of the Yangtze river (which bisects modern China), and that half south of the same river. This secular tendency is undoubtedly owing to the fact that North China, the road country, is really the earlier developed " Old China ", whilst South China, the boat country, the greater part of which was undeveloped and even undiscovered until the ambitious unifying conquests of the " First Emperor," 2,300 years ago, has a different economical trend, as well as a slightly different historico-human frame of mind, it is less " Confucian " in spirit. There are many other considerations and parallels retrospectively illustrating the spread of the Roman Empire northwards on much the same human lines as the spread of the Chinese Empire southwards. The newspaper expression *Eu-chan* (i.e., " Eu[ropean] War ") illustrates how the Chinese mind still tends to regard us Westerners as one whole, whether we be of Teuton, Latin, or Slav *souche*, the *Yingkil*, or English, having until half a century ago been considered by the unsophisticated masses to have been—if the most dangerous and active—a mere tribe of the Western Barbarians viewed as a unit, as we Westerners view China. The Armageddon of 1914-18 now recalls to the Chinese literary mind the *Chan-kwoh* (" Warring States ") period between Confucius's death in 479 B.C. and the " First Emperor's " triumph in 220 B.C., the outstanding difference between the two being that Wilhelm II. with his unifying ambition possessed not the manly fibre for the triumph of his part.

Even in China there seems to be as yet no clear conception of what definite political results are at present aimed at by those in usurped power, beyond self-aggrandisement and the accumulation of pelf, family influence, and so on. It is remarkable that in none of the European works, published after and affecting to chronicle the Revolution of 1911, is

there any mention whatever of the two leading characters in the latest development—the sudden and quite unsuspected clearance out of Hu Nan province by the locust-like Northern hosts under the impulsion of Wu P'ei-fu resembles nothing so much in surprise as the equally sudden and unexpected clearance out of Poland of the ragged and quite as locust-like Bolshevist rabble under the impulsion of Piłudski (and Weygand). We hear a great deal now in the foreign Press dealing with China about the Anfu Club and its disagreement with what is called the Chih Li party, this disagreement is said to account for Wu P'ei-fu's action. The Anfu Club seems to be so called after the Anfu "Alley" (*hutung*) of Peking, in which the Club is situated (it may be parenthetically mentioned here that, in Peking, fashionable people live in quiet alleys, and not in the noisy big streets). Possibly the (assumed) situation there of the An Hwei and Fu Kien guilds may account for the name *An-Fu*, meaning "Peace-Happiness," though this surmise is merely guess-work hazarded at a distance, at all events Twan K'i-jwei, an An Hwei man, was Military Adjutant-General to Yuan Shi-k'ai, when in 1901 the latter succeeded Li Hung-chang—the apostle of An Hwei militarism—as Viceroy of Chih Li. Twan has been well in the public eye ever since, and perhaps reached the height of his fame and influence when he promptly crushed Chang Hun's attempt to restore the Manchu dynasty in 1917, and then became nursing premier to the colourless acting President Fêng Kwoh-chang. It is not very clear what constituted at first the now hopeless breach between the Anfu and the Chih Li subdivisions of the Northerners as distinct from the Southerners—which two main divisions of China have been for two years in bitter conflict—but it seems that Wu P'ei-fu, who recently evacuated Hu Nan province and made a sensational march with his Chih Li troops into Chih Li province, thus cornering Peking, was a protégé of Ts'ao K'un, the present titular *Tuchun* of Chih Li, temporarily detached two years ago to serve as Inspector-General of the Northern armies in four central provinces,



sent to compel the obedience to Peking of the rebellious South. The *Tuchun* of Hu Nan, Chang King-yao, an An Hwei native, apparently an Anfu creature of Twan K'i-jwei, proved a cruel and rapacious tyrant, and Wu P'ei-fu—who was supposed to be militarily associated with Chang King-yao in the Northern contest with the South being fought out on the intermediate Central China battle-ground of Hu Nan—seems, either of his own inspiration, or with Ts'ao K'un's privacy, to have become utterly sick of the two years' military inactivity and truces, and to have resolved with the connivance of Southern generals to drive out the rascally Chang King-yao and his three brothers, together with that portion of the Northern force not consisting of genuine Chih Li troops. It is even supposed that Wu P'ei-fu did this in a genuine desire to benefit the Hu Nan people. It was at once surmised by the knowing ones that General Wu P'ei-fu (concerning whom little or nothing appears to be on record, except that he was a literary civilian, who became a ranker and worked his way up) would not have taken this bold and at first sight insubordinate action unless secure of the support of some powerful rival of Twan K'i-jwei still more influential than Ts'ao K'un. Who could this rival be unless Chang Tso-lin, who is not only *Tuchun* of South Manchuria, but has for two years past held the supreme post of Inspector-General of North and Central Manchuria as well, diplomatically over the two *Tuchuns* of those provinces, and over the Russian railway administration, thus having almost absolute power to deal with Russia, Japan, Corea, and Mongolia, according to his own judgment, even putting effective pressure on Peking itself at times. Chang Tso-lin seems to be one of the few Chinese military men who possess strategical capacity and look thoroughly at home and soldier-like in foreign-style uniform. He is a comparatively young man of forty-four or forty-five, and had his first baptism of fire, when quite a youth, in the Japanese War of 1894-95. He is often called an "ex-bandit chief" by the British pressmen; but this term seems harsh and misleading—

in the first place because many if not most of the successful and daring-Chinese generals during the past fifty years have been bought-over "rebels", and in the next place because the *Hung-hu-tse* "brigands" of Manchuria were often local patriots, and Chang's banditti were chiefly organized by him against the Russian occupation previous to the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05. When that war was over, he was *requested* by the imperial authorities to rejoin the Emperor's colours, and when the revolution of 1911 broke out in Central China, he rejected republican bribes, proved loyal to the imperial Viceroy of Manchuria, maintained during the crisis strict neutrality in Manchuria, and resisted all revolutionary attempts to get rid of the Viceroy. He also effectually protected all foreigners locally, and took no steps whatever to disown the Manchu dynasty until a republic was officially and voluntarily announced by Peking Imperial Edict, issued by the Dowager and the Emperor. Between 1907 and 1909 the present President of the Chinese Republic, Su Shi-ch'ang, had been Viceroy at Mukden, and T'ang Shao-i (the leading peace-deputy representative of the Southerners) was Governor at Mukden, so that it is quite certain that both these officials must have had satisfactory relations with Chang Tso-lin, and have well understood his character, before the events now under discussion took place.

But not only has the above Anfu-Chihli split taken place in the Northern party originally constituted for resisting the secession of South China, but an earlier split had already taken place in the Southern party of "constitutionalists" and self-styled opposers of Japanese secret influence. It will be fresh in the memory of those who take interest in Chinese affairs that the above-mentioned T'ang Shao-i, together with the well-known Wu T'ing-fang, one after the other deliberately separated themselves from co-operation with the Military Government at Canton, in T'ang's case because of the undisclosed Japanese treaties, and in Wu's case apparently on the ground that the funds of the local treasury were not being honestly used for constitutional

purposes as previously agreed upon Wu T'ing-fang even carried off to Hong-Kong the Foreign Office treasure belonging to the Canton or Southern Government; but it appears that since then a British bank has been instructed by injunction not to permit withdrawal of the funds in question by him or anyone else until clearer legal rights have been satisfactorily tested by a qualified tribunal or council decisions. Whether the malcontents of the Southern split (which now includes Sun Yat-sen) will ultimately espouse the cause of the Anfu or the Chih Li Northern faction remains to be seen, but, according to the latest telegraphic intelligence, the Chih Li faction has completely worsted the Anfu faction in strategic fighting in and around Peking, so that support in the Anfu direction seems improbable. Cholera, locusts, and famine are meanwhile adding to the miseries of the Peking plain population, and rival military commanders in Fu Kien province are complicating matters by striving for control of the Canton secession government. There seems to be some faint ground for hope that the truly constitutional Southern faction may come to reasonable terms with Chang Tso-lin and Wu P'ei-fu, both of whom seem to have the interests of the Chinese people at heart, and to possess more of their confidence than any rival. Indeed, according to a Reuter's telegram published in *The Times* of September 4 "A mandate is to be issued by the President appointing Wu P'ei-fu Vice-Commissioner of Chih Li, Shan Tung, and Ho Nan. This appointment seems to place him on an equal footing with Chang Tso-lin, who is Inspector-General of the three provinces to his north. Then there is the further question what is to be the fate of the south-western provinces of Kwang Si, Kwei Chou, Yun Nan, and Sz Ch'wan, all of which, under quarrelsome, rival, and jealous *tuchuns*, have for several years been totally out of touch with Peking, and which, in a vague way, have been contemplating union with the Canton province, as "the South" in contrast to "the North." All these provinces were practically unknown to "Old China" before the "First Emperor's" unifying

conquests, and may be compared with the unknown Scandinavia, Russia, and the Baltic in reference to the Roman Empire as extended by Julius Cæsar

Meanwhile the National Defence League, or Central Union of Chinese Students (36, Bernard Street, London), has, in view of the present crisis, published another of its special pleas directed against alleged Japanese machinations during the present involved struggle. In a diplomatic matter of this sort the present writer has, of course, no *locus standi* for contesting or agreeing with any opinion, plea, or claim, but it may be permitted to call attention to one or two clear statements of alleged fact.

On p. 3 it is stated that "British trade has suffered greatly on account of Britain being associated with a country whose aggression towards China has earned the intense hatred of the Chinese people." This statement is contrary to the report of the Customs Inspector-General, which shows that 1915 was a record year for trade, whether regarded from a silver or a sterling point of view, and Great Britain more than ever held her own therein.

On p. 8 there appears the strange story of a "German Japanese Secret Alliance," which was "secretly arranged in 1918," the eventual aim of which was "the elimination of British and American interests in Asia." It is added that "on February 2, 1917, an American officer, Major Slaughter found the text of the draft treaty at Perm," etc., etc. There is a great deal more of this spiteful sort of stuff scattered over the pamphlet, which (so far as any part may be true) would have clearly had more useful effect if proclaimed at the time when the alleged treacheries took place. Sympathy is, of course, felt for China for having allowed her corrupt statesmen (if they may be so called) to get her into the present morass of difficulties, but her agents will not improve matters, *two years after the war*, by endeavouring to make bad blood between allies who gave every satisfaction to each other *during the Great War*. The whole pamphlet must be *regarded as a pleading*.

# PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

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## THE FIFTY-THIRD ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE Council submit the following Report on the Proceedings of the Association for the year 1919-20, the first year of peace

The high hopes which were entertained that the new era would usher in a return to normal conditions were not realized. Nevertheless, the activities of the Association continued on the same lines as before, and the numbers are still increasing, though deaths and resignations were even more numerous—amounting in all to forty-two. This, and the withdrawal of Dr. Pollen, whose persuasive personality had done so much to increase membership, had an adverse effect on numbers, but there was, notwithstanding, a net increase of nineteen Members.

The Council has to deplore the final resignation of Dr. Pollen, and has placed on record its high appreciation of his services. A subscription list was opened in order to give Members the opportunity of expressing their gratitude in a tangible form. £174 15s 6d was realized, it was resolved to present Dr. Pollen with an Illuminated Address and with the balance in the form of a Purse. The Address ran as follows:

“We, the Council and Members of the East India Association whose names are inscribed below, desire to tender to you the assurance of our grateful appreciation of your self-denying services on behalf of our Association as Honorary Secretary during the twelve years, 1907-1919.

"When you assumed charge the roll of Members numbered only 67 names, and this number through your unwearying personal efforts had risen to 507 at the date of your resignation

"Your high ideals, single purpose, kindly tolerance and still more kindly sympathy raised the East India Association to a distinction which it will be the study of your successors to preserve. By all will your departure be keenly felt, but by none more than by the Indian Members of the Association, and among them above all by the Students, who never failed to find in you a warm and helpful friend

"Your magnetic personality will be sorely missed at our Meetings, and it is with concern we realize that your departure has been hastened by ill-health

"We beg your acceptance of the accompanying memento of your long service as Honorary Secretary and of our sincere and affectionate regard "

Mr Stanley Rice was elected Hon Secretary in Dr Pollen's place

Mr J Nicholson made proposals for extending the activities of the Association and getting new Members. A grant of £150 was made to the Hon Secretary for this purpose. A Sub-Committee was formed, but on examination it was found impracticable to canvass the Public indiscriminately. Letters were sent to all Members of the Association to try and obtain new Members, as well as to Clubs, the Chamber of Commerce, and other bodies in England and India. There has not been sufficient time to obtain the full results of this experiment. The Council acknowledges with gratitude the interest which Members have shown in the matter and would once again invite them not to relax their efforts in obtaining new Members

It was also proposed to convert some of the Association Rupee holdings into Sterling Securities but owing to the inevitable delay in obtaining the consent of the Trustees t

this plan the favourable moment for conversion passed. The Trusts were, however, examined and one or two points which seemed to require elucidation were cleared up.

The following Papers were read during the year

*May 26, 1919* —“Caste as a Factor in Indian Reform,” by the Rev John A Sharrock, M A Sir J D Rees, Bart, K C I E, C V O, M P, in the chair

*June 16, 1919* —“Races of the Punjab and North-East Frontier Provinces Manners and Religions,” by Sir James Douie, K C S I Sir Duncan Colvin Baillie, K C S I, in the chair

*July 21, 1919* —“The Future of Indian Women,” by Mrs Sen The Right Hon Lord Sinha in the chair

*October 20, 1919* —“The Study of the Indian Vernaculars,” by the Rev A Darby, M A, B D (Kolhapur State Service, retd) William Coldstream, Esq, K I H, in the chair

*November 17, 1919* —“A German on India,” by Stanley P Rice, Esq, I C S (retd) Harold Cox, Esq, in the chair

*December 15, 1919* —“Reflections on the Government of Wild Tribes of the North-Eastern Frontier of India,” by Lieut-Colonel John Shakespear, C M G, C I E, D S O Sir J Bampfylde Fuller, K C S I, C I E, in the chair

*January 19, 1920* —“The Friends of India Wise and Otherwise,” by Miss F R Scatcherd Sir J D Rees, Bart, K C I E, C V O, M P, in the chair

*February 9, 1920* —“Burma,” by Sir Harvey Adamson, K C S I Sir Frederic W R Fryer, K C S I, in the chair.

*March 15, 1920* —“The Agricultural Development of India,” by N N Sen Gupta, Esq Professor W R Dunstan, C M G, M A., LL D, F R S, in the chair

*April 19, 1920* —“India and the League of Nations,” by Kanhayalal Gauba, Esq Major David Davies, M P, in the chair

All were well received The Council has decided to issue as a pamphlet Miss Scatcherd's Paper, which dealt largely with the policy of Mrs. Besant, the Paper on "The Agricultural Development of India" provoked a more lively debate than had been anticipated

The following have been elected Members of the Association during the year

Sir Arthur Robert Anderson, C S I, C B E, A M. I. C. E  
 Nawab Allah Dadkhan Alizai, M B E  
 S Paramesvara Aiyar, Esq, M A, B L  
 Charles Herbert Atkins, Esq, I C S (retired)  
 Dossabhoy Hormusji Bhiwandivalla, Esq  
 Miss Beadon  
 Nirmal Chandra Bannerjee, Esq  
 Herbert Bradley, Esq, C S I, I C S (retired)  
 G Birch, Esq, M B E  
 Capt U N Bannerji, I M S  
 Jehangir Cursetji, Esq  
 Robert Henry Hobart Cust, Esq., M A  
 Sir Elliot Graham Colvin, K. C S I, I C S (retired)  
 Rai Bahadur Hari Chand  
 Capt Percival Reginald Digby, I A.  
 The Rev Dr Robert Henry Durham, M A., D D  
 The Maharaj Kumar of Dinajpur  
 William F J Frank, Esq  
 Joseph J Ghose, Esq, M A, D LITT (Edin)  
 Myat Tha Gyaw, Esq, M B E, K. S M, T D M  
 Nagendra Nath Sen Gupta, Esq  
 Lieut-Colonel E W M Grigg, C. M G, C V O, D S O.,  
 M C  
 Walchand Hirachand, Esq  
 Bundalibhoy Hajeerbhoy, Esq.  
 John Bayliss Hall, Esq  
 P J Hartog, Esq, C. I E., M A.  
 Colonel G V. Holmes.  
 Dr Cecil Webb Johnson



Henry Rosher James, Esq  
Colonel Thomas Cuthbertson Jones  
Nawab Abdul Rahim Khan, O B E  
Khan Sahib Yusuf bin Ahmed Kanoo, M.B.E., K.-I.-H  
Lady Kensington  
Rai Bahadur Pandit Nand Lal, I S O  
Arthur John Leech, Esq  
Samuel Lupton, Esq  
Narottam Morarjee, Esq  
Professor Mohini Mohan Mukhophyay, M A  
William Harrison Moreland, Esq, C S I, C I E  
Sir C Sankaran Nair, C I E  
The Rev Paul Nichols  
Sir Francis Michael O'Dwyer, G C I E, K C S I  
Ernest Oughton, Esq, O B E, M I M M, M I M E  
Clarence Leo Parker, Esq  
Herbert M Phipson, Esq  
Rao Bahadur Mocherla Ramachandra Rao  
John Gerald Ritchie, Esq, I C S (retired)  
Sydney Gordon Roberts, Esq, I C S (retired)  
B Raghunatha Rao, Esq  
Rupert Nassim Reuben, Esq  
General Raja Sir Hari Singh, K C I E  
Lieut -Colonel C L Swaine, I M S (retired)  
Major-General Count Arthur Tcherep-Spiridovitch  
The Rev T Van der Schuren  
Colonel Latham Coddington Swifte, I C S (retired)  
The Hon Charles Patrick Stuart.  
Miss Ethel R Sykes  
John Aloysius Veerasawmy, Esq  
S S Gnana Viran, Esq  
Miss E St. John Wileman  
Peter Lennox Wright, Esq

The following have resigned membership during the year

Sir Abbas Ali Baig, K C I E , C S I  
 A. Yusuf Ali, Esq , C B E  
 Frederick Anderson, Esq  
 Sir Henry P Burt, K C I E  
 T H S Biddulph, Esq , C I E  
 Lieut -Colonel W H Burke, I M S  
 Sir William John Cunningham, K C S I  
 Sir Mahadev B Chaubal, K C I E , C S I  
 Wilkie Calvert, Esq  
 Kuvarji Khandubhai Desai, Esq  
 Sir Stephen Finney, C I E  
 Sir Frederick Russell Hogg, K C I E , C S I  
 George Huddleston, Esq , C I E  
 F H Hamnett, Esq , I C S (retired)  
 Sir Murray Hammick, K C S I , C I E  
 The Rev S Harris  
 D B Jayatilaka, Esq  
 Sir Vasanti Trikamji Mulji  
 Raja Peary Mohan Mookerjee, C S I  
 Dudley Borron Myers, Esq  
 G A Fitz-Adam Ormiston, Esq  
 G C O'Gorman, Esq  
 P Phillipowsky, Esq  
 Lieut -Colonel Sir David Semple, M D  
 John Hope Simpson, Esq , C I E  
*The Hon Raja Sir Rampal Singh, K C I E*  
*The Right Hon Sir Albert Spicer*  
 H C Streatfield, Esq  
 Henry C West, Esq

The Council regret to announce the death of the following Members

Nawabzadah Syed Mohinddin Meerza.

Khan Bahadur Hormusji Maneckji Bhivandivalla.

H.H Sir Bhavsinghji Takhtsinghji, K.C.S.I., Maharaja  
of Bhavnagar.

J H H Bill, Esq, I C S.

Sir Duncan Colvin Baillie, K.C.S.I

Charles Walter Bolton, Esq, C S I

H H Raja Sir Bhure Singh, K C S I, C I E, Maharaja  
of Chamba

Maharaja Sir Girija Nath Ray Bahadur, K C I E,  
Maharaja of Dinajpur

Cowasjee Rustomjee Dubash, Esq

W F Hamilton, Esq

Robert Batson Joyner, Esq, C I E

John William Neill, Esq

H H Sir Sher Muhammad Zorawar Khan, G C I E,  
Nawab of Palanpur

It is satisfactory that the sons of Khan Bahadur Hormusji Maneckji Bhiwandivalla and of the Maharaja of Dinajpur have joined the Association in place of their fathers. The Council recorded a vote of condolence with the widow and family of H H the Maharaja of Bhavnagar, whose death was much deplored.

Sir Abbas Ali Baig, K C I E, C S I, Sir Daniel M Hamilton and Sir Frederick S P Lely, K C I E, C S I, have resigned their seats on the Council, Miss F R Scatcherd and Mr Stanley P Rice, I C S (retired), have been co-opted Members of the Council.

The following retire by rotation

Sir Charles H Armstrong

William Coldstream, Esq, K -I-H

Sir William Ovens Clark

Sir Krishna G Gupta, K C S I

Sir Frank C Gates, K C I E, C S I

Lieut -Colonel S H Godfrey, C I E.

Colonel M J Meade, C I E

John C Nicholson, Esq

These gentlemen are willing, if re-elected, to continue to serve, and it is open to any Member of the Association to propose any candidate for election to Council

The Council has again to acknowledge with gratitude the interest which Lord Reay continues to take in the affairs of the Association

The Accounts show a balance of £528 16s 2d, as compared with £449 17s 2d last year. The Association may thus be said to be in a flourishing condition, though no doubt the increase in balance may be ascribed partly to the rise in exchange which has made our Rupee Securities more productive

LAMINGTON,  
*Chairman*

### BALANCE SHEET, APRIL 30, 1920

ASSETS		LIABILITIES	
Investments in India Govern- ment Promissory Notes for Rupees 92,400	£4,248 0 0	Grant due to Hon Secretary	£150 0 0
Library and Furniture	300 0 0	Balance	5,235 1 6
War Loan	305 2 3		
Balance of Bank and Cash Account	531 19 3		
	£5,385 1 6		£5,385 1 6

Examined and found correct

J B PENNINGTON, Member of Council

G M RYAN, Member of Association

STANLEY P RICE, Hon. Secretary

18th May, 1920.

# GENERAL ABSTRACT OF ACCOUNTS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

CASH ACCOUNT FROM MAY 1, 1919, TO APRIL 30, 1920

RECEIPTS	EXPENDITURE
To Balance at Bank	By Rent
" Cash in Hand	" Printing, ASIATIC REVIEW, etc
" Postage in Hand	" Salary of Clerk
	" Postages
	" Hire of Hall and Refreshments
	" Reporting Meetings
	" Hon Secretary's Railway Expenses
	" Housekeeper and Office Repairs
	" Stationery
	" Banker's Charges
	" Electric Light and Coal
	" Housekeeper and Postman's Christmas Box
	" Press Cuttings, Newspapers, etc
	" Subscriptions paid in error
	" Typewriter
	" Fire Insurance
	" Advertisements
	" Stamp on New Lease
	" Lecturers Expenses
	" Telephone Charges
	" Balance at Bank
	" Cash in Hand
	" Postage in Hand
Total	Total
£449 17 2	£1,392 4 0½
2 8 4	
0 12 6½	
£452 18 0½	
£640 18 6	
208 3 9	
15 5 0	
73 17 2	
1 1 7	
£939 6 0	
	£125 0 0
	359 17 1
	131 5 0
	66 18 9½
	35 14 10
	29 7 10
	13 13 0
	26 3 6
	13 16 9
	3 13 10
	10 17 7
	0 15 0
	10 16 10
	3 10 0
	22 10 0
	0 7 0
	0 8 0
	0 5 0
	2 10 0
	2 14 9
	£860 4 9½
	528 16 2
	3 2 1
	0 1 0
	£1,392 4 0½

Examined with Vouchers and Passbook and found correct

J B PENNINGTON, Member of Council  
G M RYAN, Member of Association

STANLEY P RICE, Hon Secretary

18th May, 1920.

## ANNUAL MEETING

THE Fifty-third Annual General Meeting of the East India Association was held at the Lincolnshire Room, 7A, Tothill Street, Westminster, S W , on Tuesday, June 22, 1920, Lord Lamington (in the absence of the Rt Hon Lord Reay) in the Chair

The following, amongst others, were present The Rt Hon Lord Pentland, GCSI, GCIE, Sir Mancherjee M Bhownaggee, KCIE, Sir Walter C Hughes, CIE, Colonel C E Yate, CSI, CMG, MP, Sir Krishna G Gupta, KCSI, Sir Frank C Gates, KCIE, CSI, Sir William Ovens Clark, Mr G O W Dunn, Mr F C Channing, Miss Wade, Mr Duncan Irvine, Miss F R Scatcherd, Mr Sydney G Roberts, Colonel F S Terry, Mr J B Pennington, Mr N C Sen, OBE, Mr G M Ryan, Mr T Summers, CIE, Mr H S L Polak, Mr F H Brown, and Mr Stanley P Rice, Hon Secretary

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and gentlemen, I have first of all to apologize to the meeting for the fact that I am in the chair to-day and not Lord Reay, our President, but I am sorry to say I have had a communication from him to say that he regrets that the doctor will not allow him to attend the meeting to-day, and therefore, I think for the first time for a number of years, we have to record the fact that through ill health Lord Reay is prevented from occupying his accustomed position at this gathering

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I have to move the adoption of the Report You have, I presume, all had copies of the Annual Report of the Association, and I shall be glad if some member will propose that the Report and Accounts be accepted.

Mr DUNCAN IRVINE moved that the Report of the Council for the year 1919-20 be taken as read.

Mr SYDNEY ROBERTS seconded the proposition, which was put to the meeting and carried unanimously

The CHAIRMAN Now we come to the re-election of our President

Sir MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGEE I have much pleasure in proposing that the Rt. Hon Lord Reay be re-elected President of this Association for the ensuing year I am perfectly sure that this proposition will commend itself to everybody present in this room There can be no one more genuine and more energetic in promoting the interests and objects of the Association than Lord Reay, or whose advice and guidance are more necessary in connection with its affairs His Lordship has stood by the Association for many long years, and his connection with it is all the more valuable from the fact that his is one of the names which, even after the long interval since he left India, is still held in great reverence and affection by the people of India It is of the utmost importance for this Association to be governed by men in whom the people of India and their British

friends equally have confidence, and I do not think from that point of view we can have a better man at the head of this Association than Lord Reay, if, in spite of his indisposition, he would be willing to accept the position. We are all very sorry to hear of his illness and consequent inability to be with us to-day, but if I mistake not, the interest which he has exhibited for the past many years justifies us in expecting that, even at some inconvenience, he will be willing to accept the position which I now propose he should occupy for the ensuing year (Hear, hear)

Colonel YATE I have great pleasure in seconding that

The CHAIRMAN It has been proposed and seconded that Lord Reay should be asked to continue in office as President of the Association. I should like to say that from time to time I have had to consult Lord Reay with regard to the general work of the affairs of the Association, and I have always found him most interested in all that concerns its welfare, and I have always found that our opinions have coincided. I mention this because, as partly responsible for the administration of affairs, it has always been a great satisfaction to me to know that I have such a reliable colleague—if I may so call him—in helping to come to any decision. I am sure we shall all wish him better health and that he may long be spared to hold the position of President of this Association (Hear, hear)

The resolution was put to the meeting and carried by acclamation

The CHAIRMAN Next we come to the re-election of the Members of the Council

Mr DUNN My lord, ladies and gentlemen, I beg to propose that the following Members of Council, who under the rules have to retire this year by rotation, namely Sir Charles H Armstrong, William Coldstream, Esq, K I H, Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Krishna G Gupta, K C S I, Sir Frank C Gates, K C I E, C I S, Lieut-Colonel S H Godfrey, C I E, Colonel M J Meade, C I E, John C Nicholson, Esq, be re-elected to the Council. They are all willing to serve, and many of these gentlemen have done very valuable service, and we can ill afford to lose it.

Mr PENNINGTON seconded the resolution, which was put to the meeting and carried unanimously

The SECRETARY I should like, before the meeting comes to an end, to read the following letter which I have received from Dr Pollen acknowledging the gift of the Association

*June 14, 1920*

MY DEAR RICE,

I have already acknowledged receipt of the handsome cheque you sent me on behalf of the Association and friends

The beautiful address has since reached me, and I have written to our President, Lord Reay, expressing my gratitude for this generous and graceful recognition of my feeble efforts to serve the Association and India, and telling him how much the exquisitely illuminated Testimonial is admired as a work of art and how highly I value it as a token of esteem and affection

I would, now, ask you to convey to the next meeting of Council (and if

## *Annual Meeting*

possible to the Annual Meeting) my deep appreciation of the honour the Association and my friends have done me, and my most grateful thanks for all their goodness and kindness.

I cannot tell you how touched I feel by the flattering wording of the tribute to my services but I feel I ought to say that these services (such as they were) could not have been rendered had it not been for the constant and cordial co-operation of my colleague, J B Pennington, and the devotion to duty of Mr H King, the clerk to the Council, and, during his absence at the war, of his wife, Mrs King

It has been a great disappointment to me not to be able to get over to London to thank the Council and my friends, in *person* but this I hope to be able to do on some future occasion Just at present, unfortunately, I have to go slow

Again thanking you all, and with the best of good wishes for the continued progress of the Association, which has, from the first, always endeavoured to avoid the "Falsehood of Extremes" and to draw East and West more cordially together,

I am,

Yours sincerely,

J POLLEN

The CHAIRMAN Dr Pollen has also written to me in very much the same strain, and referring to Lord Reay he speaks of his wise counsel

These letters show Dr Pollen's continued interest in the work of the Association

In conclusion I would ask that all those who take a real and direct interest in the Association will make a point as far as possible of attending the meetings, obtaining members, and so on, because, although we value Mr Rice's services, we recognize that in losing Dr Pollen as our Hon Secretary we must regard him as a loss which cannot be replaced, he had a most magnetic power, and he took an almost daily interest in everything that concerned the work of the Association, and therefore it behoves us all to do all we can to make good his retirement (Hear, hear)

On the motion of Mr Pennington a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the Chairman for his kindness in occupying the chair at short notice His Lordship suitably replied and the meeting terminated

I am



## THE WORK OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY COMMISSION

BY P. J. HARTOG, C I E, M A.

You have here before you an alarming array of volumes. The Report itself consists of five volumes, and there are eight volumes of evidence and appendices, but I would urge those of you who are really interested in the subject not to be alarmed by that amount of printing, for the Report is so divided into chapters and sections, and provided with such complete analyses, that you should find no difficulty in looking up the particular topic which interests you, while you can neglect the rest.

The general situation in regard to Indian education is familiar to all present here. I speak to an expert audience of men and women, most of whom know India far better than I do myself, and you realize that while in India you have an illiterate peasantry, you have educated middle and higher classes. In the University of Calcutta there were in 1917-18 nearly 26,000 students—that is, about as large a number as there were in the universities in Great Britain before the war. It was the business of the Commission to consider in what way the university system, which had given dissatisfaction to all alike, Europeans and Indians, officials and non-officials, missionaries, men of business, and men of science, could be improved. At the same time the Government of India gave an undertaking that the members of the Commission should visit the other universities of India, so that they might not unwittingly make general recommendations likely to affect, to their disadvantage, those other universities. We travelled

some 12,000 miles in India, we interviewed hundreds of witnesses, and we saw dozens of schools. We heard the lectures given, making ourselves as inconspicuous as possible, so that we might not be disturbing factors. We talked with students, teachers, and parents, and we saw the students' work. We obtained written evidence from over 400 witnesses in reply to a very exhaustive questionnaire. And I should like to say that it is not only my own opinion, but the opinion of others in England and India alike, that no such body of evidence on an educational subject has ever been produced before. We were fortunate enough to stimulate both the imagination and the intelligence of those to whom this questionnaire was addressed. Perhaps for the first time many of them saw the questions of education as a whole, and one of the most promising features for the future is the frankness with which those who are engaged in conducting it admitted the weaknesses of the system which they are carrying on, and for which they are in a measure personally responsible. I think that it is difficult to attach too much significance to that fact. It is full of promise for Bengal that the men engaged in education are so anxious for its real strengthening and improvement that they have had the frankness, the honesty, and the courage, to say exactly, even if they should suffer for it, where they thought the present system was wrong. Lord Ronaldshay, in an admirable speech, said that the Commission had really only given voice to the opinion of Bengal in its criticism of the present system, and I think it is true. The way, therefore, has been to a large extent cleared for reform. If and when the reforms are carried out, which I hope will be before long, the people of Bengal will not be able to say that reform has been imposed on them from without. It has been asked for from within.

There are many general factors to be considered in Indian education which differentiate it from education in England. (1) Caste, (2) purdah, (3) pay and social position of teachers, (4) medium of instruction, (5) the examination

system, and (6) economic pressure I think to a person coming from England nothing could be more striking than the small effect of caste on the benches of the schools and universities Students of all castes and communities sit side by side, yet there can be no doubt that caste does prevent a certain number of men who would otherwise devote themselves to pursuits requiring manual labour, and especially such pursuits as agriculture and engineering, from following them at present, because manual work is still regarded by many persons of high caste as degrading But that factor, I believe, is steadily diminishing in magnitude, and I pass rapidly over it

Then there is the question of purdah Purdah does not, strictly speaking, affect education at the present moment, but it keeps women out of higher education on Western lines If any great change in women's education is to come, it must come from Indian men and women, and in order to prepare the way for this change we have suggested that there should be special boards for women's education, with committees of women in which purdah women should be included We ourselves have stood outside the veil We have been criticized for doing so, and we have also been criticized for going too far But, having spoken to many Indian men and women, I think I am right in saying that there is no question, at the present time, on which they feel more acutely than that of women's education Many are both anxious that women shall receive Western education and anxious that they shall not be unfitted for the Indian household, and they are obviously right Changes must come, but how they are to come it is for Indians, for Indian men and women, to decide

Then there is the question of the pay and social position of the teacher The differences between England and India in this matter are far greater in primary education than in the secondary schools or the university A teacher in a primary school in India may—often does—receive less,

especially at the present time, than a day labourer, but in the universities we found that the average pay was not less, taking the difference of prices into account, than the average pay in British universities

We then come to the question of the medium of instruction. On that point we found the greatest possible differences of opinion—differences that cut across every distinction of position and religion. It was impossible to say that this was an opinion of the Hindoos, and this was an opinion of the Muhammadans, that this was an opinion of officials and this was an opinion of non-officials, that this was an opinion of the Advanced Liberal Party, and this was an opinion of the Conservatives. You will find men of the most advanced political parties who say it is absolutely ruinous to the intelligence to teach in a foreign tongue. You will find men on the same political platform who regard any attempt to encourage the vernacular as an attempt to drive India back into darkness.

There was no question to which the Commissioners gave greater attention than that of the medium of instruction. We have summed up a mass of evidence extraordinarily able and interesting, and we have explained that, while at the present moment certain changes should be made, the future must take care of itself. What we have proposed, roughly speaking, is this. As you know, the four highest classes in Bengal secondary schools are taught, or are supposed to be taught, in English. It is sometimes a supposition. But what is quite certain is that the matriculation examination is conducted in English, and consequently a certain knowledge of English—a considerable knowledge of English—is necessary to pass it, yet it is admitted on all sides that a large number of students—it has been admitted to me by many students who have themselves matriculated—a large number pass that examination by a sheer effort of memory, and do not by any means understand all the answers which they write down and which gain marks for them in the examination. A

## *The Work of the Calcutta University Commission*

system which attaches such undue weight to the exercise of memory cannot but be a faulty system, and therefore we have advocated the restriction of English in the secondary schools as a medium of instruction. That does not mean that we propose that the boys in the highest classes should not learn English. On the contrary, we agree with the almost unanimous opinion of Bengal, and, I think, of India, that every boy who wishes to pass through a secondary school should have an opportunity of learning English, which will open to him Western culture. But at the matriculation examination itself—excepting in mathematics (because the pupil needs to be accustomed to the English technical terms, which he will need later) and in the subject of English—we propose that it should be optional to answer in English or in the vernacular. But at the next stage we propose great changes in many ways. I think, however, before I go on to that, I would like to read one passage from the Report which shows what our own view is in regard to the future of the vernaculars. We speak mainly of Bengali, but you are all here acquainted with the fact that there are many vernaculars in India, and that is a fundamental condition in the situation which is not always appreciated.

“We do not wish to prejudge the future. It is not for us to predict whether the natural desire to use Bengali to the utmost will eventually outweigh the immense advantages of being able to use a medium common not only to the educated classes throughout India, but to more peoples than any other, and giving access in effect to the literature and the scientific records of the world. We are disposed to think that the educated classes in India will, like those of some other countries, both in the British dominions and elsewhere, wish to be bilingual to use their mother-tongues for those dear and intimate things which form part of life from infancy upwards, and which are the very breath and substance of poetry and national

feeling ; to use English as a means of intercommunication necessary for the maintenance of the unity of India and of touch with other countries, for the mutual interchange and stimulation of ideas in the sphere of scholarship and science"—and by that word "stimulation" we meant not only the stimulation of India by the West, but of the West by India—"and for the promotion of that interprovincial and international commerce and industry on which the economic future of India will largely depend "

One would have thought that was a moderate statement. But we have been accused by some of the advanced party, of whom I have spoken, of being wanting in courage because we give that amount of encouragement to the vernacular. I am not afraid of standing by those words. Before speaking about the stage at which we propose the real and serious study of English, I want to say something of the examination system. The examination system in England has great defects. I have ventured to point them out in other places, but those defects are multiplied in India precisely because the examinations have been conducted in a language that is not that of the candidates. We have not proposed rules and regulations for these examinations, but what we have proposed is a new policy—a policy as much needed in Great Britain as it is in India—namely, that those responsible for the examinations should be asked to define the purpose of those examinations. It is an extraordinary fact that if you were to ask educational bodies to define the real purposes of the examination which they conduct, they would often be in a great difficulty, and they would often be in even greater difficulties if you asked them what you could safely say that a person who has just passed their examination *can really do*. On one occasion I asked a number of examiners what could be said with certainty of the powers of any candidate who had just passed in the four subjects of the examination, and I met in every case with the same smile,

and with the same answer: Nothing! Well, the Indian examination system has been modelled on the English educational system, and you can imagine the results. That does not mean that the Indian student does not have to work to pass an examination. He has to work, and he has to work hard. It is the design of the examinations that is at fault, and what we propose is neither to make easier examinations nor harder examinations, but more rational examinations—that the authorities should so design the examinations that they will fulfil the purpose for which they are intended. We have proposed that in the two universities of Bengal, the reformed University of Calcutta and the new University of Dacca, there should be an examinations board, not of an executive character, but intended to fulfil the functions of a conscience for the universities in these matters, to analyze and publish statistics of examinations, and, from time to time, for the benefit of the university itself and the educated public, to supply samples of the answers of students, so that they may know exactly what the examiners are doing. The majority of examining bodies—I think I may say so without risk of contradiction—do not always know what they are doing.

We have been criticized for not having gone into all the details of examinations, for not having proposed in detail new rules and regulations to replace those of the present University of Calcutta, but we felt that there would be a great danger in doing that. We should have replaced the present over-rigid system by a new system which would soon become rigid and possibly no better than the present one. What we had to do was to show the way of putting real life, vitality, and purpose into that system, so that instead of being a system that does perhaps as much harm as good, it shall be a really useful organ in the national economy.

I have spoken of the national economy. There is one influence in India that differentiates the system of Indian

higher education from that of Great Britain, the influence of economic pressure. We, no doubt, feel economic pressure as well as Indians, but you have to remember that whereas in England there are many roads to a career, in India, if you are to succeed in raising yourself from a humble position to a higher one, almost your only road lies through the university. That fact is realized in Bengal, perhaps, as nowhere else in India. The pressure on the schools and on the colleges has become extreme. I will give you one or two significant figures. "From 1912 to 1918 the number of students enrolled in the 'arts colleges' in the University of Calcutta"—that is, the colleges which are non-technical, and which give the ordinary curriculum in arts and sciences—the number of students enrolled in the arts colleges increased from 10,900 to 18,500, which is an increase of 68 per cent. in seven years, and during the same period the number of pupils in the English-teaching secondary schools of Bengal increased from 260,000 to 378,000, or over 40 per cent. The schools are overcrowded, the colleges are overcrowded. The conditions of some of the schools and some of the colleges are painful to witness. The boys in some of the private schools which are run for profit are brought up in rooms so dark that it is impossible to read, and in sanitary conditions which I will not describe. The whole system at present is feverish, strained, and mechanical. And we had to ask ourselves at what point we could most effectively infuse into it new life.

Now, there is a consensus of opinion in Bengal, and I think amongst almost all educated people in India—at any rate in Bengal—that the weakest point in the whole university system is the work of the first two years. Youths come into the university totally unprepared for university methods of teaching, and very often incapable of distinguishing what is essential in a lecture from what is merely accessory. May I tell you one story which illustrates this? In one of the best colleges in Bengal I heard a lecturer who spoke on an English text with great volubility, and a great deal of ability, for a whole hour, and who asked



me afterwards what I thought of his lecture. I replied that it was very interesting, but that if he had been speaking on an English text to English students, still more if he had been a Frenchman speaking on a French text to French students, at the same stage, the greater part of the hour would have been taken up in asking questions or in replying to them, and that he himself would have spoken only for a third or half the time. I said "Do not you think it would be a good thing to find out what is passing in the minds of those who are listening to you?" He was taken aback, and obviously disliked my criticism, but he wrote to me a few weeks later to this effect "I have thought over your suggestion and decided to try it on my first and third year classes. I dared not try it in my second or fourth year classes because the students might have failed in their examinations. In the first year classes I got no results, because the pupils did not know enough English to ask me any questions, but in the third year the class sometimes asked me questions which I could not answer." And he gave me as an illustration a delightful one. His students were reading "Paradise Lost," and one boy asked "Why does Milton make Adam say 'As on my mother's lap'?" Now what was the answer to that? I think the only answer is that Milton had made a slip which it was reserved for this Bengal boy to notice for the first time. But you will observe that in the first year these boys listening to lecturers had not enough English to ask questions if they wanted.

Well, we have proposed that there should be a complete change in the first two years of the university course, that the teaching for those two years should be teaching of the kind given in England in secondary schools, and further that the boys leaving after the end of those two years should not all think it necessary to enter a university, but should be fitted to go straight into various careers of commerce and industry for which university education is regarded, neither in this country nor in any other country, as necessary. No one, I think, will accuse me of being

lukewarm in praise of university education, but it is not everyone who is fitted for university education or to whom it is profitable. In saying that I do not mean that I wish the number of university students in Bengal to be lower than it is at present—it may be that it should be increased as the general level of education rises, but I am sure that a large number of those who now go to college ought to go straight into other occupations, and we have proposed in those two years, therefore, that there should be courses in preparation for agriculture, in preparation for business, and in preparation for commerce, but at the same time we have suggested that at the end of that period, whatever the nature of the course taken by the boy should be, he should not be debarred by his choice of a course from going into a university. We do not want to keep anyone who is fitted by his intellectual attainments from pursuing a university course. In those two years there are three subjects we regard as absolutely essential. First of all a knowledge of the vernacular. We think it absolutely necessary that every boy should be able to express himself logically—even eloquently—if he can, in his own mother-tongue. We think it equally necessary that by the time he has completed those two years he should be able to express himself competently in English, and we also feel that he should have received an adequate physical training. I will not go into the other subjects of the curriculum. Those we have only sketched out, and I have no time to discuss the details.

With regard to the universities I shall say a few words. The great principle that we have followed is that, instead of having all their rules and regulations sanctioned by the Governor-General at Delhi, they should have a much larger measure of autonomy and of responsibility for the conduct of their business. In the case of Dacca our path was relatively easy. A very able committee, presided over by a very able chairman, Mr., now Sir Robert, Nathan, had devised a scheme for a university at Dacca on a unitary system, as a residential university, but it was still

to be a university regulated by a Government Department. We have proposed that it should very largely regulate itself, subject to such control by Government as is regarded as necessary by all parties in India, where you have to take into account religious differences—differences which I hope will disappear in course of time, but which cannot, at the present time, be neglected. Minorities fear that majorities might be tyrannous—I do not know that they would—but they feel they have need of the protection of the Government of India, and that protection has been given to them in our scheme. The University of Dacca is, in its plan, a particularly attractive university. At Dacca there are about 600 acres of park land which are to be devoted to university purposes (including some 150 acres for playing-fields), and a considerable sum has been spent, and more will be spent, on university buildings. I ought to remind this audience, if they do not know it already, that the University of Dacca was promised to a deputation of leading Muhammadans at the time of the repartition of 1912. Special provision is to be made there for Muhammadan needs, but there are to be no tests whatever, and we all hope that Dacca will be no less distinguished in its other schools than in its Islamic school. We have proposed for Dacca a constitution very much like that of our own large provincial universities. For Calcutta we had necessarily to propose a much more complex constitution. We have been reproached by some persons, again, in this respect for not being thoroughgoing, but, to my mind, to destroy the Calcutta colleges and to try to build up a unitary university in Calcutta would have been to impose on the governing body of that university an absolutely impossible task. We believe there may be a new synthesis between college and university, a synthesis that will make it possible for the students in any one Calcutta college to attend the advanced teaching given by the teachers of any other college. From my experience in London I know that such an organization is possible, and I hope it will not be long before it is carried out. At the present moment

the Dacca Bill has been passed by the Imperial Legislative Council and has become law, and the Dacca University will very soon come into being. In Calcutta there has been opposition by the Senate to the reforms, on the ground that the Government have not yet made the necessary grants of money to enable the reforms that we proposed to be carried out. I hope this is only a preliminary difficulty, and that both money and goodwill will be found to carry out the plans that we have proposed.

I cannot conclude without pointing out that this university problem is part of a larger problem. As you are all aware, there are great changes going on in India, changes of which it is impossible for any man to foresee the results, that India at the present moment, like other countries, is in an unstable condition, and in some ways a peculiarly unstable condition. In India only 10 per cent of the population are literate. But primary education for the majority, or all, is coming—must come. What is that education going to do for the people? Is it merely going to sensitize further an already impressionable people? Or is it going to give them that power of self-determination and judgment demanded by the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, but which it is so difficult to give in practice in any country?

When you come down to the facts you find that in every country primary education depends, eventually, on university education. It is the universities that train the teachers of the teachers of primary schools and therefore it is on the universities that this great problem, the greatest educational problem in the whole world, perhaps—the problem of educating 300 millions of Indians—it is on the universities that this problem ultimately depends, hence in the new schemes I attach importance to the development of their departments of education over all others. I believe that the universities of India, in Bengal and elsewhere, will realize the greatness of their task, and in that task I am sure we all wish them God-speed.

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Tuesday, June 22, 1920, at the Lincolnshire Room, 7A, Tothill Street, Westminster, S W, at which a paper was read by Mr P J Hartog, C I E, M A, entitled "The Work of the Calcutta University Commission" In the absence of Lord Reay, the Right Hon Lord Lamington, G C M G, G C I E, occupied the chair The following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present Sir Mancherjee M Bhownaggee, K C I E, Sir Walter C Hughes, C I E, Mr N C Sen, O B E, Mr G O W Dunn, the Rev R D Durham, D D, General Chamier, Dr H M Fernando, Mr James Pearis, Mr I. Thakor, Mrs Drury, Mr E H Tabak, Colonel F S Terry, Mrs Hartog, Mrs and Miss Creagh Osborne, the Rev Dr W Stanton, Mr S S G Viran, Baroness Barnekow, Mrs Pendlebury, Miss F R Scatcherd, Mr Sydney G Roberts, Miss Clegg, Miss Buck, Mrs A M T Jackson, Mrs E F Kinnier Tarte, Mr B L Rao, Mrs Meyer, Major General Count A Spiridovitch, Mr F J P Richter, and Mr Stanley P Rice, Hon Secretary

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and gentlemen, the reason I am occupying the position of Chairman this afternoon is owing to the much-regretted absence of Lord Reay He particularly asked me to explain to you how very much distressed he was by the fact that he was unable to do as had been his custom, to preside at the Annual Meeting of the Association I am sure we all sympathize with him, but the doctor's orders have to be obeyed. I should like also to refer to the absence of another old and loyal friend of the Association, Dr Pollen (Hear, hear) There are one or two points he wishes me to mention to the meeting, referring to those who cannot be with us to-day To begin with, he also expresses regret that Lord Reay will not be with us this afternoon, and he goes on to say in his letter "I am sorry to see amongst the deaths that of the Maharajah of Bhavnagar, and that Sir Abbas Ali Baig, Sir Daniel Hamilton and Sir Frederick Lely have left the Council." I quite share those regrets of Dr Pollen's, and I am sure we all feel very much Dr Pollen's absence at these meetings of the Association (Hear, hear) I would also say that Lord Carmichael and Lord Crewe have written to express their regret at being unable to come here to-day

Now, ladies and gentlemen, at very short notice I have been asked to take the chair in place of Lord Reay, and unfortunately I have to leave early to go to the House of Lords in order to take part in the discussion on the Divorce Bill, but before leaving I should like to introduce to you the lecturer of this afternoon, Dr Hartog, and so far as I have been able

to learn from his interesting paper dealing with the subject of education in Bengal, I think, after having heard what he has to say, you will be well equipped with knowledge as regards the position of educational affairs at the present time in that province. I have always been of opinion that it was a mistake that higher education in India should have been obtained so easily at a cheap rate. (Hear, hear) I know that we are adopting the same lines here of giving secondary education and higher education at very cheap rates, but I believe it is a vital mistake, although I dare say I shall be regarded as a reactionary for saying so. As regards India, to my mind you stimulate Indians by this higher education, and with their acquisitive minds they pass their examinations with great facility, but having done that, they often have no idea how to turn their knowledge to beneficial use, and it is only natural under those circumstances, that without a sound character having been developed, they go out into the world without knowing where or how they can devote their previous training to the benefit of themselves and others. Without necessary training of character they find themselves, as it were, cast abroad, and become discontented, and in many cases seditious. That has been my personal opinion, and I see nothing to cause me to regard it as anything but a sound one. We all admit that education itself is a most desirable thing, but, as a Scotsman, I always remember that Scotland held a prominent position as regards educational attainments mainly because of the self-denial of the parents, and of the youth who determined to succeed and put himself in that superior position that he was able to go into the world and say, "I have something to give you in return." There is one sentence in this paper which you will hear read as to expenditure on education being productive, which to my mind is a sentence pregnant with meaning as to how far educational expenditure is productive. To go back to my old argument, it must necessarily depend on the man who has the education, so that when he has also developed the necessary character, he can put his educational acquirements to the best and proper use.

I will not stand between you and the lecture any longer, ladies and gentlemen, and I will now ask Dr Hartog to read his paper. I only regret there is not a larger audience here this afternoon, who would no doubt benefit by what he has to say. As I must leave very shortly, I will ask the Secretary to take the chair.

The paper was then read.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr RICE) Ladies and gentlemen, I would remind those who wish to speak that we have a rule which limits speakers to five minutes, and I would particularly ask people who intend to speak to remember that rule to-day, and not to exceed that time, as time is short.

Mr S S G VIRAN said he had been very much interested in all he had heard. Coming from India, he thought he might venture to say that, in regard to the suggestions to which reference had been made, they were gradually being worked out in those provinces. It was not very easy to say in a few minutes what one wished to say on the many points which had been raised, but with regard to public examinations, whilst they all deplored the difficulties in the way of carrying out practical suggestions, it

must be realized that in India Indians had to tackle a difficult and rich foreign language like English in order to become proficient in different branches of Western knowledge, and therefore if they did not find general culture, as such, amongst all the so-called educated men, it was not that they were lacking in general ability. To take the illustration of two young Indians with the same capacity for work and natural desire and determination to improve, what happened was that if one of those two did not pass a certain examination by getting a minimum number of marks in every one of the many subjects which he was compelled to offer, whether he had an aptitude for some and a dislike for the rest or not, he failed to qualify himself. Now, the passing of the Matriculation was an essential condition precedent to entering different grades of the arts course and, through them, of the corresponding professional examinations such as law, medicine, engineering, each grade of which opened up very different prospects based on that success at examinations. One student might pass, and a more brilliant one might fail, in the preliminary arts course of a certain standard. Both would enter the respective stage permitted by their previous success in the arts course in their professional college and career, but because the brilliant student happened to fail, he entered as a subordinate, and the other one, because he passed, was able to enter the Provincial, and even Imperial, grades. In one instance he knew of a man who had failed at the beginning who used to teach the other man in studying for his degree. The man with the higher degree, because he had passed his examination, had got an excellent position and more than one public honour, although the other man was the better man, and had long before him reached the highest rung of his ladder. No wonder there was discontent. No wonder students tried to pass those examinations anyhow. It was like jerry-building. Formerly there was no leisure and no money for culture and scholarship. Those who had the money, mostly the landed gentry, merchants, and the bankers, as a class, did not feel the impulse for Western education, much less the desire for university distinction, as they are beginning to feel increasingly. Indian universities were modelled on the London University, originally an examining body. He thought it would be agreed that Madras, as led by such distinguished educationists as the great Dr. William Miller, the originator of the Hostel System, so largely copied in every province, had been very successful in its methods of working out the system. The comparative barrenness in higher research and originality complained of in former years, at all events, often was due to a lack of money, which prevented proper equipment on the part of the colleges, and the almost mad haste to pass examinations on the part of the students. Indians were keen on getting on. It was not safe to run away with the idea that Indians were lacking in ability or force of character. Many of the educational authorities in India being Scotsmen, Indian parents trained in their traditional ways had got that virtue which the Chairman had mentioned, by reason of close contact with them, and he could personally point out hundreds of pathetic cases in India of parents having forgone everything in order to push on their sons, by spending all or give them a good education.

In conclusion, he wished to point out that India was a very big world, and it was not safe to trust to mere figures, but, taking things generally, he thought they would agree that the students in India were working hard and striving to make their way in the world. Western education in India was gaining in strength and volume, and amidst happier conditions of increased public grants and very much improved private effort and enthusiasm and philanthropy, it was rising like a tidal wave, and one fervently wished that, under the new political conditions, it might have watchful, sympathetic, and yet firm direction into channels that made for genuine culture, well-balanced understanding, fruitful capacity, and loyal co-operation (Hear, hear, and applause.)

Dr WEITERECHT STANTON said that in the short time allotted to one he would like to point out the connection of the present situation with that which had passed. After all, they were mainly building on what their predecessors had done. A good deal had been said about the exclusively literary education of past times. In his opinion, there was something to be said for it. What was a literary education valuable for? Literature enshrined the ideals of a nation, and education was the key to a knowledge of those ideals, and helped to form the character of a man and thus to make him fit for his working life. This, he maintained, had been to a considerable extent achieved by previous educational efforts, but they had now outgrown these methods. The object of the Indian educational system originally was mainly to produce officials and others who could serve the Government. That to a great extent had been accomplished, but now more than that was needed. A secondary and higher education could only be built up on a broad substructure of popular education. They had to reconcile those two things and to link one with the other, and in his opinion the most effective step in that direction was one referred to by the lecturer—namely, that the university should take up and regulate the relations between vernacular and English education. This difficult task would have to be dealt with by men who, to a great extent, were new to the work, for it would fall largely on the provincial councils, on which Indians are to form a large part. It was our part to help them in laying a foundation for the constructive solution of these great problems.

Another aspect to which the Calcutta University Commission drew attention in the matter of higher education was the personal touch between the university teacher and his pupils. As a result of their investigations they had shown that in certain colleges the numbers were so great that it was impossible to have any personal touch, whereas in others, where the numbers were very much smaller, such individual contact was gained. This touch was vital, not only for the intellectual development of the student, but for the thing which lies behind it—namely, the character they wanted to see developed in the students of their higher institutions. But if they wanted to see character in the students, then *they must have it in their teachers and professors, and therefore, if they wished to help their Indian friends to solve the great problems which were being left more and more in their hands, they must see that men of the*



strongest and highest character were sent out to be the guides and leaders of education in India

In conclusion, he would mention that not only had university education in India been considered by this Government Commission, but that missionary opinion had been much exercised about education at the other end of the scale. It was felt that primary education for the villagers especially needed to be socially and economically productive, and related to the ordinary life which the children would have to live. Accordingly, a very influential commission had been formed, which visited India during last winter and very extensively and carefully investigated the conditions of primary education mainly among Christians as related to village life. That commission would shortly issue its report, and if they were able to correlate the investigations it had made with the Report of the University Commission, it should be possible to make a real and helpful step forward in the new era of Indian education. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

The CHAIRMAN (Mr RICE) said that although several others had expressed a desire to speak on the subject, he was afraid the time was too short, as the room was wanted for another meeting very shortly, and as it would be only fair to the lecturer to give him an opportunity to reply, and for the Chairman to say a few words in which to wind up the debate, he was sorry under the circumstances to say he could only reasonably call upon one other gentleman to speak, and even then he must ask him to keep his eye on the clock!

Mr THAKOR said that the subject of education had been agitating the minds of the people in India for a long time. He would like to say that in India education had to serve more than one function. It was to act as a lever in all spheres—social, religious, industrial, and political spheres—and those people who were afraid of the appearance of discontent in the political sphere were the very people who welcomed discontent in the social and religious spheres. If they only recognized that the current of discontent flowing in the political channel was on account of that very force, they would not try to run down education on the older lines. In his opinion, what was lacking was some addition in the way of technical knowledge, but what was the use of giving technical education when there were no openings for the students at the end of their technical careers? During the war, on account of the engagements on the battlefields of Europe on the part of England, India had had a chance to work up her industries, and the result of that was that many people who, in times of famine, had flocked to relief works, had managed to get themselves employed in prosperous industries during the war. That fact showed in itself that the fault was that there were no general openings in India. India, in his opinion, was a country so vast, with comparatively so many needs unsatisfied, that he thought openings in all directions ought to be no longer shut to Indians, and Britushers need not fear that Indian competition would be to their ruin, as Indian needs in iron and manufacturing and mining industries were so great as to leave ample scope for both the countries. No doubt there are some industries in leather, glass, sugar, etc., but after making

full allowance for the agricultural character of the country, comparatively speaking they are very few

In regard to the question of the cheapness of education, he fully realized that education, to be good, had necessarily to be somewhat costly, but the great question was whether the cost should fall upon the individual scholar or upon the Government purse. They ought by all means to make education efficient, even costly, but it should be allowed to prove cheap to the student who went into the schools. Having regard to the fact that the annual income, according to the popular leaders, was £1 10s, and according to the official calculations about £2, if they wanted to have efficiency, then cheapness ought to be the essence of the educational system so far as the individual was concerned (Hear, hear)

The CHAIRMAN (Mr RICE) Ladies and gentlemen, as I told you just now, I am afraid it is impossible to do more than just call on the lecturer to reply to what has been said. It was our misfortune that Mr Hartog could not get here earlier than 4.30, and that we ourselves could not get the use of the room beyond 6 o'clock. This interesting discussion, therefore, has had to be rather curtailed, and one has had perforce to cut out several of those who were anxious to speak.

I must commiserate you on having to accept so makeshift a chairman as myself at this stage of the debate. We all regret that Lord Reay could not be present, and also that Lord Lamington has had to leave us so early. But the people who are most to be commiserated are those who did not come. Of course, in certain cases, I know they were unable to come, or had prior engagements which prevented them from staying, but I must honestly say that the lecture which Mr Hartog has given us was, to me, quite the most interesting lecture I have heard in this room (Hear, hear). I will not trespass upon your time, or take advantage of the position into which I have been forced, by speaking on the subject of the lecture itself, though, like several others, I also had many things to say. I am very glad to notice that of the speakers to-night—though they were few in numbers—we had at least the advantage and opportunity of hearing two men from India itself.

In conclusion, I will now ask the lecturer to respond as briefly as possible to the criticisms which have been offered.

The LECTURER Mr Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to say first of all how much I regret the absence, through illness, of my old friend Lord Reay, with whom I have been associated for a great many years. I should like also to express my thanks to Lord Lamington for having at such short notice taken his place, and my pleasure at meeting again Mr Rice, who is in the chair now. Our journey to India together is one of the pleasantest recollections of our expedition.

Mr Viran has spoken of the self-denial of Indian parents. I do not feel able to take up the challenge of Lord Lamington at this moment and to discuss the question of the cost of education, but I should like to say that at the present time in Bengal the self-denial of the parents and of students is one of the most striking facts of the situation, even though the cost now is so very low (Hear, hear). Dr. Stanton has raised the great

## *The Work of the Calcutta University Commission*

question of literary education as against technical education I should like to assure him that it is the desire of no one in India to limit literary education more than is absolutely necessary. The enthusiasm of English-speaking Indians for Milton and Shakespeare is one of the outstanding features in the educational situation. Mr Thakor has spoken with regard to the question of the limitation of openings for Indians, but I do not think he really does his fellow-countrymen justice. I think that now they have begun to realize, what they might have realized before, that it is in their power to make their own openings. If he had seen, as I have seen, the admirable silk works, porcelain, and tanning works in Bengal (and there are many others), which are entirely managed by Bengalis, he would not make it a reproach to the Indian Government that they have not provided such works. He would rather make it a reproach to those of his fellow countrymen who have not followed such an admirable example. The industrial resources of India are vast, and it is for Indians very largely to develop them (Hear, hear), and of their power of developing them I have not the faintest doubt. (Hear, hear)

Finally, I will commiserate myself because I have not had the opportunity of hearing more from my audience. What I have heard has been very interesting and useful, but I had looked forward to learning quite as much as to teaching. I thank you for your kindness.

Mr SYDNEY ROBERTS, in proposing a very hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer on behalf of the Association for his very eloquent and admirable address, said that, as a result of hearing Dr Hartog, he was determined to master the report to which he had referred. He wished to say they owed the lecturer a great debt, and he hoped it would be possible on some future occasion for him to address them again on some other aspects of the work of the Calcutta University Commission. (Hear, hear)

The proposal being duly seconded, was put to the meeting, and carried unanimously. The proceedings then terminated.

## THE STUDY OF INDIAN POVERTY

BY W H MORELAND, C S I, C I E

I COME before you to-day as an economist, and consequently under something of a cloud, for there is no use pretending that economists are generally popular. I believe it is largely our own fault, we have been in the habit of defining our science as the study of wealth, and that definition is eminently fitted to provoke prejudice, especially among people who do not happen to be wealthy. It would probably have been much wiser to adopt from the outset another definition, which really means the same thing, and say that our science is the study of poverty, we should then have had all the philanthropists on our side instead of only the money spinners, and in worldly matters philanthropy is an invaluable support. However that may be, it is certainly true that when an economist finds himself in India, the subject of his study is not wealth, but poverty. By poverty I do not mean merely that many individuals are poor. I mean that the national income is insufficient to meet the reasonable needs of the nation as a whole, distribute that income in any way you choose, there is not enough to go round, and even though you were to abolish the rich altogether, the masses of the people would still be poor. Perhaps it will be well for me to make it clear at once that when I speak of poverty I do not mean either to assert or to deny that India is getting poorer. I shall come to that important question before I close, for the present, my point is simply that India is poor, and the fact is so notorious that I shall not weary you by going into the evidence on which it rests. The philanthropists, whom I have mentioned as possible allies, will doubtless agree that

this notorious fact is worthy of study merely as such, but I want to put before you some considerations leading to the conclusion that the study of Indian poverty is of particular importance at the present time. India is sometimes a slow starter, but she has now started in earnest on the long road leading in the direction of complete national self-development, and, to carry on the metaphor, we must think seriously about her expenses on this long and costly journey. Now complete national self-development would mean that each individual member of the nation should make the best possible use of every faculty he possesses. That ideal stands, but it will be realized in Utopia, not in India, and for practical purposes we must be content with the more limited objective, that each individual shall have a reasonable chance of making good. The chance will often be missed in India as elsewhere, but we must not be satisfied until it is offered. It is certainly not offered in India to-day: the proportion of Indians who have a reasonable chance is miserably small, and this result is due more to the national poverty than to any other single cause. Take for instance the avoidable infant mortality. I shall not give you the figures—they are too horrible—but we all know that every year many thousands of lives are needlessly lost to the country, and, for all we know, any one of these wasted lives may have carried the capacities of a Saiyyid Ahmad or a Tata, of a Tulsi Das or a Kabir. They are wasted simply for want of medical and sanitary care, mainly want of doctors and nurses whom India cannot yet afford. It would make no difference whether the cost were to be charged to grants or to fees, to public funds or private charity, in the last analysis, doctors and nurses must be provided out of the national income, and this income is, as I have said, insufficient to go round. Then consider the children who survive, and look at the recognized defects of the educational system. Everyone knows that India stands in urgent need of more and better colleges, of many more, and much better, secondary

schools, and of what almost amounts to an entirely new system of primary education, till these needs are met Indians will not have a reasonable chance of making good. Without going into detailed figures, I suggest that India must aim at spending crores where she now spends lakhs, and even that will not be the end, the cost of saving, and making, the next generation is certain to increase, and failure to meet it will be disloyalty to the future of the nation.

Education and sanitation are by no means the only heads under which a large and progressive increase in the national expenditure is essential. The new political institutions are going to be costly in many ways, the productive departments—agriculture, forestry, industries, and the rest—need far more money than they get, in fact, nearly every head of the budget-hydra has its mouth wide open gaping for larger grants, and it seems impossible for India to go forward without a large and rapid increase in the national income. In order to spend more, you must earn more, and in order to earn more, you must find out why you are now earning so little. That is what I mean by the study of Indian poverty. You must work from the symptoms to the causes, and ascertain why the national income is not greater than it is, only by doing that can you be certain of laying the foundations of that progressive increase in material wealth, which is desirable, not for itself, but as the necessary condition precedent to realization of the national ideals.

The study of which I speak has a past as well as a future. Until the early years of this century the national poverty had but little interest for Indians, and apart from official publications, I do not think I could name half a dozen books of the period which really threw light on its causes. The subject was not indeed ignored, but it was treated chiefly by writers who, in the old Hebrew phrase, darkened counsel by words without knowledge, and, on balance, I have little doubt that the unofficial literature of the past

has done more harm than good. On the other hand, large quantities of valuable data were gathered during this period by official agency, but when they had been gathered they were usually put away in blue books and there they stayed. The official habit of burying precious information is just as bad as that other Indian habit of burying the precious metals, facts, like gold and silver, are of little use till they are put into active circulation, and the active circulation of blue books is very limited indeed. The characteristics of the past were thus on the one hand a large accumulation of valuable but inaccessible data, and on the other a mass of highly imaginative literature, having very little relation to the facts of Indian life.

We need not linger on that past, for it is dead, though it has left us some rather inconvenient legacies. At the present time conditions are much more hopeful. Economics, which, as I have said, in India means the study of poverty, is now one of the most popular branches of the curriculum of Indian universities, and year by year large numbers of young men are being sent out into the world with at least an elementary knowledge of the subject. More important than this, the universities, poverty-stricken though they are, have managed to provide the foundations for more advanced study, and economists of established reputation are now to be found in India, engaged in original research and training students in the practice of that difficult art. Already some of the hoards of buried knowledge are being brought to light, a body of responsible and informed opinion is coming rapidly into existence, and we may be confident that the young Indian statesmen and publicists of the near future will be much better equipped for handling economic questions than the majority of their predecessors are to-day. The importance of such equipment is obvious. production, as you know, is to be one of the principal interests of the ministers to be appointed in the near future, and there is no branch of statecraft in which ignorance might lead more quickly to disaster. The universities

cannot, single-handed, make the nation rich, but they are already doing something, and they can do much more, to save it from wild-cat schemes which could result only in impoverishment, and to enable it to form a sound judgment on the projects which are put before it.

The movement of which I have spoken is thus a matter for profound satisfaction, but it would be a great mistake to suppose that nothing remains to be done. The main reason why I bring the subject before you to-day is to urge that the very success hitherto attained makes a new move forward inevitable, it is a great gain that Indian poverty should be studied seriously in Indian universities, but we ought not to be satisfied until the level of study has been brought up to the highest university standard—that is to say, until the subject can be viewed in all its relations, and effects can be traced back to their ultimate causes. To do this, you must work over a long period of time, and the proposition which I wish to put before you is that a well-organized course of Indian economic history has become an urgent need in every Indian university. When your study of the problems of poverty is confined to the present, to the last few years, or the last few decades, you can do little more than recognize and classify the symptoms, you can say, for example, that Indian poverty is due largely to the scarcity of capital, to the inefficiency of labour, and to various other rubrics which are now becoming familiar, but you cannot give a final answer to the questions: Why is capital scarce? or, Why is labour inefficient? To answer those questions you must go much further back, and trace the influences which have operated through the centuries, until you have made quite sure of the psychological elements of the problem, the motives and the memories by which the Indian producer is swayed. When you have got so far you can proceed to operate on those motives, strengthening some and counteracting others, so as to hasten the desired result, but until you know their genesis and history your treatment can only be empirical.



My contention, then, is that the study of Indian economic history is an essential part of the fight against poverty on which India is now entering in earnest. To establish that contention completely would require an analysis of the whole economic complex in the light of past records, much too great an undertaking to be attempted in the time at my disposal. All that I can hope to do is to put before you a few examples, some of them quite trivial, showing how a knowledge of the past will help to explain the present, will ensure a proper perspective, and will, at the very least, save worthy people from falling into some of the pitfalls by which the subject is beset. It would be only too easy to gather examples from the irresponsible writings of the last few years, but it is more profitable to choose them from serious contributions to economics or kindred subjects, and to begin with, I will take one, a very little one, from the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission. In Appendix D to that Report you will find the conjectural statement that before the leather industry came under the influence of Western methods, "tanneries of considerable size must have existed to supply the harness and saddlery for the enormous numbers of troops and retainers who were kept under arms by the numerous rajas, zamindars, and petty chieftains." Now history justifies the statement that very large mounted forces were formerly maintained, but did they use equipment made of leather? I know of no authority in support of that view, and in the north at least it is tolerably certain that they used no leather at all. Saddles were made of cloth stretched on wooden frames, bridles and halters were made of rope, leather belts and gaiters were not generally worn, and I fear those "considerable tanneries" existed only in somebody's imagination.

My next illustration is taken from Mr Ramsay Macdonald's recent book on the Government of India, a book which seems to me an honest and serious attempt to deal fairly with a very complex subject. Mr Macdonald accepts without question the old assertion that the salaries

of British officials are far in excess of Indian standards, and preaches an eloquent sermon on the text it furnishes His strictures would be justified if the assertion were true, but what are the facts? A lieutenant-governor draws a lakh a year, allowing for changes in the value of money, one of Akbar's governors might draw the equivalent of a lakh a month That is quite apart from what he might reasonably expect to make from bribes, presents, the grant of monopolies, preferential trading, and all the other attractions of office in those days, but taking the salary by itself, you cannot say that the standard has been raised The truth is that the salaries allowed in the early Mogul Empire were far in excess of present scales, and, as you know, they attracted hordes of foreign adventurers, who poured into India from half Asia, and secured the great majority of the high appointments, to the foreigner at least, service in India is by no means what it was

I take another illustration from the common idea, apparently accepted by Mr Ramsay Macdonald, that Western influences are responsible for all the occasional failures of modern Indian taste You know how critics rave about the mirrors and chandeliers which in their eyes disfigure Indian palaces, their views may be right or wrong, but in any case we need not blame ourselves in the matter, for contemporary records show that what may be called the "looking-glass habit" was firmly established when we first reached India In a note on trade prospects drawn up in the year 1609, when English merchants had been scarcely a year in the country, we read that "of new drinking glasses, trenches for sweetmeats, but especially looking-glasses of all sorts and different prices (but not small baubles), some reasonable quantity would be sold to good profit", and the writer continues "I verily suppose that some fair large looking-glass would be highly accepted of this king, for he affects not the value of anything, but rarity in everything, insomuch that some pretty new-fangled

toys would give him high content, though their value were small " There is ample evidence to show that these last words are an accurate description of the taste of India at the outset of the seventeenth century The officials who ruled and set the fashion, enjoying, as they did, the enormous salaries of which I have just spoken, had plenty of everything they really needed, and sought only novelties and rarities, "new-fangled toys," "the greatest looking-glasses that may be got," "any figures of birds, beasts, or other similes," "rich cabinets with a glass," pictures, dogs, organs, roasting-jacks, silk stockings, beaver hats—anything that would give a momentary stimulus to jaded tastes This appetite for novelties was specially characteristic of the Mogul Court, but it prevailed also in the Moslem kingdoms of the Deccan, and there are some grounds for thinking that it existed also in the Hindu south, the missionaries who travelled through the Vijayanagar territory in the sixteenth century show us the titular Emperor and the great Hindu nobles delighted by their modest but novel gifts, a glass box, a tortoise-shell cup, a heart worked in silver, and similar "toys" In view of such facts as these it is quite unhistorical to suppose that at this period India's taste was as pure as that of her modern critics, the classes who had money to spend sought for novelty more than beauty, and I think most of them would have been absolutely at home in Regent Street to-day

I turn to an illustration of more serious economic significance It is common knowledge that Indian workmen are very apt to spoil modern tools and machines, and the obvious explanation is that metals have been, and still are, very scarce in the villages, so that boys do not acquire the knowledge of cutting-edges, nuts and bolts, or other simple mechanical contrivances, which in this country comes naturally to nearly all working-class children But why are metals scarce? Why is India only now entering on the Iron Age? The answer to this question is not doubtful it is the inefficiency of the indigenous iron industry In the

sixteenth century, and for long before, India produced iron and steel of good quality, but at a prohibitive price, and that meant that nothing could be wasted in experiments; peasants and workmen had to be content with the bare minimum of metal, invention and progress were rendered practically impossible, the country as a whole was tied to the stick-and-string régime from which it is only now beginning to emerge. I know that much sentiment has been expended over the closing of the old furnaces, but iron-founding is a primary key-industry, and we have learned in the last few years that to cherish an inefficient key-industry is sentiment wasted. Now that the Tatas and the Mukherjees have brought an efficient industry into being, it is surely time for India to stop worrying over a mythical past, and look forward with pride and confidence to the future.

I will give only a single instance of the injury which India suffered in those days from the high cost of iron. In the sixteenth century she had a great advantage in ship-building owing to the abundance of teak along the western coast, but the Indian ships of that period were not really seaworthy, and the reason was that far too little iron was used in their construction, they were quite serviceable in fair weather, but in heavy seas they simply went to pieces. The result was to cripple the shipping industry. Ships had to keep inside the area where they could count on fine weather at the proper seasons, they dared not go beyond Malacca into the China seas, and their voyages to Africa were limited on the south to the ports sheltered by Madagascar. But for that limitation there is no reason to doubt that they would have rounded the Cape of Good Hope, possibly before Vasco da Gama accomplished that feat, but, as it was, they had to remain in smooth waters until Portuguese shipbuilders remedied the fundamental defect in their construction.

My last illustration of the value of economic history relates to the habit of absorbing gold and silver, to which I

have already alluded to. No economist doubts that for a poor country this is a bad habit—its existence is proved beyond possibility of dispute by the returns of Indian trade, and the student of these is usually satisfied to attribute it to the effects of a long period of insecurity. That is probably true in a general way, but if you want to attack the habit effectively, you must study its origin in more detail, what were the dangers which induced people to prize most those kinds of property which could be most easily concealed? So far as the Mogul period is concerned, that question can be readily answered. The burglar's industry does not seem to have been more important than now, highway robbers were certainly more numerous and dangerous, but they did not threaten the great majority who stayed at home, while I have found comparatively few complaints of the looting of villages which characterized the eighteenth century. The real threat to property came from the Administration, extortion was much more to be feared than robbery, and it threatened producers in every grade. It would be superfluous to quote authorities in support of this statement, for you find the facts wherever you dip into the literature of the period. The English merchants made a proverb of it before they had been ten years in the country, the people of India, they said, "live as fishes do in the sea—the great ones eat up the little. For first the farmer robs the peasant, the gentleman robs the farmer, the greater robs the lesser, and the King robs all." It is easy to verify that proverb by the experiences of Europeans at the various seaports on both sides of India. The local officials could do almost as they pleased, they could allow or prohibit trade, they could engross or monopolize any staple, and if you wanted to do business at all, you must either be strong enough to bully them, or you must pay whatever they chose to exact. Such facts help us to understand Tavernier's statement that gold was popular because it takes up little room and is easily hidden, but it is important to realize that the demand for gold came from small people

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as well as great, and an English commercial report of the year 1627 lays stress on the profit to be made by sending gold to the east coast, where it was specially popular with the weavers, "being easily hidden and concealed from their governors" At this period, then, the insistent demand for the precious metals was due very largely to the prevalence of administrative exploitation Later on, this motive was for a time reinforced by the dangers of anarchy, but in order to understand the present situation, it is essential to realize that something besides anarchy is at the back of the people's minds The habit of putting surplus wealth into the precious metals is not to any great extent based on conscious reasoning, but it has been drilled into the people during the prolonged periods when officers of government were ordinarily beasts of prey, the eradication of that instinct is one of the great tasks before the Indian ministers of the near future

If the illustrations I have given satisfy you that the economic history of India may be worthy of study, you will perhaps ask where that history is to be found The answer to that question is as follows Up to the end of the fifteenth century much of the history is missing, and unless a mass of new literature should happily come to light, we must be content for the earlier period with occasional glimpses, interesting and instructive in themselves, but probably too rare to serve as the basis of a connected narrative It is, however, possible to form a good general idea of the economic life of India in the sixteenth century, and thenceforward the stream of knowledge broadens as the years go on, so that we can hope to reconstruct the story of at least three centuries For the purposes I have indicated, those three centuries are much the most important in the whole of Indian history, they cover the transformation from the old India to the new, and the claim can fairly be made that almost every outstanding feature of the existing situation can be adequately explained by the forces which have operated in the interval since

Akbar ascended the throne The present difficulty is to find a description of their operation within a moderate compass The literature of the period is copious, but to the economist it is very dilute The Portuguese historians, for instance, have left us somewhere about 25,000 pages relating to the sixteenth century alone, but the economic information they give us could probably be condensed into a book of moderate size The India Office contains about 48,000 volumes of records prior to the year 1858, scarcely one of those volumes can be altogether neglected by the economic historian, but it will be readily admitted that extraction and condensation are needed before their contents can be assimilated by the ordinary Indian undergraduate Of the volume of relevant literature in Persian and the various Indian vernaculars, I cannot even offer an estimate, but all of it has to be ransacked, and there still remain the records of the Dutch and some other European merchants, and a considerable mass of unofficial publications In order, therefore, to meet the needs of the ordinary undergraduate, India wants a few men of the type of Thorold Rogers or the late Archdeacon Cunningham, men of voracious appetite and unimpaired digestion, who will reduce this mass of material to manageable bulk, and trace out the main lines on which Indian economic activities have developed during the last three centuries The more advanced student is at present much better off, because he has already access to the English records for the greater part of the seventeenth century As yet the world scarcely realizes the extent of its debt to the India Office, and in particular to Mr William Foster, the Registrar and Superintendent of Records, for the "Court Minutes" and the "English Factories," the two series of publications which suffice, if carefully studied, to bring nearly the whole economic life of the period within our grasp Speaking for myself, my gratitude for these publications is such that I am emboldened to ask for more. Must we wait for the eighteenth century until the seventeenth is complete?

Will not the Secretary of State take the needs of students into consideration, and enlarge his operations, so that his whole treasure-house may be opened to the world within a reasonable time ? The sooner the work is done, the better will India be equipped for the years which lie ahead. Happily, however, the serious student is not condemned to inaction in the meantime. The records already published suffice to give a clue to almost the whole history, and with their aid the other sources I have mentioned can be profitably explored, and the necessary spade-work of accumulating and classifying facts can go steadily forward. Hitherto the subject has too often been approached from a theoretical, or even a biased, starting-point, what is needed now is such a presentation of facts that theories may become unnecessary, and bias may be corrected, or, at the least, exposed.

Here I might fitly close this disquisition on the study of Indian poverty, but I have promised to say something on the important question whether India is getting richer or poorer, and I will offer you a very brief summary of my own experience of the diet of facts which I have just prescribed for others. If we agree to measure poverty by the average income of the country, calculated not in terms of the fluctuating rupee, but in terms of commodities such as food, then I think the facts justify the conclusion that at the end of the sixteenth century India was at any rate not much richer than in the years immediately before the war—more probably she was a little poorer, but the evidence I have examined does not establish any large difference. The distribution of the national income was, however, very unequal at this period—the rich took a relatively much larger share than now, and the masses of the people were definitely worse off.

The question naturally arises why so many Indians look back to this period as a Golden Age. The explanation is that it was followed by even harder times. The seventeenth century must be classed as a period of impoverishment.



So far I have studied only a portion of the evidence bearing on it, but all I have examined points to the conclusion that the activities of the people were increasingly dominated by what I have described as administrative exploitation. The productive classes were learning by bitter experience that it was better to exploit than produce, better to be a peon than a peasant the best energies of the villages were drifting to the towns, the camps, or the jungles, and production was falling into the hands of those who were fit for nothing else. It is true that foreign trade was expanding during much of this period, but its volume was trifling relatively to the country as a whole, and on balance I have no doubt that India was substantially poorer under Aurangzeb than under Akbar.

Of the eighteenth century I have little claim to speak. It was, as you know, a period of disorganization and reconstruction proceeding side by side. I guess that the loss was somewhat greater than the gain, but I have not yet been able to do more than glance at the evidence, and, so far as I am concerned, the question whether the utmost depth of poverty was reached about 1750 or about 1800 remains entirely open. It is certain, however, that India entered on the nineteenth century desperately poor, and the evidence of an increase in wealth during that period is overwhelming. The question of real importance is, why the increase was not greater—why did the national income not respond more quickly to the stimulus furnished by the restoration of security, and the progressive restriction of administrative exploitation—why, in a word, is India still poor? The answer to that question alone would require a substantial volume, and I will merely suggest that a clue is to be found in the belief in the sovereign virtues of individual freedom, which dominated the last century. Experience has shown that it was not enough to make India economically free—the mischief was too deeply seated for that, and liberation required to be supplemented by a policy of active stimulation. That is the note

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of to-day agricultural reform, co-operation, development of industries, all these great movements are in essence stimuli to the productive energies of the people, and their ultimate result will depend less on the material facilities which they offer, important as these are, than on the psychological influences which they bring to bear. There we have in a nutshell the reason why the economic history of India requires study, the dead hand of the past still rests heavily on the masses of producers, and what I have tried to show to-day is that the past must be studied, in order that it may serve its true function as a guide to better things.

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Monday, July 12, 1920, at the Lincolnshire Room, 7A, Tothill Street, Westminster, at which a paper was read by Mr W H Moreland, C.S.I., C.I.E., entitled, "The Study of Indian Poverty." The Right Hon Lord Meston, K.C.S.I., LL.D., occupied the chair. The following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: Sir Lancelot Hare, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Mancherjee M Bhownagree, K.C.I.E., Sir Duncan J Macpherson, C.I.E., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Mahadev B Chaudhary, Mr T J Bennett, C.I.E., M.P., General Chamberlain, C.B., C.I.E., Mr J B Pennington, Mr A Porteous, C.I.E., Colonel C L Swaine, I.M.S. (retired), Miss M Sorabji, Mr F Prickett, Mr F C Channing, Miss Wade, Dr Kapadia, Mrs and Miss Tata, Mr H R Hemming, Miss Manser, Mr C Leo Parker, Mr H P Sander son, Miss Rosanna Powell, Miss Moreland, Rev W Harrison Moreland, Mrs A M F Jackson, Colonel and Mrs A S Roberts, Mr R C Master, Professor and Mrs Bickerton, Mrs Cunningham, the Rev Paul Nichols, Colonel and Mrs S L Aplin, Mrs Collis, Mr B B Chatterjee, Mr H S Lawrence, Dr Lawrence Fink, Mr I N Thakore, Mrs E F Kinnier-Tarte, Mrs Drury, Mr S S G Viran, Mr F H Brown, Miss F R Scatcherd, Mr F J P Richter, Mrs White, Mr B K Ray, Mr C N Vakil, Mr B Krishna, Mr P C Ray, Mr K A Gandhi, Mr J. E Potter-Wilson, Miss Vertue, Miss Dickinson, and Mr Stanley P Rice, Hon Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and gentlemen, you have done me the honour of asking me to introduce the lecturer, a formality which is scarcely necessary in a gathering of this sort. Mr Moreland's name is a household word to anyone interested in the question of Indian economics. I have known him for many years, we have worked together as colleagues in the province which we both endeavoured to serve, and which we still love, and all through that time, more particularly when Mr Moreland acted as Director of Industries and Agriculture, he fought manfully and courageously against Indian poverty, on which question he is going to speak to-day. It was through his continuous and untiring efforts that the foundations were laid of that advancement in rural prosperity which is now so prominent in the United Provinces. Since he has retired he has devoted himself to thinking and studying and lecturing and writing on the same subject, to the great advantage of India, and everyone interested in it. You will therefore hear, I am sure, with very special interest, the paper which I now invite him to deliver.

The paper was then read, and received with applause.

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and gentlemen, I am sure we are all most

grateful for the stimulating and illuminating address to which we have just listened. When the ordinary Englishman sees such a title as this he inclines to approach it with a theory in his mind, the theory that India has been becoming, not poorer, but richer, under the British administration, that the standard of comfort in India is higher now than in the days of the Great Mogul. For that theory he hopes to find evidence. From the standpoint of that theory he listens with something of surprise, and probably disappointment, to the paper which has just been read. He approaches the question in that way because in his mind there run three or four main considerations, with regard to which perhaps he has devoted little study and consideration, but which seem to him to be more or less conclusive as rough practical tests. He is aware, for example, that India, along with the rest of Asia, has always been described as the "sink" of the precious metals, that gold and silver in enormous quantities have flowed, and are still flowing, into that happy land, he points with some natural pride to the steady increase in cultivation in India, the development of the forest reserves, and many other instances of material progress. He honestly believes that the apparatus for dealing with the famines in that country has improved, and the method of preventing distress been brought up to date, and that British administration has been relieving India of one of the permanent terrors that used to hang over it in olden days. Turning to the reverse of the shield, you will find many Indians approaching the same problem with an entirely different theory, that India is becoming steadily poorer. In examining the topic from that point of view, they point to the drain of resources that goes on from India to Europe—one of the standing controversies of all publicists interested in the economic affairs of the war. They point to what they believe, with the same honesty as those who hold the opposite view I have just attempted to state, to be the number of famines by which large areas of the country are impoverished, and they will tell you that some of the most remunerative industries in India have been crushed out by the hard hand of inefficient industrialism, pointing in particular to the silks and calicoes which used to flow from India all over the world, but which are now a negligible part of the trade of the country.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, that is the way in which two different minds can approach the same proposition, and if I may be pardoned for saying so, I think the different point of view is largely due to ignorance of detail and ignorance of past history. That is the plea which Mr. Moreland has put before you so forcibly to-day. If there is anything in the two theories I have just stated as tests whether the British administration has been a success or a failure, it is surely incumbent upon us to put these theories to the trial of hard facts, by which alone we can arrive at the truth, and unless we have documents and know a great deal more of the details of at least one chosen period, we cannot venture to pronounce an opinion on one side or the other. That, if I may say so, is precisely what the lecturer has done in that remarkable book which he has just published, "*India at the Death of Akbar*." I suppose I ought to presume we have all read it? It is extraordinarily good reading, and at the end Mr. Moreland

has indulged in a fascinating summary of the evidence dealing with those theories which I have just referred to. His point of view is that there is not much material addition to the average wealth of India as compared with the period at the end of Akbar's reign, but the average now means a very different thing from what it did then. The great mass of the people have more resources, and are more able to realize their simple ideas of comfort, and more able to resist the recurring scarcities and famines that fall upon them. On the other hand, the vast army of satellites and parasites which used to be one of the chief features of the Imperial Court has now disappeared, and the money for which they were responsible is now in circulation among the rural and professional classes. That in brief is Mr Moreland's view on that important question. It is the sort of information which we want to have clear in our own minds, because there are at least two important classes of people for whom that information is of the highest value. There is a constantly increasing school of Indian economists and Indian patriots who devote themselves to the increase of the wealth of India in its agricultural and industrial conditions. If they are to do their work well, they must be fortified by experience of the past. That is one class. Another class is the Indian patriot who is anxious to develop State activities. Mr Moreland has pointed out the profound truth, that it is not only that the average Indian is poor as an individual, but that India as a State has not nearly sufficient money to go round to meet the necessities of the moment. Many of us have struggled hard to get funds out of the State for the most pressing and immediate necessities. If India is to take her place in the world, that will only be possible by increased State resources.

Let us hope that those two powerful interests will bring their influence to bear on the educational powers, with the result to which Mr Moreland's paper has been directed. In the Indian universities you will have to provide a thoroughly equipped system of study, and may I add that here, as in so many other things, is a field in which we in England can enormously assist the work of our fellow-subjects in India. It is exactly on this sort of line that men of leisure, men who have left India, but who are still devoted to its interests, can make for its good. In your present lecturer you have an excellent example of that sort of work. It is not work that brings great fame, or high remuneration, but it is work which underlies the structure of the Indian future.

I am now directed to invite discussion.

Mr PENNINGTON said, in thanking Mr Moreland for his very interesting and suggestive paper, he would like to call attention to the great work of a friend of the Association in Calcutta, Captain Petavel, R.E., who was at present engaged in studying the problem of Indian poverty, under the auspices of the Calcutta University and that great educationist, Sir Azutosh Mukherjee. Perhaps someone present might be able to tell us what progress he was making. Like all other new ventures this enterprise is in great need of funds, and Lady Katherine Stuart, Professor Bickerton, and himself were authorized to receive contributions to enable him to carry on his investigations in a thoroughly scientific fashion. (Hear, hear)

Miss SORABJI said she did not claim to know much about the subject, but she wished to ask a question—*i.e.*, whether one of the reasons for the great poverty of India was not the idea that manual work was derogatory, and that a literary career was, perhaps, the most honourable? Another reason, she suggested, may be the Indian attitude towards life, which was the longing for liberation from existence, and this, to her mind, cut the nerve of all effort. That was the Hindu idea, of course, and if taken seriously led to nowhere in the direction of progress in the physical and material world. On the other hand, there was a great deal to be said for India's love of the spiritual, India's fine idea of the reality of the unseen and the unreality of the material and seen, but those things did not help forward the material progress of India. (Hear, hear)

Professor BICKERTON said that Captain Petavel was a scientific man, and consequently realized that science in the future must be of importance, that they must take basic scientific principles as the foundation of things to-day, because science was becoming supreme in every line of thought, whether in ethics, philosophy, economics, and also in all the practical businesses of life.

As a professor of experimental science he was much interested in Indian life, and looked upon it both from the ideal and the economic standpoint. What they needed to recognize was that any ideal should be soundly scientific and economics should utilize the productive possibilities of the present to its fullest extent. Captain Petavel was trying to educate at the same time as he made use of the labours of those who were studying, so as to fit together the two aims of education and production. What the speaker wished to impress upon his audience was the stupendous importance of basic principles, and that no principles could be true unless founded upon sound science, hence they must look at Indian economics from the scientific standpoint. In New Zealand he had proved the fact by actual test in a large farm, that a man by his own labour, using the best appliances, produced enough grain, meat, and wool to feed and clothe fifty people. What was required in India was that the people should have clear economic views and clear ideals, and that they should also be able to put those ideals into practical use by taking advantage of every scientific principle that was known. (Hear, hear)

Mr KRISHNA said they were much indebted to the learned lecturer for drawing their attention to the vital problem of poverty in India, and especially for the emphasis he had laid on the historical study of the causes of present day poverty. There was not much difference in Mr Krishna's opinion between the condition of the people of India in the days of the Great Mogul and the present days. Some time ago he had studied the question on the basis of prices existing in the old days, and of the statistics of the Blue books relating to prices in recent years, and on the basis of prices and the rates of money wages in both cases he found that the economic condition of the workmen was better in the days of Akbar than it was, say, in the year 1910. He would like the lecturer to consider that point, and see if his conclusions could not be revised. The productivity of the land in regard to cotton, wheat, and rice, in the days of Akbar

ought to be compared also with the days we were now living in, and a comparison would show that productivity in those days was twice as much as in the present day. Then again it was necessary to know how much land was in the possession of an average ryot. He had been unable to find out how much land the average cultivator was in possession of in the days of Akbar, but if they studied the last forty years it will be found that whereas, in 1881, a little over one acre of land could be shared out per individual in India, in 1911 the area of land per head was down to 0.6 of an acre. Taking together the fact of a deterioration in the productive powers of the land, and the fact that there was less land per head, it meant that, comparing the present days with the days of Akbar, the people in 1910-11 were poorer than in the days of Akbar. When they considered those two points and the question of wages they found a great difference. Of course, he fully recognized the difficulties, there was no other country in the world which had added 50,000,000 to its population within the last 40 years. Unless the economic conditions of India were improved, and the average incomes of the people increased, they could not have the same economic status as, say, in the year 1872. Many people believed that the wealth of India was, on the whole, greater than before, but so far as its division was concerned, they found the average worker was not so prosperous as before. The figures for the last forty or fifty years led one to the conclusion that there had not been any material amelioration in the condition of the workers whose wages were shown in the Blue books.

Mr J. E. POTTER WILSON said it was a great privilege to speak in appreciation of such a paper. He was exceptionally interested in the subject. According to the lecturer there was a great need in India for education and sanitation, although reading through the Montagu Report one found the Indian legislative councils were continually passing resolutions for increased grants in that respect, the opposition to which came from the Government, on grounds of the difficulties of obtaining the necessary money for same. It seemed to him there was a duty for England to do in helping them along the line indicated by Mr Moreland. Among ignorant people labour was usually found to be inefficient, but education was a great help to the worker in so far as his own capabilities were concerned. He considered it a great disgrace that certain mills in the jute industries had recently declared dividends of 300 per cent. That did not seem so show any inefficiency on the part of the workers. They omitted to state, however, that the bulk of the workers were only receiving 5d to 7d per day for their labour! (Shame) That ought to have been stated when announcing their dividends. (Hear, hear) He would suggest they ought to reduce the hours of labour of their workers, the present standard industrial hours being seventy-two per week. The workers of England had proved it possible to produce more by reason of reduced hours of labour. There was a limit, it was a question of human fatigue. The people of this country ought to know what was going on in India, and it was not to be wondered at that the people died as they did. The fact was they did not have enough to eat. Some remedy should be

found for that, and until England realized its duty to the Empire we should be in jeopardy

Mr C N VAKIL said it would have been interesting if Captain Petavel or his representative could have told them what difficulties he encountered in his investigations. It was pointed out in the paper that there were 48,000 volumes dealing with Indian economic history in the India Office. The study of Indian economic history, the necessity of which had been fully dealt with in the paper, could be more effectively undertaken by Indians than by Englishmen, and though there were scores of Indian students coming to England year by year, it was difficult to find a sufficient number of trained workers in this particular field. It would, therefore, be better that those 48,000 volumes should be sent back to India to be studied and investigated by Indian students on the spot. He entirely agreed with the Lecturer as to the lack of circulation of Blue books in India, but, unfortunately, in addition to the difficulty of acquiring copies, they were written more for the English reader than for the Indian reader. He did not think that there was quite so much of precious metals hoarded in India as was popularly imagined, particularly if the average per head of population be considered. The lecturer had shown that the cause of the hoarding habit in India was administrative exploitation during pre British days. They had more than a century of settled British rule, and still hoarding continued. He asked whether the same cause that existed in pre-British days still operated. Large sums of money were raised by the Government, but the stake of the people of India themselves in the Public Debt of India was small. He was inclined to suggest a certain want of confidence in the administration as a cause of this. This was due partly to the very nature of a foreign rule and partly to the ignorance of the people. The Government ought to take the necessary steps to inspire confidence in its credit and in its management of the finances, and also to popularize the modern methods of investment among the masses of the people.

On the proposition of Mr Pennington a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the Chairman for presiding, and to the lecturer for his excellent paper.

Mr S S G VIRAN said that, before seconding the vote of cordial thanks to the distinguished Chairman, who had had a great deal to do with figures and had had to find ways and means and been brilliantly successful in running the huge machinery of the Government of India smoothly, and the learned lecturer, who both are genuine friends of India, he would not at that late hour say one word on the question of how money was raised and who shared in it, but that there could be no question that the productivity of the soil and the potential resources of the country are being increasingly tapped through British capital and British enterprise and initiative, and, following their example, by Indians themselves, to everybody's benefit and India's general prosperity, in all which he would if he might venture to call attention to the fact that the common people did have a real share.



From his boyhood, he said, he had been accustomed to visit during festive occasions great temples in Madras, Conjeeveram, Tanjore, Srirangam, Madura, Rameswaram, Trichendore, when myriads of people of all classes congregated, and it was an eye-opener to him to notice in the course of years the steady improvement he was able to find in the personal cleanliness, in better clothing and jewellery, comfortable methods of traveling, housing, and the kind of food that even the poorest enjoyed.

Confining himself to the rural area, it had been his good-fortune to travel up and down the Tamil country and to move among the people, and he knew well the kind of life that the village people in hamlets far removed from the railway tracks lived. He had observed in Chingleput, South and North Arcot, Tanjore, Madura, Tinnevely, and Salem Districts, how in former years the class of the poorest people—including the half-naked hill tribes, men and women—went about in rags, but they were to be found to day better clothed, more cleanly, and better fed. There was something of silver to be found on women's waists, ankles and toes, and very often something of gold in their ears and necks. Up and down the Tamil country, where there were mud hovels and filthy pacheries, we could now see among them even brick buildings, sometimes two-storied, and in most unlikely places. These, he believed, were decided improvements in the amenities of life, and proof of a general rise in the standard of comfort indicative of general prosperity. A great middle class, which practically did not in any numbers exist in pre-British days, was rising. Evidently there was—and he knew there was—serious dissatisfaction with their lot when they awaken and compared themselves with the lot of the different strata of society in Western lands. That was as it should be. There was no more pathetically poor class of people as the Indian poor in the whole world—evident proof of grinding oppression of former days, but there was also abundant cause for thankfulness and hopefulness.

He was full of admiration for the fierce energy and wonderful thrift of the peasantry in the rural area. It would be interesting to compare the revenue and general wealth, in spite of the growth of the population, of the two of the driest districts in the Southern Presidency, Madura and Tinnevely, in the past hundred years when the Poligar Wars ended, where any day one could see father, mother, and children, with chatty of rice and the baby under the tree, working the livelong day under the scorching sun in their ancestral property and making the most of a comparatively poor soil and treacherous rainfall. The palmyra industry in the sand dunes of Tinnevely, where nothing else could grow, was wonderful. The margin of cultivation was ever increasing, often into worthless soil.

A previous speaker referred to Akbar's time, and he gave figures to show that lands then yielded more fruit than they did in British days. This statement was misleading. If the speaker said that the very same land yielded less, there might be cause to pause to think, even there the passage of three hundred years should count in removing the sap of the soil when it was generally conceded that the Indian peasantry did not

understand so well as Europeans do to-day of scientific manuring. The great point to remember was that the population had grown tremendously in the three centuries, and enormous quantities of less and less fertile land had been brought under cultivation, and in spite of greatly improved irrigation works and conservancy of rainfall, if the average production was less, obviously none was to blame. Surely it was something to be able to provide food for so many millions more of hungry mouths saved from death through internecine war, famine and pestilence, even partially (Applause) He cordially seconded the proposition (Renewed applause)

Mr MORELAND, whose deafness prevented him from taking an active part in the discussion, has supplied the following notes on its report

The discussion inevitably ranged over a wide field, and I must confine myself to noticing the specific points on which my remarks may be of some use to other students. Of Captain Petavel's work in Calcutta I can say only that the accounts I have read are extremely interesting, and bear out the view that there is still room for thoughtful and courageous experiment in the domain of Indian education. Mr Krishna raised the complex questions of comparative wages, productivity, and size of holdings. My conclusions in regard to wages will be found in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for October, 1917, I need not repeat the arguments there given, and will say only that, while a comparison in regard to rural wages is impossible because agricultural labourers were serfs in the earlier period, the figures available seem to me to show that up to about 1912 there was no material difference in the level of urban real wages. The questions of productivity and the size of holdings are considered in chapter iv of the book to which the Chairman referred. I agree that the average of productivity per acre has probably tended to decline in areas where cultivation has extended, the reason being that given by Mr Viran that inferior land has been brought under cultivation, but at the same time counteracting forces, notably the provision of means of irrigation, have come into play, and the balance of these forces is different in different parts of the country. There are, I fear, no figures to indicate the average size of holdings in the time of Akbar, and all that can be inferred is that, then as now, small holdings were the rule. I have not been able to trace the figures relied on by Mr Krishna to show a marked fall in the average during the last forty years, but according to the *Statistical Abstract* the net cropped area of British India was over 223 million acres in 1911, and this gives more than one acre per head of the rural population in that year. Sharing out the land among the total population, as I think Mr Krishna does, fails to take into account the growth of urban industries, which has been so marked during this period.

I am entirely in sympathy with Mr Potter Wilson's contention that a rise in factory wages is desirable, but I should like to lay stress on the danger that a rise will be wasted unless there is a simultaneous improvement in the standard of living. The problem of raising that standard seems to me to be as urgent as it is difficult, I have no cut-and-dried solution to offer, but I am sure that a solution can be found if the best brains of India will only set to work. The latest statistics I have seen

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indicate that wages in jute mills are rather higher than the figures given by Mr Potter-Wilson, and rates are certainly rising, but they are not yet at a level which can be regarded as permanently satisfactory

I am equally in sympathy with Mr Vakil's aspiration that the materials for the study of Indian economic history should be located in the country, but there are some practical difficulties to be considered. The loss of records in India from climatic causes and from the ravages of insects is well known to be enormous, and before the treasures of Whitehall are shipped to Delhi, there must be some guarantee for their permanent safety, a subject on which chemists and entomologists must have their say. The transit, too, is a source of danger: one volume of the Surat Letter-books went down in the *Oceana* a few years ago, and the idea that a full cargo of these unique records might suffer a similar fate is too terrible to contemplate. The needs of the moment can be met most effectively by the course I indicated in the lecture, the pressing forward of the work of publication, so that the material portions of the records may find a place in every library in India, and not merely in one central institution, when that has been accomplished, the location of the originals will be a matter of much less importance.

Mr Vakil also asked if administrative exploitation still continues. I do not think we can claim to have destroyed it: we have been killing it from the top downwards, but the lower limbs of the monster retain, I fear, sufficient vitality to threaten economic enterprise among the masses of the people. I am not disposed to attempt an estimate of the amount of hoarding at the present day, but what hoarding there is finds its explanation in the memory of past exploitation, a memory which is kept fresh by the attenuated survivals of the process. I agree with the speaker as to the urgency of the need for popularizing modern methods of investment, but almost the most effective step in this direction would be to give the small investor confidence that he would not be marked down as the prey of some subordinate official.

In conclusion, I would like to thank Mr Viran for his first-hand evidence of economic progress in a part of India of which I have no personal experience. His observations accord with Professor Slater's recent book on the conditions of South Indian villages, and show that in the South, as in the North, there are signs of better times, the great thing now is to press for acceleration of the rate of movement.

## NEAR EASTERN NOTE

BY SIR ARTHUR CROSFIELD, BART

ONE feels it is impossible to write anything, at the present time, on Greek affairs, without dwelling upon an event which must be uppermost in the minds of every Philhellene the world over. Needless to say, one is speaking of the almost miraculous escape of the Prime Minister of Greece from the dastardly attempt made upon his life a month ago. That intended crime, frustrated on the instant, thanks partly to Mr Venizelos's characteristic presence of mind, partly to the prompt intervention of those beside him, inevitably recalls another infamous example of criminal ingratitude, which cost the greatest of American statesmen his life, and that, too, in the very hour when success had crowned an historic and forever-memorable achievement.

It is difficult to say whether there is uppermost in our minds unutterable thankfulness that a life of such inestimable value to Greece, and not alone to Greece but to Europe and the whole civilized world, was spared to us all, or horror and loathing for those men of his own race—to their indelible shame and disgrace be it said—who sought in this way to reward the incomparable services rendered by so great a man and so brilliant a statesman to their own country.

These are days when public opinion is by no means confined within national limits, when international opinion, even though it still be only in the embryo, bids fair to develop as never before. Who would stay it? Is it not an urgent need of our own time, and a certain need of the future, this creation of world opinion which, throughout the civilized peoples of the earth, shall function as a great force, to hold up to scorn and obloquy meanness and base-

ness, or any criminal intent to wreck the well-being of nations, whether the culprits be individuals or groups of men, in any nations, great or small? And if the wise men of antiquity held ingratitude to be a crime that should be visited with punishment of special severity, then what blacker instance of it, from the standpoint of any patriot, could be furnished than this attempted outrage in Paris which, but a few short weeks since, shocked the entire civilized world? An act of foul ingratitude has but served to awaken universal scorn and hatred of such a crime, and at the same time has intensified the nation's enthusiastic loyalty towards its great chief, as we see in the magnificent demonstration with which the Greek Premier has been welcomed on his return to Parliament. News of that memorable manifestation of national feeling reaches us here just as these lines are written. Does any critic object that this was but an Athenian gathering? Athens spoke for Greece. Who doubts that, need but recall the telegraphic messages of sympathy received from every quarter of Hellas with which Mr. Venizelos was overwhelmed in Paris—messages eloquent of the intense indignation, as well as anguish and consternation, with which the news of the infamous outrage was instantly received by his fellow-countrymen.

Of 100,000 of these telegrams about one-half came from his own people—a glowing expression of whole-hearted and intense affection, sympathy, and devotion from millions of his friends and political supporters in Greece. They expressed the sentiments of an even wider circle, including practically the whole nation (if we ignore the tiny fragment of men of extreme and criminal violence, the would-be assassins, intent upon compassing the destruction of its great leader), for this vast stream of messages included many from those who are by no means ardent in their support of Mr. Venizelos, many, too, from individuals and associations which hitherto have been politically opposed to him.

They are significant of the conviction spreading throughout these circles, that (as distinct from legitimate political opposition) *there must be an end* to such desperado plotings and machinations, that whatever palpable hints—nay, even threats—to the contrary may be thrown out by reckless irreconcilables, the verdict of the coming elections *must* be accepted, and the country *must* settle down steadily, industriously, and peacefully, on the great work of reconstruction and post-war development, which lies before this eminently capable, gifted, and creative race, now at length, after close on five centuries of unspeakable subjection, “redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled”

His noble work of emancipation achieved, almost to the point of final completion, the whole nation looks to its great chief for leadership in this task of reconstruction

How characteristic was his remark made in the very instant when the felon blow was struck—“It does not matter, my work is done”—how characteristic at once of his modesty, unselfishness, and invincible optimism and courage yet in what startling contrast to the convictions and yearning hopes of his fellow-countrymen! Men of Greece look forward—the world looks forward—with admiration and joyful confidence to the continued development of his magnificent life-work for the benefit and glory of his beloved country

Aye, and in these days when the shadow of calamity and tragedy hangs over so large a part of Europe, the world looks to him for advice, guidance, and inspiration in the great work of reconstruction and regeneration, over a far wider field awaiting the initiative and far-sighted wisdom of international statesmanship

I have not yet had an opportunity to see the analysis of those telegrams of sympathy and congratulation—in round numbers some 100,000 of them—received from men and women, institutions and societies the world over, but what a tribute they are of world-wide admiration and respect,

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what testimony to the high honour in which the name of Venizelos is universally held !

I am not sure that even his own supporters in Greece, deeply as they love and venerate the great protagonist of Hellenic interests, welfare, and progress, are yet aware of the extent to which his name is one to conjure with in lands far beyond their own shores, or the enormous influence which Mr Venizelos personally exerts in every council-chamber of international authority

Some comment on the sources of that influence and its unbounded potentialities may, perhaps, be permissible in a further communication

## ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION

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### A HIEROGLYPHIC DICTIONARY

BY WARREN R. DAWSON

BUT two more years shall roll, and we shall celebrate the centenary of the publication of Champollion's "*Lettre à M Dacier*," whereby the foundation-stone of modern Egyptology was well and truly laid. Whilst it is perfectly true that our knowledge of ancient Egypt is still in its infancy, and that many years must pass before we can treat the subject with anything like finality, it is nevertheless astonishing to find what progress has been made in a single century. Until it became possible to read and understand the contemporary native records, our knowledge of the subject was derived from the coloured and often very fanciful narratives of classical writers, chiefly of Herodotus and of Diodorus Siculus. It must be borne in mind, moreover, that these historians lived at a time when all that was characteristically Egyptian had well-nigh passed away, and the traditions, literature, and even the very language and writing were undergoing their final corruption and decay before the advent of a newer and fundamentally alien series of forces.

The recovery of the true history and literature of ancient Egypt from authentic contemporary documents has had a vast influence upon history and culture in general, and the learned world has not failed to recognize the important part which Egypt has played in the annals of mankind. On these grounds alone, quite apart from the intrinsic interest and fascination of the subject, accessions to the ranks of scholars whose aim has been to undertake original



investigation in Egyptology have been made in an ever-increasing ratio, and the science to-day is taking its place with other branches of intellectual culture, and can boast professorships and services devoted solely to its interests. To trace the intervening steps in the long stairway between Champollion and the present day is an interesting process, but is an excursus into which we cannot wander now. A vast and somewhat chaotic literature has grown up around us, each unit of which has played its part in the general development, but in its *tout ensemble* it is an arid and almost boundless waste in which the guiding landmarks are difficult to find. To the would-be student of Egyptology the prospect is a bewildering one, and he cannot see the wood for trees. Without a guide at his elbow, he is sure to waste much time and effort in finding his own path through the masses of publications which thus hinder rather than help him. Unfortunately *the specialist has often forgotten, or at least unduly minimizes, his own initial difficulties*, and consequently, out of the extensive literature which has been given birth, very little has been done towards providing the beginner with a series of textbooks whereby he may start *ab ovo* and progress at an even pace. The specialist writes primarily for his intellectual equals, and much of his work is quite unintelligible to those who would fain read and understand it.

Sir Ernest Budge has realized from the outset the importance of creating and sustaining an interest in Egyptology amongst beginners whose circumstances forbid the possibility of making the subject a life-work—an opportunity which comes to very few—and as the result we have a series of books from his pen which is almost without parallel in any other subject, and upon which we remarked in our notice of his last work in the preceeding issue of this REVIEW\*. These handbooks have been sometimes severely criticized by Egyptologists *de metier*, and on scientific grounds no doubt they are often open to such

\* *Supra*, vol. xvi, pp. 517 ff

criticism, but the fact remains that the critics have not themselves produced any substitute, and the lot of the student is nowise improved, save that he knows he may buy for as many pounds as Sir Ernest's books cost shillings critical scientific memoirs which are quite above his comprehension. We do not for an instant belittle the value or the quality of specialists' work. Egyptology can produce many works which are models of critical research, sound logic, and capable marshalling of facts which are equal to the best productions in any branch of knowledge, but we do wish to insist that the very fact that a market can be readily found for the extensive and numerous editions of Sir Ernest Budge's books shows how large the enquiring public in Egyptology really is, and how few are the workers in the field of catering for its needs.

It is primarily for this public that the present dictionary\* is intended. Doubtless it will have to face the fire of scientific criticism, but on almost every point of attack the author has forearmed himself. How can the reviewer triumphantly point out this or that defect in view of the modest claims which Sir Ernest makes for this product of incalculable hours of labour and patience which we will state in his own words?

"It seems to me obvious that everyone that undertakes a long and very tedious work like the making of an Egyptian dictionary must be guilty of the perpetration of mistakes, blunders, and errors in his copying, however careful he may be. In my work there will be found inconsistencies, misunderstandings, and misprints, and probably downright misstatements.

Notwithstanding such defects, I hope and believe that this Dictionary will be useful to the beginner, and will save him time and trouble and give him help."†

\* "An Egyptian Hieroglyphic Dictionary," with an index of English words, king list, and geographical list, list of hieroglyphic characters, Coptic and Semitic alphabets, etc. By Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, Kt, F S A., M A, etc. London John Murray, 1920. Price £15 15s. net.

† *Ibid*, introduction, p. lxxii

This dedication to the beginner makes it clear from what standpoint we are to make our *critique*, and as the book is not intended to be a contribution to scientific Egyptology, it would be idle to criticize it as such. We have, however, various observations to make, but before proceeding to a discussion of these, we will take a rapid glance at the Dictionary as it lies before us. Its general make-up seems to be the product of sound common sense. To begin with, it is of octavo size, a great consideration in economy of space on the study table when most Egyptological books have a habit of being, often quite needlessly, quartos or folios. In the second place, the whole work, in spite of its 1,500 pages, is bound in one volume. The disadvantage of thickness and weight is more than compensated for by its compactness, for if a dictionary be in two volumes, the word one seeks for is sure to be "in the other one," and once the book is beside the reader, one volume is easier to negotiate than two. We do think, however, that the thickness might have been considerably reduced. This might have been effected by using smaller type for the index of English words, and by amalgamating the sign list which precedes the dictionary with the printer's type list which follows it, and which duplicate one another. We suggest that the type numbers of the second list might have been attached to the appropriate signs in the first list, which would then have done double duty. Thirdly, the book is issued in a stout leather back and corners, in striking contrast to the flimsy bindings in which many reference books are sold, and which will not "stand up" to the hard wear and tear which a dictionary must perforce endure.

And now as to the contents. The dictionary proper is preceded by an introduction which discusses the previous efforts at dictionary-making since Champollion's "*Dictionnaire Egyptien*." It is melancholy to note what intellectual tragedies these early dictionaries have been. Champollion's manuscripts were tampered with and stolen, and Dr. Birch's,





the product of infinite toil, was first securely entombed in the final volume of an unwieldy and costly history, which was soon superseded and its authorship inadequately recognized, and later, the materials for a fuller and better work were sold, after the author's death, for ten shillings!<sup>\*</sup> The largest dictionary was that of Heinrich Brugsch,<sup>†</sup> which has played a great part in the development of Egyptology, but its size and the fact that it is handwritten by lithography throughout make it a difficult book of reference moreover, instead of being a mere "wörterbuch," many of its articles contain long and somewhat discursive dissertations in which the author presents his philological views, which would have been more in place in scientific journals. Modern research, however, has made so many modifications and additions necessary that the time has come for a more modern effort, and the older work is superseded. The present dictionary narrowly escaped disaster, as the manuscript was about to be sent to Vienna for printing shortly before the outbreak of war, but a lucky accident caused postponement, and Sir Ernest Budge has produced his book in England at the expense of an anonymous benefactor in times of unparalleled difficulty. These circumstances have, of course, added enormously to the cost of the book. The greatest objection that can be raised to the whole enterprise is, that the very high price of fifteen guineas puts the dictionary far out of the reach of most of those for whom it was compiled, and yet, having in mind the nature of the type-setting and the cost of labour and materials, we do not see that it could have been produced for less.

We now come to a discussion of the dictionary proper. As is well known, Sir Ernest Budge adheres to the old system of transliteration, which differs in many respects from that which originated in Berlin, and which is now in general use amongst Egyptologists. Without entering into

<sup>\*</sup> "Egyptian Dictionary," introduction, p. xlii

<sup>†</sup> "Hieroglyphisch - Demotisches Wörterbuch" 7 vols. Leipzig 1867-82.

the question as to whether old Egyptian is really an African or a Semitic language written without vowels, a question on which Sir Ernest Budge's opinion is stated once more, but in which he stands almost alone to-day, we think he was right, having in mind the reader whom he wants to help in using the old system for the purposes of his dictionary. By admitting vowels he at least makes words pronounceable, and thereby capable of being *memorized*, a very important thing for the beginner who cannot carry in his head the phonetic values and forms of the hieroglyphs themselves. After all, when the student is sufficiently advanced to form his own opinion on the Semetic question, it is easy to substitute one set of ciphers for another. It is quite admitted by all, including the author himself,\* that the system adopted in the Dictionary is in many ways artificial and barbarous, and does not necessarily represent the probable sounds of the old Egyptian words, but is it less artificial than transcription now used in opposition to it? To take an example, the word transcribed in the Dictionary as *shaāsha* is barbarous enough, but is it worse than *š;š*, or *āua* than 'w'? Sir Ernest Budge uses, as far as possible, simple letters, or combinations of letters, without diacritical points. In some cases, however, he admits the latter, as in *ā*, *ā*, *h*, and *k*, but he generally uses such combinations as *th* instead of *ṯ*, and *sh* for *š*, etc. His reasons for so doing are clearly stated, and the student is not likely to be inconvenienced on this score.

The general arrangement of words is the same as that already employed in his previous vocabularies†—that is to say, the English transcription comes first, the hieroglyphs second, and the meaning third. Except in the case of common words, references are given in many, but not enough cases. The lack of references is much to be

\* "Egyptian Dictionary," introduction, p. lvi.

† "Hieroglyphic Vocabulary to the Book of the Dead" and "Egyptian Reading Book."

regretted in the geographical list, which loses most of its utility for this omission.

In spite of the fact that the Dictionary contains over 125,000 references, of course it is not a complete word-list of the language. A complete dictionary could never be produced, as we cannot keep pace with modern discoveries, and even an approach to completeness would entail a large staff who could work whole-time upon it. The great Berlin dictionary, which has engaged many Egyptologists for years, is only past its middle point, and its completion is still very far off. Sir Ernest Budge has incorporated the principal words in a great mass of published texts, the mere enumeration of which fills twenty pages, and by the time the student is familiar with all these texts he will surely possess sufficient knowledge and erudition to dispense with a dictionary altogether. In order to submit the Dictionary to a test, the present writer took a number of extracts from texts of all periods and hunted up the principal words. In most cases they were found, in some, of course, they were not, but if a search for twenty-five words results in tracking twenty of them, the beginner has much to be thankful for and is twenty words to the good, which he could not have been before the Dictionary appeared.

It strikes us as a defect that words of all periods are quoted side by side without any indication of the age to which they belong. The differences between the orthography of the Pyramid texts and that of Ptolemaic inscriptions is apparent enough to students of experience, but is altogether bewildering to a beginner. During the period of not less than three thousand years which is covered by the texts quoted the language and writing naturally underwent many stages of change, and even if no indications could be given in the body of the Dictionary, we think it might have been made the subject of a detailed discussion in the introduction.

We must bring our survey to a close and pass our



## *A Hieroglyphic Dictionary*

judgment Sir Ernest Budge has earned the lasting gratitude of all students by placing in their armoury a weapon of which they were much in need. In spite of all its shortcomings the Dictionary will be a boon to many whose work must be done without a technical reference library, and there is no doubt the author's hopes, which we quoted above, will be amply fulfilled. We will close by a further short excerpt from the introduction

“Many, many years must pass before the perfect Egyptian hieroglyphic dictionary can, or will, be written, and meanwhile the present work may serve as a stop-gap.”

## COMMERCIAL SECTION

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### THE POSITION OF INDIAN TEA

BY D F SHILLINGTON

AMONGST the many important discoveries and productions of the nineteenth century, the remarkable progress achieved by the planters of Indian tea may well be considered one of the romances of the period. That Indian tea is the most popular growth in the estimation of most tea consumers will be almost universally admitted. Naturally tea in the cup is a matter of taste, else there would not be the necessity for such an army of tea-tasters in all the centres of commerce as we find in Mincing Lane, London, to-day. One of the curious conditions connected with tea as a beverage is the effect produced by different qualities of water on the infusion, consequently the expert knowledge of the tea-taster comes into play in selecting from the hundreds of samples that come before him every day the sorts that will blend well together for family use, for it may be stated at once that in view of the endless varieties of water that have to be catered for in different parts of the country where it is to be consumed, not one sample in a dozen will produce by itself such a cup of tea as will receive universal approval. *Tea-blending is consequently an art which must be carefully studied if successful business in tea is desired.*

Very little is generally known of the early history of tea, although its consumption may be considered as about nine pounds per head of population in the United Kingdom to-day. A few years ago the Australians were supposed to be the largest consumers of tea in the world, but since the war the consumption in the United Kingdom has increased very considerably. In the present writer's boyhood days there was no Indian tea, and the entire supply came from China,

the East India Company having the monopoly of providing it. Well-authenticated Government Blue books tell us that that Company presented King Charles II. with a twenty-pound box of China tea about the year 1660, costing forty shillings the pound, but as in 1740 the entire consumption was only one and a half million pounds it is evident that that royal present had no very important commercial result. As long as the East India Company's charter remained it regarded its tea trade as a source of income and tried to make the most it could out of the business. In the course of time, however, rumours got about that tea was being sold more cheaply on the Continent than it could be bought for in the United Kingdom, and as there were several of the Company's monopolies running out in 1833 the English Government of the day deemed it wiser to cancel them all and throw the trade open to everyone.

Up to this time the East India Company, although well aware that tea was indigenous to India and could be produced there, made no move in that direction lest it should interfere with their profitable monopoly in China tea. But when that was withdrawn matters assumed a new aspect, and the Company, being encouraged by Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General of the day, despatched a deputation to Assam to collect specimens of every likely shrub of the nature of tea. This deputation took four months to accomplish the journey (which the planter of to-day does in thirty-six hours) They found tea growing in luxuriance and abundance, but in face of all they saw they recommended that cultivated plants should be imported from China. This decision the late Mr J. Berry White (who was a personal friend of the writer thirty years ago and in his time a most successful tea-planter), regarded as a serious mistake, as the China shrub grew about the size of the English privet with similar-sized leaves, whilst the Assam shrub grew to be a tree sometimes 25 to 30 feet high, with leaves six times the size of the China plant, and producing double the quantity per acre, of a quality worth

1d. to 2d per pound more in the market of Mincing Lane. That this opinion was sound might be verified by a reference to the brokers' catalogues of the seventies of last century which the writer distinctly recollects; lots catalogued as indigenous Assam Pekoe often selling up to and over five shillings per pound in public auction. But all new industries make mistakes at first and tea-planting was no exception, for it is a well-known fact that the Chinaman even yet encourages no visitors to his tea-plantations, so the pioneer tea-planters of Assam did the best they could by importing experienced Chinese operatives to undertake the manufacture of the tea. The first experimental plantation was started in 1835, but it proved a failure as the soil was unsuitable. The next effort was made in 1837 and was more successful, but it was planted with China shrub, the pollen of which impregnated the indigenous plant of the neighbourhood, and produced the hybrid variety of tea-plant which may be regarded as the present Indian tea-plant. Opinions may differ as to the wisdom of the course adopted by those pioneers in importing China plants to Assam, but my personal opinion leans to the view that they were right, as my recollection of the extra stringency of the liquor produced by the indigenous Pekoes of these bygone years recalls days of acute dyspepsia occasioned by the excess of tannin which it contained. That experience, too, was only gained during the ordinary business engagements of the day as a tea-taster, and what the effect would have been on the general public had all the Indian tea imported to this country been produced from indigenous plant, and its use had become universal, the results on the epigastric regions of the British public might have been the reverse of salutary.

In the year 1839 the Assam Company was formed with 30,000 acres of land, of which only 800 were producing tea. The out-turn during 1840 was about 10,000 lbs. (It is nearer 10,000,000 lbs. now) The price it fetched averaged 3s per lb. At first they employed Chinese

labour, but they proved so intractable that after two years of patient endurance they had to be replaced by the native Assamese. But all the efforts of this great company were dogged with misfortune and failure, and in a few years their entire capital was gone. Some of the shareholders, talked of going into liquidation but wiser counsels prevailed. New managers were appointed and the tide turned. Profits were made and the company paid its first dividend in 1852. It had then almost a practical monopoly of tea production in Assam, because so long as it was unable to pay dividends the inducements to participate were not attractive. But when conditions improved several officers of the company opened gardens on their own account. Other tea companies were formed, notably the Jorehaut Co., which was a success from the first. But the inevitable boom followed. Companies were formed and managers appointed who had no experience of tea-planting. Unsuitable land was taken up, and in the sixties of last century hosts of companies were projected which never got within sight of a dividend. It is to be recorded, however, to the credit of most of their promoters, that they were so satisfied with the prospects of their ventures that they nearly all took payment for their estates in shares, and so the losses in money were not overwhelming as they might have been, but Indian tea-planting was grievously discredited for years, and it was not till perhaps 1875 that it recovered its position and became noticeable in the markets of the world. The latest Government return prepared in 1917, issued in 1919 by the order of the Governor-General in Council, gave the total acreage under tea in all India as 664,284 acres, of which nearly 400,000 acres were in Assam and Cachar, and the balance distributed over Bengal, 167,791 acres, Madras, 32,988 acres, and Travancore, 43,348 acres, and a few other places for the remainder. There are no two opinions that the produce of Assam still holds the field both as to quantity and quality, but in saying that it must be mentioned that the hill teas of Darjeeling,

54,646 acres of which are included in the total of the Bengal district, produces at times some samples of exceptionally high grade, which command probably the highest prices in the market, but the out-turn is unfortunately much less, only averaging 340 lbs. to the acre, whilst Assam exceeds 600 lbs. per acre annually. The reason is that the Darjeeling estates are much higher up in the hills, in full view of the great Himalayan range of mountains, and it is now a well-established fact that the higher the plantation, the finer the quality but the smaller the crop.

A word may now be spoken in regard to Government control during the war. For the first two or three years but little disturbance was experienced in the tea trade further than the advance in the duty of threepence per pound very soon after hostilities commenced, and a further fourpence per pound the following year—a total increase from fivepence to a shilling a pound. But it was not only the increase in the duty that disturbed the equanimity of the tea trade. Everybody knew that millions would be wanted, but during the early months of 1917 a sort of financial panic obsessed the authorities, and it was ordered that no tea should be imported except British-grown sorts. This at once cut off all supplies from China, Java, and Sumatra, the last being the latest producing district and then rapidly coming into great favour in the London market. The Sumatra estates had been opened up by British capital and were staffed with Britons, so the market felt the prohibition of import to be a real hard case, but it is now a thing of the past. Of course the trouble began in lack of shipping at Calcutta and Colombo. There was plenty of tea waiting shipment at both those ports, but as there was a shipping controller, and he had to find ships to transport the Army to where it was wanted, and send supplies of food after it, and at the same time help our Allies as far as possible, the poor tea trade could get no ships to bring tea to London. The energetic Indian Tea Association sent many deputa-

tions to the shipping controller to entreat his help, but all to no purpose. One case in the month of April came to the personal knowledge of the writer. The deputation went to tell the controller that they had 60,000 chests at the port waiting shipment, but all their eloquence could only extract a promise that possibly by the month of July he could bring them 10,000 chests. Of course we had to win the war, and everything had to bend to that, but the large multiple shop tea-dealers, finding that stocks in the country were running very low and that it might be months before further supplies would arrive, started to buy all they could in order to protect their customers. Prices consequently advanced rapidly, and the Government appointed as Food Controller Lord Devonport to take the oversight of the supply and apportion it fairly amongst the many claimants. Perhaps they could not have selected at the time a more capable man, but he had to organize a new department with untried and inexperienced men, so he had to call to his assistance a number of advisory committees, and these gentlemen with the best intentions formulated rules for the conduct of the tea business, which galled the staid and steady dealers. No one, for instance, was to be allowed to buy unless he had a ticket to enter the sale-room, whether he represented a firm of established position or not, and a policeman was placed at the door to carry out the orders. Another regulation provided that members of the committee could enter any dealer's premises and demand to see his stock list, so that he should not have more than his share. The rules were so hastily drawn up that many of them had to be subsequently altered, and in the end a system was adopted under which every buyer in the market had a certain quantity allotted to him each week by ballot at a fixed price, he was allowed no choice, he had to take what the ballot machine gave him on the principle of "shut your eyes and open your mouth" but it is now over and done with, so the unpleasantness of the tea control may happily be forgotten.

Whilst supplies of tea, however, were in a state of uncertainty, the Ministry of Food approached the planters in India and Ceylon to state the average prices which they had received for their crops during the three preceding years, and having ascertained the figures, the Ministry contracted to buy two-thirds of their crops at a fixed price related as near as possible to the previous amounts. The idea was excellent from the point of view of the Government. It became then the largest wholesale dealer in the Kingdom, and having control of the ships, had very soon an abundant supply of tea to put on the market. Possibly it was the best course which could have been taken, as it ensured every dealer in tea of his fair share of what was to be had, but it took away from the planters all desire to emulate, quantity not quality then became their ideal, and it certainly has not tended to improve the quality of the tea which has since been imported. In the present season the proportion of very low grade has been abnormal, and the continental markets, where the most of it used to go, being more or less closed, it had all to come to London to demoralize the London market by establishing very low quotations of prices. Nobody wanted such stuff at any price.

As to the future prospects of Indian tea, as far as can be judged at present, its position is assured. But there are some questions relating to it that must receive early attention if its progress is to continue. First and foremost, the lots in which it is put on the wholesale market must be made much larger. Before the war a most earnest appeal was made to the planters by the Indian Tea Association to increase the size of the lots to an average of fifty chests. The average in 1913 was only thirty-three chests, and the London operators asked that it should be at least one hundred chests to each sample that they had to taste and value for the public sales. But six years have since gone, and the planters have not made the slightest effort to improve the average. On October 20, 1919, the average



### ***The Position of Indian Tea***

was again ascertained. In that week 37,812 packages were catalogued for public sale, in 1,308 lots, 29 chests to each lot. This enormous quantity was sold in two sales in one week, 650 lots to be tasted and valued for each sale, and 650 lots to be auctioned at express speed, 150 of the experts of the tea trade attending the sale to make bids for a 29-chest lot at a time. The Indian tea trade has grown since there was only one auction in each fortnight, but the limit has now been more than reached, and unless the size of the lot is increased speedily there will be a deadlock.

It has often been remarked that whilst the annual production of coffee is roughly three times as great as that of tea, the consumption in the United Kingdom should be only one-eighth of the quantity of tea consumed. The latest published figures give tea 9 pounds per head of population, coffee 1 14 pounds per head, and cocoa 2 79 pounds—the last figures, of course, including eating chocolate as well. The reason is partly because tea makes the cheapest drink of the three and takes the least amount of time and trouble to prepare, and its refreshing quality takes almost immediate effect when imbibed by a tired and wearied subject. Some people consider Indian tea gives too strong an infusion from a hygienic point of view, but that difficulty can be easily overcome by putting a smaller quantity in the teapot.

As to the general question of how the present duty of tenpence per pound affects Indian tea, no doubt the percentage on the price of the article is heavy, but the consumer scarcely feels it, and the tax is so easily collected for the Government by the tea-dealers that the Chancellor of the Exchequer regards tea as a "help in time of need," and apparently does not think twice about it if he wants money. The tea-dealers are most patient, seeing that the amount of the duty has been changed seven times since the present century opened, each change bringing about alterations in the selling prices of every grade of tea and changed prices

to be printed on the packets, so it is not to be wondered at that the tea-dealers would like a fixed term of, say, five or even three years during which an understanding should exist that no change would be made. How it works at present is that every February the cautious dealer begins to let his stock of tea, on which the duty has been paid, run down, and from then until the Budget is brought out he pays no duty which he can avoid lest there should be a reduction recommended. But for the two intervening months of uncertainty it will be seen that the general course of tea business is disturbed and every wholesale dealer has his books full of orders to pay the duty after the Budget, but no duty that can be avoided is to be paid before then. To say that the tea-dealer in consequence is filled with envy of "the butcher, the baker, and the candle-stick maker," for their absolute independence of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the matter of his annual Budget is merely a hint at what might be the case, but which those noble patriots have hitherto shown no signs of. They prefer to regard themselves as shareholders in the biggest empire in the world and are willing to do their part in keeping it up by gratuitously collecting millions of money annually for the Government (£17,449,318 in 1919), but at the same time they would rejoice if the financial director of the company could see his way not to plunge them in uncertainty for two months before his annual Budget, but to give them five years breathing time between each change in the duty.

The following table, showing the consumption of different sorts of tea, as well as the changes in the rate of the duty, was compiled by Messrs Bunting and Co, Ltd., the eminent tea and produce brokers, of 23, Rood Lane, London, E C 3, for their recently published book on breakfast beverages, which deals fully with all descriptions of tea, price 5s post paid. Believing that the information contained in it, which is taken from official sources, may prove interesting to the readers of this review, Messrs. Bunting

and Co have most kindly accorded their permission to the writer to copy it

Year	Duty lbs	Average Value lbs	Home Consumption lbs	Indian lbs	Ceylon lbs	China lbs.	Java.
		s. d.				Entire supply	
1740	14% & 4s per lb	3 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ mill	—	—	—	—
1750	44% & 1s "	4 5	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	—	—	—	—
1760	49% & 1s "	5 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	—	—	—	—
1770	49% & 1s "	4 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	—	—	—	—
1780	51% & 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ s "	4 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	—	—	—	—
1790	12 $\frac{1}{2}$ %	3 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	16 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	—	—	—	—
1800	1s 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb	3 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	23 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	—	—	—	—
1801	1s 6d "	3 0	23 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	—	—	—	—
1803	2s 8d "	2 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	24 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	—	—	—	—
1806	3s 2d "	3 3	22 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	—	—	—	—
1811	3s 3d "	3 4	22 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	—	—	—	—
1815	3s 1d "	3 2	26 "	—	—	—	—
1819	2s 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d "	2 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	25 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	—	—	—	—
1826	2s 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d "	2 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	29 "	—	—	—	—
1830	2s 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d "	2 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	30 "	—	—	—	—
1833	2s 2d "	2 2	32 "	—	—	—	—
1836	2s 1d "	1 7	49 "	—	—	—	—
1840	2s 1d & 5%	2 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	32 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	—	—	—	—
1849	2s 1d & 5%	1 1	50 "	—	—	—	—
1853	1s 10d	1 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	59 "	—	—	—	—
1854	1s 6d.	1 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	62 "	$\frac{1}{2}$ mill	—	61 $\frac{1}{2}$ mill.	—
1855	1s 9d	1 3	63 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	$\frac{1}{2}$ "	—	63 "	—
1857	1s 5d	1 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	69 "	2 "	—	67 "	—
1863	1s	1 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	85 "	3 "	—	82 "	—
1865	6d	1 8	97 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	3 "	—	94 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	—
1870	6d	1 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	117 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	13 "	—	104 "	—
1875	6d	1 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	145 "	25 "	$\frac{1}{2}$ mill	120 "	—
1880	6d	1 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	158 "	45 "	$\frac{1}{2}$ "	113 "	—
1885	6d	1 0	182 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	64 "	4 "	114 "	—
1890	4d	10 $\frac{3}{4}$	194 "	100 "	36 "	58 "	—
1900	6d	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	249 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	138 "	92 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	13 "	6
1904	8d	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	256 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	155 "	79 "	11 "	11
1905	6d	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	258 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	150 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	89 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	12 $\frac{1}{2}$
1906	5d	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	269 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	159 "	92 "	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	13
1914	8d	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	317 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	184 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	90 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	13 "	29
1915	1s	11	318 "	182 "	93 "	13 "	30
1919	10d	*	388 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	259 "	106 "	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	18 $\frac{1}{2}$

\* During a great part of 1919, the price was under Government control at a fixed price of 1s 1d per lb, and when control was taken off in June the market price fluctuated so much that any suggestion of an average price would be misleading

## THE HISTORY OF SILK\*

BY PROFESSOR G S BOULGER, F L S , F G S

THE history of silk begins, and may very probably end, in China. Its origins are so remote that the story is too long for my detailed treatment within a moderate compass. The antiquity of the domestication of the common or mulberry silkworm (*Bombyx mori*) might, perhaps, be inferred from the moth having lost the power of flight, which is retained by its less domesticated allies, were it not for the abundant evidence that we have of an extremely plastic and rapidly modifying structure in the insect when introduced into new conditions of food or other surroundings. Its food-plant, the mulberry, is also very variable. Both plant and insect are most probably indigenous in China, the claim that has been advanced by Indian authors on behalf of either slope of the Himalaya as their centre of origin seeming far less probable. Though hardly germane to our present subject, the closeness of the dependence of the insect upon its food-plant, in that to do well the larvæ or silkworms should be fed upon leaves of approximately the same age as themselves—young ones on young leaves, older worms on older leaves—is worth mention.

A fibre unsurpassed in strength and beauty, but necessarily costly from the prolonged care necessary for the rearing of the insect and the spinning and weaving of the thread, silk, throughout its history, from the earliest records down to our own times, has been the favoured subject of the patronage of courts and princes. The first traditional Chinese dates do not appear improbably remote. The Emperor Chin Nong,

\* A lecture, delivered before the China Society.

to whom is ascribed the invention of the plough, is said to have begun the cultivation of the mulberry about 2800 B.C., and in 2602 B.C. his successor Hoan-ti, the inventor of numbers, of music, and of the loom, entrusted to his wife Lui Tsu, Si-Ling-Chi, the investigation into the rearing of the silkworm. She it is who is now worshipped as Yuen-fi, Goddess of Silkworms, to her the Chinese ascribe the invention of the rearing-house, of reeling, and of throwing, and a large amount of silk is now burnt in small pieces as precious sacrifices to the gods. A reference, perhaps more trustworthy because merely incidental, about 2200 B.C., occurs to silk as paid in tribute from Shantung to some power in the north-west of India.

The jealous preservation of secret sources and processes is characteristic of all early trade, and was long especially characteristic of China, but what we know of the spread of the knowledge of the rearing of silkworms outside China makes the traditional date for its revelation to the outside world apparently far too late. The well-known story of the Chinese princess, betrothed to a prince of Khotan, braving the penalty of death attached to the divulging the secret, and conveying mulberry seed and silkworms' eggs past the customs officers of the time to her new home, is ascribed to 140 B.C., or later. That the knowledge spread from China to Khotan, and from Khotan to Kashmir and India, is most probable, but the dates of these migrations are profoundly uncertain. The name of silk—the Greek *sēr*, the Latin *sericum*, *seolc* in Russian and early English, and *silke* in Icelandic—seems certainly to be the Chinese *sz* or *sée*, but, despite the Chinese claim for the invention of the loom by Hoan-ti, weaving of linen and wool, though not of silk, would seem to have been of even greater antiquity in the western world. Linen was woven in earliest Egypt and in the Swiss lake dwellings, and the choice garments of Babylon and fabrics dyed with Tyrian purple, which may date from the nineteenth or twentieth century B.C., the brodered vestments of the Hebrew priests, and the hangings of the

Tabernacle as made by Moses six centuries later, seem to have been of fine linen interwoven with bullion

In the most ancient Sanskrit literature the names of textiles are hopelessly confused, but when we come to the Mahabharata, about 1400 B C, speaking of "thread spun by worms" as brought in tribute, and therefore probably of foreign origin, silk seems certainly to be indicated. Though he claimed for India the lead in the fine weaving of gold brocades and filmy muslins, the late Sir George Birdwood\* showed clearly how methods and patterns of weaving were for centuries transmitted from country to country and reproduced in different materials, so that he actually admits that it is uncertain whether or not the Arabs found the manufacture of silk established in India at the time of their conquest in the eleventh century.

Farther west, silk as material seems to have been unknown to Homer or Herodotus, and, perhaps, until the conquests of Alexander, though it may well have reached Persia at an earlier date. Arrian tells us that Nearchus, Alexander's lieutenant, clothed himself in silk, and Aristotle—no doubt from information received from some members of the expedition—gives us† an account of the great worm Bombyx, which has, as it were, horns and changes into a caterpillar, then into a moth, and, lastly, into a chrysalis, all within six months, when women unroll the cocoons and weave them. As he also mentions the island of Cos as the first place where silk was woven, it is probable that the reweaving of silk brought there by caravan from Media or Persia considerably antedates his time. The weaving of Western Asia apparently did not satisfy western luxury, and there are not a few references to this industry. The wondrous transparent lawn in which Lucan‡ describes Cleopatra as appearing before Cæsar was probably rewoven in Egypt or in Cos, as was also that worn by the dancing girl in the well-known fresco at Pompeii. Silk was then worn only by courtiers and courtes-

\* "Indian Arts," II 99, 104

† "Historia Animalium," V 19 (17), II (6)

‡ Book X

sans, by the *demi monde* and those " Society ladies " who then, as now, aped the manners of the *demi monde* But though silk was then well known as a fabric, its origin was not the silkworm was unheard of by many, and the material believed to be derived from vegetable sources Virgil tells us " how the Seres spin their fleecy forests in a slender twine,"\* not seemingly distinguishing silk from cotton Phny, four hundred years after Aristotle, though he speaks† of the produce of the Assyrian worm, says‡ that " the Seres are famous for the wool in their forests, and after steeping it in water comb off the white down that adheres to the leaves, and then give to our women the twofold task of unravelling their fabrics and of reweaving the threads", and Dionysius Periegetes, more than two centuries later, knows still less " The Seres," he says, " comb the variously coloured flowers of the land to make their precious garments " Roman merchants, however, were the first to travel eastward along the so-called " silk roads " to meet the merchandise coming from Asia We read of Tiberius legislating against the wearing of silk by men, and of Helogabalus in the third century as the first emperor to wear *holosericum* (pure silk) From his time till the sixth century the supply of woven silk to the Byzantine Empire was mainly a Persian monopoly, although reweaving was carried on at Tyre and Berytus (Beyrut)

Meanwhile the silkworm is said to have reached Japan in A D 195, and the art of silk weaving in A D 283, through the mediumship of two Chinese or Korean princes and of emigrant settlers brought by them, at the same period as that at which Buddhism, and, perhaps, tea, reached the islands from the mainland " From the very beginning the industry was encouraged by the Court, which set the example of planting mulberry-trees and rearing the worms, and stimulated production by enacting that some of the taxes should be paid in silk fabrics During the Dark Ages of Japan (939-1639) the industry was of

\* " Georgics," ll 121 (Dryden's translation)

† " Hist Nat," lib x 27 (23)

‡ *Ibid*, lib vi 20 (17)

necessity confined to remote districts undisturbed by the storm and stress of constant war, but we may gauge the extent of its revival on the return of peace by the records of sumptuary laws prohibiting the wearing of silk fabrics by the common people "•

In the sixth century a luxury tax of 10 per cent *ad valorem* on Persian silk had brought revenue to the Byzantine Government, but Persian monopoly prices much restricted the sale. The Emperor Justinian tried to break through the Persian monopoly with the help of his Christian ally, the Prince of Abyssinia, but without success, and we then come to the romantic story of his subsequent achievement of his object, which has come down to us in full detail at the hands of the contemporary chronicler Procopius † Two monks from Mt Athos, apparently Persian by birth and of Nestorian principles, penetrated in A D 550 to the land of the Seres, presumably Khotan, lived long enough at Serinde to make themselves masters of the whole process of sericulture, secretly gathered some mulberries, and by crushing them in water obtained the seeds, which they carefully dried and then concealed in thick bamboo walking-staves, and, proceeding to Constantinople, imparted to the Emperor the long-preserved secret that silk was produced by a worm, the eggs of which might be safely transported to and propagated in his dominions. The seeds having been sown in "Greece," the monks, "by the promise of a great reward, were engaged to return, whence they actually brought off a quantity of silkworms' eggs in a hollow cane, and conveyed them safely to Constantinople in A D 552. The eggs were hatched in the proper season by the warmth of a dunghill, and the worms produced were fed with the leaves of the mulberry. They spun their silk, and propagated their race, under the care of the monks, who also taught the 'Romans' the whole mystery "† Justinian seems to have, with a keen eye to profit, kept the

\* R P Porter, "Japan, the New World Power," pp 272-73.

† "De Bello Gothico," iv 17.

‡ Milburn, "Oriental Commerce," ii 245



manufacture as an imperial monopoly, and for six centuries sericulture was in Southern Europe mainly confined to the Byzantine Empire. Venice is said to have imported raw silk in the sixth century, but her great trade really began in the ninth. The Mohammedan conquest of Alexandria transferred the trade by way of the Persian Gulf from Greek to Arab hands via Bassora and Ormuz;\* and, although Mohammedans were not permitted to wear pure silk, the ancient weaving designs of Babylonia and India were so carried on by the hand-loomers of South-west Asia that there is a continuity, Syrian and Byzantine, Christian and Muslim, from the fifth century to the twelfth. Repeated roundels of birds and panthers are of common occurrence, as in the wrappings of the relics of St. Cuthbert at Durham belonging to A.D. 688, those of St. Willibald at Eidstadt (A.D. 786), and those of Charlemagne at Aix-la-Chapelle (A.D. 814). These last may have been of Baghdad manufacture, the present of Haroun-al-Raschid, or they may have been the handiwork of Charlemagne's own daughters, since his biographer, Eginhard, speaks of their skill "*ouvrir en soie en taulieles*."

The Saracens spread the manufacture which they had learnt from the Persians to Baghdad, Tabriz, Aleppo, Aden, Suez, Alexandria, and Cairo, while Byzantine sericulture and weaving had spread to Athens, Thebes, Corinth, Argos, and the Ægean. The Attabiya, or weaving quarter of the city of Baghdad in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, gave to a watered silk popular in England in the eighteenth the name *tabby*, which survives in that of a similarly mottled variety of the domestic cat. The Moors brought the silkworm to Spain in the eighth century. Almeria, Malaga, Granada, Seville, Lisbon, Majorca, and Iviza became notable weaving centres, and by the tenth century both raw and woven silks were staples of Hispano-Moorish trade. Damascus became the chief entrepôt for Persian silk, and Venice, Amalfi, and Florence reopened the trade route to India via Alexandria, compelling their rivals of Genoa to exploit the northern

\* Lord Curzon, "*Persia*," II 530-31.

caravan route by way of the Caucasus and the Black Sea, especially from Trebizond. The Arabian traveller Ibn Haukal in A.D. 947 had recorded that much silk was produced round the Caspian and in Khorasan, and Marco Polo, in the thirteenth century, states that Genoa had begun to import "the silk which is called Ghelle"—i.e., Gilan.

In the time of the Crusades, as now, war stimulated foreign commerce: nobles on both sides wore scarves and mantles of silk, velvet, and satin, as, for example, at the coronation of Roger, King of Sicily, in 1130. This same Roger in 1146 invaded Greece, and not only carried off the wealth of Athens, Thebes, and Corinth, but also brought back silkworm-rearers and silk-weavers, whom he settled at his capital Palermo and in Calabria expressly that they might impart their arts to his subjects. Twenty years later Sicilian fabrics, often interwoven with gold and pearls, were already famous, and before the end of the twelfth century we read of a bishop of Evreux obtaining silken vestments from Apulia. The industry spread northward to Florence, Lucca, Venice, Milan, and Genoa, and at a slightly later date wandering Saracenic and Byzantine craftsmen found their way to German, French, and English monasteries influencing the designs of the stoles, maniples, and orphreys woven in their small hand-loom.

In the thirteenth century there must have been a considerable importation of silk—probably most Venetian—into England, since we read, for instance, of the streets of London being hung with silk on the return of Henry III's brother, Richard of Almayn, from the Holy Land in 1242, of a thousand knights in silken robes as present in 1251 at the marriage of Henry's daughter Margaret to Alexander III of Scotland, and of a prodigious display of silken and gold stuffs at the coronation of Edward I in 1274.\*

To the following century belongs the earliest known European treatise upon sericulture, a little work still extant, written by Bonafide Paganino at Bologna in 1360. Edward III encouraged silk-workers from his wife's native

\* Milburn, *op cit*, p. 246

Flanders to settle in England, and an Act of Parliament of his reign refers to English women workers in silk, manufacturers most probably of narrow ribbon. The silkworm is said to have been brought into Dauphinée from Naples as early as 1340, but there does not seem to have been any effective introduction of its cultivation into France for another hundred years. Throughout both the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Arabs shipped the raw silk of India to Aden and Suez, whence it was transported on camels to Cairo and Alexandria for shipment to Venice, and most probable the silk stockings that the thrifty James I of Scotland borrowed in 1406, that he might the more worthily receive an English ambassador, were of Italian manufacture. In 1454 a complaint made to Parliament by the silk-women of London that the Lombards were importing wrought instead of raw silk shows the character of our industry at the time, and, as a result, the import of all wrought silk was prohibited, with the exception of the unequalled girdles of Genoese make \*

In 1480 Louis XI sent to Genoa, Venice, and Florence for master weavers, operatives, and looms, and mills were set up at Tours, but the raw silk was imported from Italy and Spain until 1495, when, after Charles VIII's Neapolitan campaign, both the white mulberry and the eggs of the silkworm were imported, Guy Pape, Sire de St Auban, planting the first trees near Montelimar. Little progress seems, however, to have been made for some time. Francis I (1515-1547) and Catherine de Medici both encouraged the industry, and Henri II, the husband of the latter (1547-1559), is said to have been the first French monarch to wear silk stockings, or rather hose. The South of France, the main centre of sericulture, had long been largely Protestant, and during the reign of our sixth Edward (1547-1554) some of these sectaries had been driven by religious persecution to England. The number of these refugees was, however, far larger after the faction fight of 1572, generally known as the

\* 33 Hen VI, cap. 5.

massacre of St Bartholomew, and they are said to have brought with them the manufacture not only of silk, but also of bricks, paper, glass, and gunpowder

Henry of Navarre was a still more active promoter of sericulture, the development of which he entrusted to Olivier de Serres, who, in 1599, wrote "*La Cueillette de la Soie*," and in 1601 planted 20,000 white mulberry-trees in the Tuileries. More than four million trees were, with royal assistance, raised by Traucat, a nurseryman at Nîmes, and rearing-houses and filatures were set up at the Royal Chateau de Madrid, near Paris. Sully followed his master's example, planting mulberries along the high-roads, offering prizes, and bringing in foreign workmen, so that early in the seventeenth century the rearing of the silkworm became general in the castles and abbeys of Southern France \*

The broad silks and velvets then made at Lyons, Nîmes, Avignon, Paris, and Rouen, were largely the work of Italian emigrants from Lucca and Florence, driven from their homes by civil discord †

Meanwhile Vasco da Gama, by rounding the Cape in 1497, had broken through the Venetian monopoly of eastern silk to replace it by a Portuguese one which was to last nearly a century, ‡ for it was, perhaps, the capture in 1592 by English privateers of the *Madre de Dios*, a Portuguese carrack of 1,600 tons burden, the largest ship then ever seen in England, which was brought in laden with silk, that first suggested our direct trade with India, a trade which was to be (mainly through Surat) the chief source of our supply of country-wound silk for sewing, button-making, etc., throughout the eighteenth century

The zeal of Henri IV infected our "British Solomon," James I, who imported 10,000 mulberry-trees to be sold by the Lords-Lieutenant at three farthings a piece, one of which trees was that planted by Shakespeare at Stratford and made into a chair by Garrick. James also in-

\* Arbousset, "Silk and the Silkworm," pp 11, 12 1905

† Pariset, "Histoire de la Soie"

‡ Lord Curzon, *loc cit*

structed an Italian merchant named Burlamacha to bring over throwsters, dyers, and weavers of broad silk, this being apparently the beginning of this form of silk manufacture in this country, all silk previously woven here having been narrow ribbon. In spite, however, of James's endeavour to establish silk-rearing in this country, the bulk of our supply of raw silk during the seventeenth century was Persian and Turkish, brought in by the Levant Company, until the East India Company began in the reign of Charles II to bring it cheaper by way of the Cape. This Indian silk cost seven shillings a pound in India, and when coming by way of Persia realized twenty shillings a pound in England. Forty thousand persons were then employed in the silk manufacture in England and over a million in France, where the luxury of the Court of Louis XIV and the premiums offered by the enlightened commercial policy of Colbert led to the consumption of eighteen or twenty tons of raw, and five hundred tons of woven silk per annum. Then came the debacle when (1685) the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes caused thousands of skilled craftsmen to leave their native land. Upwards of 50,000 are said to have come to England, and among them many designers and weavers of silk, who settled at Canterbury, Norwich, and Spitalfields, in Cheshire, Yorkshire, etc., near wool-weaving centres, and at Dublin. The trade of Crefeld, Elberfeld, and Barmen in Germany, and that of Switzerland, dates mainly from this period. Silk became the general fashion in England for all classes except the very lowest, and *à la modes* lustrings, brocades, and satins were then first made in England, whilst the looms at Lyons and Tours were reduced to about 5,000—one-sixth of the previous number—and even for these it was difficult to find weavers. Before the end of the seventeenth century the so-called French silks of Spitalfields were celebrated throughout the country, though our looms suffered from the first from the competition of Chinese and Indian silks, and the "chintzes" or flowered calicoes of Calicut. British trade was fostered by protective legislation, but the import of Indian and Chinese

woven silks being in the hands of two rival companies, prices were so reduced that the wearing of these stuffs became almost universal, and caused great discontent among London and other English manufacturers, leading to the prohibition of the import of " trams," or of Persian, Indian, or Chinese thrown silk, and to the law of 1700 against the retention of any Oriental woven silk in this country.

In 1713 it was stated in Parliament that 300,000 persons were maintained by the silk manufacture in England, which was twenty times as great as fifty years before (1664), black and coloured silks and ribbons being made as well as in France. Our reeling machines were, however, only capable of furnishing " singles " or " trams " (woof threads), thrown or " organzine " being entirely imported from Italy.

In 1718 and 1719 John Lombe, of Derby, and his brother Sir Thomas introduced the throwing of organzine (the secret of which John learnt by getting employment as a workman in Piedmont), and were granted fourteen years' monopoly. At his death John left the then large fortune of £120,000, though he was supposed to have been poisoned by Italian emissaries for having stolen their profitable secret. In 1730 the German traveller Keyslar says that English-made silks were more costly than Italian even in Italy, so that a Neapolitan trader would recommend his silk stockings by declaring them " true English "

The success of the Lombes' mill at Derby soon led to the starting of others at Stockport, Congleton, Macclesfield, Leek, and other places in and around Manchester, in Gloucestershire, and at Sherborne, Dorset, where as long as import duties were imposed on foreign productions the trade flourished.

Meanwhile a hard winter in 1709 killed all the olive-trees, which had replaced the mulberry in Provence and Languedoc on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and this led to a replanting of the mulberry and the revival of the French silk industry. Louis XV established Royal rearing-houses and distributed young mulberries gratuitously, and by 1790

France was producing 6,000,000 or 7,000,000 kilograms of cocoons and over 500,000 kilograms of silk \*

The French Revolution gave a severe shock to the whole commerce of the world Lyons, whose leading industry had been fostered by the Court of the *ancien régime*, very naturally espoused the Royal cause, and paid dearly for its resistance to the Republic. The year 1793, which witnessed the long siege and capture of the city by the forces of the Convention, and the wholesale fusillades and noyades of Collot d'Herbois, saw the dispersal of her manufacturers, the disappearance of her capital, and the closing of her workshops. The crop of cocoons in France fell from 6,500,000 to 3,500,000 million kilograms, and out of 20,000 looms only 3,500 remained, and this state of abeyance continued till the rise of the Napoleonic power. By the year 1800 there were 5,800 looms; in 1802, 9,490, and at the zenith of the fortunes of the First Empire in 1808, over 11,000 working. The Treaty of Tilsit of 1807 not only gave the signal for a great outburst of luxury and display, but—what was of even greater moment—led to the reopening of the important markets of Russia and Germany. The young republic across the Atlantic had not then come into existence as a buyer of silks, whilst Great Britain had closed her doors to French goods and supplied most of her own requirements †. The East India Company had spent large sums during the last quarter of the eighteenth century in establishing Italian methods of winding in Bengal, so as to destroy the English import trade from Aleppo, Naples, Calabria, and Valencia, until all the silk woven in England came from Northern Italy, Bengal, and China ‡. By the close of the century Bengal organzine was in use in Spitalfields for saracenets and velvets, rivalling the best Italian produce. The Grand Duchy of Warsaw became a great mart for the gold brocades of Lyons, the sumptuary law of Catherine II., which in 1793 excluded such tissues from Russia, was repealed.

\* Arbousset, *op cit.*

† Vicars, "Report on the Silk Trade of Lyons and St. Etienne for 1908," pp 26-27

‡ Milburn, *op cit*, pp. 252-53

and, above all, the fairs of Leipzig, the rendezvous of all nations, were once more open, and took no less than two-thirds of the production of Lyons. But the character of the main demand had changed. Hitherto Lyons had produced almost exclusively rich figured fabrics, the monopoly of the rich; but now the Revolution had impoverished France only the Court remained to keep up some such demand. The hand-loom weavers of Lyons had generally shown themselves adaptable to the changes of fashion, and the opportune invention of the Jacquard power-loom at the beginning of the nineteenth century enabled them to turn out great quantities of the plain tissues which now became the main demand. Silk was democratized. Already by 1809, 7,000 silk looms out of 8,000 were devoted to plain tissues, and 480 were weaving plain velvets, as against 16 weaving figured ones.\*

The confiscation of the lands of the nobles and clergy and the depreciation of assignats enabled the peasantry of Southern France to acquire the land they cultivated at ridiculously low prices, and the "magic of ownership" caused the production of raw silk to advance by leaps and bounds, doubling itself as if by magic. Between 1820 and 1830 it passed from 500 tons to 1,000, between 1830 and 1840 from 1,000 to 1,500, and between 1840 and 1854 reached or exceeded 2,000 tons.†

In 1832 the East India Company's monopoly came to an end, and the Indian silk trade passed into private hands, and declined both in the character of the supply and in quantity. The rapid development of the cotton and woollen industries in Lancashire and Yorkshire with the successive inventions of spinning and weaving machinery, and the consequent large demand for comparatively unskilled labour, enhanced the price of labour in the English silk industry, so that it was difficult for it to compete with the cheap labour of the Continent even before the removal of the import duties on foreign silk in 1860.

As always happens when any plant or animal is cultivated on a large scale and under conditions of artificial stimulus,

\* *Vicars, loc. cit*

† *Arbousset, op. cit*, pp 18, 19.



serious disease made its appearance, or rather became epidemic. The French silkworm rearers under the booming prosperity between 1825 and 1850 built large rearing-houses, brought millions of worms together into one room, and even hastened their development with oil-stove heat. An unfavourable season produced a scarcity of mulberry-leaves in 1844, and the disease to which—fifteen years later—Pasteur gave the name of Pebrine (from Pebre, the Provencal name for pepper), was first noticed in that year in the Cevennes. As the fatally destructive epidemic spread, fresh supplies of uncontaminated eggs were sought in Italy, Spain, Portugal, Turkey, the Caucasus, Turkestan, China, and Japan, but the pebrine seemed to accompany or to travel in advance of the "graineurs" or egg-buyers, and only from Japan were disease-free eggs continuously procurable. Not until 1865 did the French Government send Pasteur to the Cevennes to investigate the disease, and although in two years' time he had discovered the cause of the disease and suggested the remedy—cellular incubation—it was difficult to even partially revive the discredited industry. The excessive infatuation for silkworm rearing between 1820 and 1850 had been succeeded by a still more pronounced neglect: the untended mulberry-trees died in hundreds of thousands, and it was not till 1875 that Pasteur's cellular incubation was universally adopted in France. Meanwhile, the revolution in Japan had brought that country into the markets of the world, and the productions of the cheap female and child labour of that country and of China had gained a footing in Europe;\* and from that time onward, whatever the vicissitudes of the rest of the silk trade of the world, Japan's production has steadily and rapidly increased both in quality and in quantity. Side by side with this increase in the production of the raw material came the growth of power-looms in the iron-manufacturing cities of the north-eastern United States. Keen business enterprise has led to the rapid adoption of improvements in machinery, and the manufacture has been

\* Arbousset, pp. 21-23

largely carried out by female labour, abundant where the men are employed in the iron and steel trades, and thus is what is termed by economists a parasitic industry. Side by side with this growth of American manufacture has been that of the local demand for silk, so that though now by far the largest silk-manufacturing country, the export of true silk from the United States is still relatively insignificant. American ribbon can now, however, undersell French in Paris itself.

The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, bringing the silk of the Far East direct to Marseilles, caused Lyons and Milan to supersede London as the main distributing centre of the raw silk of the world, but the Franco-Prussian War, during the two following years, temporarily paralyzed the output of silk from the combatant countries, and caused a short-lived halt in the decline of our British industry.\* The rate of wages in Italy is less than half of what we in England consider a living wage, and our manufacturers, recognizing the impossibility of competing with such labour in the production of cheap goods for which there is an enormous and ever-growing demand, have largely contented themselves with the making of high-class material which will bear the cost of expensive labour, and have not to any great extent competed in the art of selling as silk a material of which 40,100, 200 or even over 900 per cent consists of oxides of tin or other metals.

The late Lord Masham's inventions in the spinning of so-called "waste" silk towards the end of the last century inaugurated a new silk industry in which Britain has well held her own, and has built up a trade the proceeds of which mask in our Trade Returns the continuous decline of the reeled-silk manufacture. Spun silk can hardly be said to compete with reeled silk, and many authorities consider that to-day mercerized cotton is more of a rival than artificial silk, or lustra-cellulose, as this wood-pulp product should be more precisely described. French manufacturers, however, class

\* Sir Frank Warner, *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, lii, 142 1904

this new invention, with Japanese competition, the risks of disease and bad weather, the scarcity and appreciation of labour, and the vagaries of fashion, as the conjoint causes of the decline of sericulture in Europe. Silk in Europe has always been a risky crop, but this drawback has been minimized by the position of sericulture as a subsidiary industry to agriculture. Fashion, however, if a lavish pay-mistress, is also notoriously a capricious one, and it is an illustration of the mutually dependent and sensitive character of the silk industries that the incoming of the sheath or hobble skirt, about 1911, reducing the world's silk consumption by some 2,000 tons, caused acute distress among the peasantry of Lebanon—where silk is often not a subsidiary but a sole industry.

Prophecy is no essential part of the duties of a historian. At a first glance the present position of the silk trades looks as if Japan bid fair to monopolize the production of raw silk, and the United States to capture the entire weaving industry.

Silk is, however, throughout—and especially in the production of raw silk—largely dependent upon labour, specially skilled, though nowhere highly paid, labour. The United States is mainly dependent upon Japan for its raw material, and finds, at the moment at least, that the women who went to munition work during the war are remaining in those hardware manufactures in which their neat-handedness has proved most efficient. Japan is beginning to compete with America in silk-weaving, and will soon be as unable to part with her raw silk as the States are now unable to supply us with all the cotton we require. Labour, too, is rising in cost in Japan, and the United States are beginning to look to an improved and increased supply of raw material from China as their only future hope. As the home of the cheapest skilled labour, the last land, perhaps, in which labour will rise in price, it looks as if the last country in which silk will be productible at a profit will be that in which its production began.

## PRODUCTION OF WOOL IN TURKEY

*(Communicated by the Commercial Secretary, British High Commission to the Department of Overseas Trade)*

In the year 1913 the total clip of wool for Turkey is shown in Turkish statistics to be 16,842,745 okes, in 1914 this production reached 17,413,891 okes. After the year 1915, on account of the outbreak of war and general dislocation of the services of the Ministry of Agriculture, no further statistics have been kept. This is due also to the fact that the production of wool in Anatolia during the war was no longer controlled by the Ministry of Agriculture, but by the Ministry of War, to the great advantage of the Germans, who thus succeeded in draining the country of its raw materials.

The production of wool during the year 1919 for the districts still remaining under Turkish sovereignty was 3,007,560 okes. (The oke is 2 8246 lbs., avoirdupois.) These statistics were compiled for the purpose of deciding by the Ministry of Agriculture whether or not there was sufficient wool in the country to permit exportation.

### PRICE OF ANATOLIAN WOOL

Before the outbreak of war Anatolian raw wool sold at 6 to 7 prs the oke. After the mobilization, starting at 7 to 12 prs, it gradually grew during the armistice to 50 to 55 prs, and now actually stands at 60 to 65 prs the oke.

This statement alone gives a sufficient idea of the severe ravages caused by the war on the flocks in Turkey.

### WASHED WOOL

Anatolian farmers, for different reasons, do not as a rule wash their wool. These reasons are the following:

- 1 For the purpose of washing special installation is necessary
- 2 They are not fond of progress.
- 3 They are afraid of seeing their stocks of wool destroyed by mites if they are washed
- 4 In certain districts there is a lack of water
- 5 Labour is very expensive, and it is more advantageous for them to sell the wool in a raw state than washed

They, as a rule, content themselves by driving their flocks into a river and thus partially washing the wool.

The portion of washed wool exported from Turkey is from 10 to 15 per cent.

## *Production of Wool in Turkey*

### WOOL FOR MATTRESSES

Consequent to diminution of production of wool and mohair during the war a special trade called "mattress wool" has come into existence. This wool, which before was not allowed to be exported, and was, consequently, sold at a knock-down price, was during the war a frequent object of trade with Germany and Austria.

At the present time there are no dealings in this article.

### MOHAIR

Turkey occupies a position alone in the production of mohair. Her only competitor is Cape Colony, and then even the mohair produced there is not as good as that of Turkey.

A very small quantity is consumed locally, the rest is exported to Europe, principally to England.

The normal annual production is about 6,000,000 kilogrammes.

## IS ZIONISM A FALLACY?

BY CAPT P S CANNON

[The writer is an Oxford graduate who served in Palestine during the final months of the war, and resided in one of the Palestinian colonies for some time after the armistice.]

A BOOK was published last year,\* which cannot fail to have aroused considerable misgivings among many of those who, though not of the Jewish faith themselves, have lent their support to the Zionist movement as being, in their opinion, the only path along which a solution of the Jewish problem might be reached. So strong an assertion of Assimilationist theory, coming as it does from a Jew of such high academic distinction as Dr Jastrow, cannot be lightly passed over, because if the thesis which it propounds be true, the Zionist cause will suffer a blow which it might be hard to parry. It may be worth while, then, to examine the arguments of this interesting and most important work, and see if there is not, after all, some fundamental fallacy underlying the conclusions therein reached.

On the ground of historic fact Dr Jastrow, in view of his reputation and the list of his published works, would seem to be almost unassailable. Fortunately, it is not necessary for us to attempt a task which would be rash, if not almost impertinent—to tackle a university professor on his own ground. Fortunately enough, the fundamental fallacy underlying the main thesis of the book is one which depends for its understanding, not upon any imposing array of the facts of Jewish history, not upon any theory of what Judaism may have been at various epochs of the world's

\* "Zionism and the Future of Palestine" By Morris Jastrow, jun., Ph.D., LL.D., Professor in the University of Philadelphia (Macmillan, New York, 1919)

history, but upon facts as they appear at the present day, upon the actual relations between the Jews and other races at the moment at which we stand—in fact, upon psychological factors which have little relation with the past, and upon which the ordinary layman can meet Dr Jastrow without fear of disaster.

After an introductory chapter, in which he traces the history of Zionism (religious, economic, and political are the three stages into which he divides it), Dr Jastrow passes on to the development of his main thesis (chapters 11-15) which deserves close analysis

He urges that Zionism is a pure anachronism, now that religion is an affair of the individual and not of the community, that Yahweh, originally a tribal god, was changed by the teachings of the prophets into an individual and personal god, that the old "political Zionism" of the days of David and Solomon owed its real fall to the exile, and that the "semi-autonomy" of post-exilic days was too amorphous a reaction to be of much permanent effect. The persecution of the Jews in mediæval times he ascribes to the wrong-headed Erastianism of the Middle Ages, which regarded the idea of a Universal Church in a Universal State as axiomatic, and persecuted the Jews as recalcitrants, because they refused to conform to the recognized religious pattern laid down at Rome. He then proceeds to argue that in proportion as religious barriers were broken down, so have Jews gained greater political rights, until, finally when in recent years there arose a "Reformed Judaism," which subjected the old traditional faith to a scrutiny very similar to that which the so-called "Higher Criticism" has subjected the traditional beliefs of Christianity, it made very considerable headway in those countries where political progress was most advanced. The result, he continues, has been that in the Western democracies, where all barriers of creed have for some time been abolished, Jews with few exceptions are Assimilationists, and that it is only in Central and Eastern Europe, where persecution of the Jew is still



## *Is Zionism a Fallacy?*

open and violent, that the Zionist cause is making any real headway. He would therefore have us believe that Zionism is purely and simply the result of Anti-Semitism, and that the disappearance of the latter (which he seems to anticipate with a confidence which we find it impossible to share), the "*raison d'être*" of Zionism will have disappeared. Zionism, he goes on, is therefore reactionary (chapters v and vi), for it aims at the foundation of a purely "national" state, as opposed to the mixed state, which, according to him, has always the greatest possibilities, whilst as regards the Jews he would urge that the greatness of Jewry dates from the fall of the political life of the Jewish people, so that the re-establishment of that life would tend to cripple rather than stimulate the Jewish genius. He concludes by saying that the solution of the Jewish problem should be looked for in the final breaking down of all barriers, political and social, which shut out the Jews from all lands from full and complete assimilation.

With the historical process by which Dr Jastrow reaches his conclusions we have, as we said, little concern. A rough analysis of his argument has been given so that the general character of the book may be appreciated. But as regards Dr Jastrow's argument itself, it is sufficient to say that if it cannot be rebutted from facts and considerations of a wholly present-day character, no amount of delving into past history will give us any more help. But surely it is amply sufficient to bring before the impartial reader the attitude of the Zionists themselves, backed as it is by the underlying though often unexpressed feelings alike of the average Jew and the average non-Jew, and to leave it to him to judge if these are not more potent than all the historical arguments of the Assimilationists.

The argument of modern Zionists, and of their Gentile supporters and sympathizers might be stated in general terms as follows. The Jews are not only a religion, they are also a separate race, which has for many centuries had no organized national life as such, but has, through a



succession of unexampled misfortunes been compelled to exist as a number of colonies scattered among other nations which treat them at the worst with cruelty and at the best with tolerance, and possessing even after so long a lapse of time a distinct racial type. This divergence of type is shown at times in the Liberal West, by a certain prejudice, regrettable, but still too noticeable for an honest observer to ignore it—a prejudice not only of Gentile against Jew, but also (as every fair-minded Jew will admit, at least in regard to the more obscurantist elements among his compatriots) of Jew against Gentile. The complete political and commercial liberty enjoyed by the Jews in these countries, coupled with the fact that in many cases they have many very good friends among their Gentile neighbours, obviously counterbalances these disadvantages, and attaches the Jews to the land of their adoption. We live in a material age, and we can never afford to ignore practical considerations, the transplanting of the Jewish populations in the Western democracies would be an event of such immense disadvantage economically to the Jews themselves and to their present countries of domicile that it is scarcely ever suggested as a serious proposition, and all that is expected of the Jews in those countries is that Zionism should have their earnest sympathy and their support, moral and financial. Why this support is being withheld, and Assimilationist propaganda adopted instead in these countries in so many cases, is a point with which we shall deal before the end of this article.

*Elsewhere, where racial antagonisms are more pronounced and more profound, and are at all times a source of constant trouble, the presence of the Jewish colonies seems to be as much a source of irritation as it has been for many generations in the past. The plight of the Jews in Russia, Roumania, and Poland is such that, for the peace of the world in future, if such an ideal is ever capable of realization, just as much as for their own economic and political freedom, it is surely essential that an attractive home be found else-*

were of course to be met with, but on the whole very little desire was detected, even among those who had come from England and the States, to associate with the British troops, while among the latter the tendency was even more marked. Without, as we have already noticed, any marked hostile feelings being displayed, the ordinary officer and man of the British regiments did not feel disposed to consort very much with the Jewish battalions any more than with the French or the Indians. That such an attitude was due to religion is (to anyone who has noticed the extreme toleration of the average British soldier in such matters) unthinkable. Religious feeling, as the war proved above all things, is by no means a potent factor among us, still less a fanaticism so violent as such an action would suggest. The explanation must surely be that these Jews—once brought together under conditions where their racial allegiance was allowed its full natural play, and tended naturally somewhat to supplant their national allegiance to the countries in which they had been brought up—found that they were, generally speaking, self-sufficient. Consciously or unconsciously (on the whole the latter), both they and the regiments around them came to feel much as the other Allies came to feel about one other—that though they were always good friends, yet the ties of national feelings always tended to make those of the same race cling together more closely. The formation of the Jewish battalions accentuated this national Jewish feeling which is always latent, and made Jews feel they were more the compatriots of other Jews than of their own compatriots by birth.

Among the Palestinian colonists themselves we have had occasion to remark\* on the noticeable growth of this distinctive Jewish allegiance. There being no other counter-vailing national allegiance in their case makes the process naturally easier and more complete. Their very emigration has made them lose all feeling for the countries of their origin (and indeed in the case of Russia, Roumania, and

\* ASIATIC REVIEW, October, 1919, p. 674

Poland, few of them ever had very much), and to imagine that communities of so progressive a type could ever acquire any sentimental feelings of affection for the Turkish Empire would be an insult to their intelligence. They possess a purely Palestinian allegiance, which owes no loyalty to any ideal but that of Zionism—the Jewish State.

And so we come to the final conclusion—unpleasant perhaps, but still almost inevitable—that Assimilationism, even as presented in this most able book, is the gospel of fear of fear, because it is afraid to face fundamental facts in the relations between the various Jewish communities and the nations among whom they dwell, of fear, because the Jews who profess that faith refuse to realize the basic fact that in every country in which they dwell, honoured guests though they may be, they are fundamentally different from their host, and, lastly, of fear, because they are afraid that the assertion of these obvious facts by the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine would arouse the jealousy of the Gentiles among whom they live, and lead to persecution, and the loss of those political and social rights they have so hardly won. We, on the other hand, would urge that Zionism is the gospel of courage and hope—of courage, because it is neither ashamed nor afraid of those facts which, though so much reticence is observed about them, are yet so fundamental that no honest man can controvert them, of hope, because it has confidence in the common sense, humanity, and moderation of Jews and Gentiles throughout the world.

[N B—The opposite view to the one expressed in this article was published in the *ASIATIC REVIEW*, April, 1920 "The Prospects of Zionism," by D S Margolouth, M A., LITT D.]

## CORRESPONDENCE

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"A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR"

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### TELL EL-AMARNA

#### EXCAVATIONS ON THE SITE

SIR,—The Egypt Exploration Society has now received from the Egyptian Government a concession to explore and excavate the site of Tell el-Amarna. This site is of great historic and archæological importance, and is expected to yield valuable results which, divided under the provisions of the Egyptian Antiquities Law, may enable the Society to enrich our national and local museums.

In 1914 this concession was in German hands, it has now passed to ours. The German excavators secured important archæological results during the time they were at work, and obtained valuable examples of the art of Tell el-Amarna for the Berlin Museum. The artistic and religious revolution wrought by that extraordinary genius, the "heretic" king, Akhenaten, and his "Disk Worshipers" was an event of which we would fain possess fuller knowledge, which our proposed excavations should give us. And our museums, as well as that of Cairo, should profit as Berlin has done, by the acquisition of more representative collections illustrating the remarkable artistic development of the Amarna period. The task of the Germans at Amarna has passed to Britain as it should do, and it is for us to show that we are carrying on this important work worthily. The Society is fully alive to the obligations of this undertaking, and desires to commence work forthwith.

Professor T. Eric Peet has accepted the responsibility of directing operations in Egypt, and is now engaged in collecting an efficient staff and the necessary equipment. Owing to the increased cost of travel, labour, food, and

material, the expenses will be abnormally heavy. The Society is determined that the work shall be scientifically done and thoroughly recorded.

As successors to German archæologists in this work our national reputation is involved. I, therefore, in the name of the Society, venture to appeal to all interested in the future of British archæology in Egypt to extend to us their financial support, which can best be done either by donations to the fund, or by becoming subscribing members of the Society. Subscriptions should be sent to the Hon Treasurer, Mr Warren R. Dawson, at the offices of the Society, 13, Tavistock Square, W C 1, and all enquiries as to the excavations will be answered with pleasure by the Hon Secretary, Dr H R Hall, of the British Museum.

Yours faithfully,

J G MAXWELL, General,

*President Egypt Exploration Society*

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## THE AMRITSAR CONTROVERSY

BY J B PENNINGTON, I C S (RETD)

IT is high time we had a dispassionate account of what happened at Amritsar in April, 1919, and Colonel Yate has given a very good lead in his observations on the debates in the two Houses of Parliament as published in the *Empire Review* for August, from which I propose to quote at considerable length. He begins, very sensibly I think, with the demeanour of the inhabitants of Amritsar immediately after the tragedy of the Jallianwala Bagh, when they assembled in their thousands, chiefly, it seems, to thank General Dyer for saving the city from further loot and worse horrors. This, the best evidence we have of public opinion at the time, is carefully ignored by all those whose main object seems to be to shield the chief culprits.

"Throughout the whole of his speech," says Colonel Yate, "he (Mr Montague) had no word of compassion

for the 130 British women and children herded together for days in the old mud fort at Amritsar, not to mention those at Lyallpur, Ludiana, and other places, without sanitation, without privacy, without milk or proper food for the children, or for the unfortunate men who were battered to death outside. In fact, the most notable points in the Government of India's despatch is the complacency with which they record the number of Indian rebels, convicted by the tribunals, whom they released—all but 96 out of 1,779, and this number has since been reduced to 88—and the determination with which they decided to pursue the officers whom they desired to punish for some supposed hasty action or error of judgment, as it is called, committed under the stress and strain of putting down the rebellion.

"In his despatch of May 26, the Secretary of State goes out of his way to condemn the Hunter Committee for having failed to express themselves in sufficiently strong language as to the culpability of certain individual officers, and orders the Government of India to see that their disapproval is to be 'unmistakably marked' by such action as seems to them necessary—that is the spirit running through everything. No pity for the murdered, only for the murderers, and relentless persecution for the men who saved the situation. No wonder the British newspapers in India are seething with indignation at the 'punitive expedition,' as they call it, which the Government of India are ordered to undertake against their own officers.

"Take the case of Muhammad Bashir who, as Mr Montague himself admitted, was convicted by a commission of three judges of having led the attack on the National Bank at Amritsar in which Messrs Stewart and Scott were murdered, and was sentenced by them to death, and who was subsequently released by the Government of India, overruling the judgments of four out of the five judges who dealt with the case, in order to release the man. Can one be surprised that after this and the 1,690 other cases of men released the Anglo-Indian newspapers ask, 'Why should General Dyer be condemned, while men convicted and sentenced for participation in the rebellion have received the greatest clemency?'"

"The more one looks into General Dyer's case, the more one marvels at it. As shown by Sir Edward Carson in

the debate, General Dyer was promoted from one post to another during the summer of 1919, and personally congratulated by the Commander-in-Chief on the relief of Thal at the end of July. Moreover, his action at Amritsar on April 13 was not only upheld by the Adjutant-General in India, speaking with the knowledge of and apparently on behalf of the Commander-in-Chief in the debate in the Legislative Council of India on September 19, but it was also stated by the same officer that, from a military point of view, General Dyer would have been quite justified in using force on the preceding day, April 12, but that he 'decided to pursue his policy of patience and consideration' This policy of patience and consideration was continued that day and the morning of the next, and the Adjutant-General in giving his narrative of the events leading up to and at the assembly at Jallianwala Bagh gave it as his opinion that the sequence of events justified the exercise of military force and that, from a purely military point of view, General Dyer 'would have been gravely at fault had he permitted the elements of disorder to continue unchecked for one moment longer' "

The Adjutant-General concluded his speech as follows

"It must be remembered that when a rebellion has been started against the Government it is tantamount to a declaration of war War cannot be conducted in accordance with standards of humanity to which we are accustomed in peace Should not officers and men, who, through no choice of their own, are called upon to discharge these distasteful duties, be, in all fairness, accorded that support which has been promised to them ?"

"Thus we see in September, 1919, the Commander-in-Chief, through his Adjutant-General, pleaded for General Dyer being given in all fairness the support that had been promised him, and yet, eight months afterwards, he withdraws that very support from General Dyer, publicly removes him from his command and recommends that he be compulsorily retired from the army. Had the Commander-in-Chief

considered that it was inadvisable to continue General Dyer in the Punjab, he might have transferred him to Aden or to Mesopotamia or to any other command, but not a word was said by the Government of India suggesting that there was any reason for General Dyer's transfer from the Punjab. After the speech of the Adjutant-General in the Legislative Council, followed by the promotion of General Dyer to the permanent command of a brigade in October, 1919, and the still higher promotion to the temporary command of the division in January, 1920, how are we to understand so sudden a reversal of all the Commander-in-Chief's previously expressed opinions, simply at the bidding of a report like that of the Hunter Committee?"

Let me briefly review the facts of the case so far as they concern the chief scapegoat.

Rightly or wrongly, the authorities in the Punjab and almost every European had come to the conclusion in April that a serious outbreak was timed to synchronize with an inroad of the Afghans, which actually came off on May 6. The Hunter Committee, sitting more than six months after, say that "no evidence of any conspiracy was produced before them", and quite possibly there was no direct evidence of any regular organization, but the mere fact of hundreds of thousands of "lathis" being found at the Amritsar Railway goods sheds is surely proof positive that mischief was afoot, and the only practical questions as far as General Dyer is concerned are (1) whether this belief was general at the time, and (2) whether he acted *bona fide* on that belief. If he did so act, everyone in any responsible position, including the Archbishop of Simla and Miss Purnell (who would both have given valuable evidence in his favour), would surely say he was justified in using the most drastic remedies for a most dangerous disease, and the only question that remains is whether he went on shooting longer than was absolutely necessary "to put the fear of God" into the mob of murderers and hooligans, who had just shown their usual characteristics by murder-



ing bank managers and looting the banks. Now, rightly or wrongly, (as far as General Dyer is concerned it doesn't matter which), the civil authorities at Amritsar, finding the situation too difficult for them, deliberately (or in panic, again it matters not which) handed over charge to the military and so *de facto* started martial law under General Dyer, whose business it then became to restore order by all the force he honestly thought necessary—Napoleon's "whiff of grapeshot" Now I contend that, except the officials present with him on the spot who saw the demeanour of the crowd and knew the surrounding circumstances, no one is in a position to form anything like a useful opinion as to the amount of force required to re-establish order, and it does not appear that any of them (there was a European Officer of Police who presumably knew the district, a Brigade Major, and a Captain) thought he had gone too far—not even the native troops, who might well have objected if they thought they were being ordered to "massacre" their fellows. But evidently no one who knew the facts thought the General had gone too far, and not only was no complaint made at the time, but he actually received the thanks of his superiors for saving a very critical situation, and was almost immediately employed on most arduous work against the Afghans in the appalling heat of May and June, for which again he was warmly congratulated, as Colonel Yate points out, by the very Commander-in-Chief who later on found him "unfit for further employment in India," on account of what the majority of the Committee characterize as at most "a gross error of judgment" in "very difficult circumstances"

It should always be remembered that though he was thinking of the effect of his action in the Punjab generally, his immediate object was to stamp out the embers of a very dangerous conflagration at the chief of its many centres

It has indeed been argued that after the outbreak on April 10, the town of Amritsar was quiet for two days, the 11th and 12th, but it must be remembered that General

Dyer arrived with his small force on the afternoon of the 11th and the rebels (for it was a rebellion, not a mere riot) would naturally have to reconsider their position. Meantime, the news of their initial success at Amritsar on the 10th had spread to Lahore and the surrounding neighbourhood, and on the 11th (or 12th?) a most audacious poster was issued in the capital itself as follows

“ When the news (*i.e.*, of Mr Gandhi's arrest) reached Amritsar, the Danda Fauj (bludgeon army) of the brave Sikhs set fire to the bank, the railway station and electric power house. They cut the telegraph wires and removed the railway line. The Danda Fauj of Amritsar bravely killed a number of European monkeys and their Sikh regiments revolted and deserted. O Hindu, Muhammadan, and Sikh brethren enlist at once in the Danda Army and fight with bravery against the English monkeys. God will grant you victory ”

The very natural effect of this proclamation would be to encourage the rebels in Amritsar who had by then had time to discover the weakness of General Dyer's force. Hence the insolence (spitting, etc.) with which his proclamation was received, and the rebels' counter-proclamation to the effect that he would not dare to fire on the crowd and that a meeting would be held in the ill-omened Jallianwala Bagh that very afternoon in spite of him. That was nothing less than a declaration of war, and surely justified the most drastic procedure. General Dyer had spent four and a half hours in the morning parading the town and warning people that every sort of meeting was absolutely prohibited and would be dispersed by force. Any further parleying with such a dangerous crowd, as that at the Jallianwala Bagh evidently was, would certainly have been taken as a sign of weakness and might easily have ended in the destruction of his small force by the mere weight of numbers, and in far greater loss of life even in Amritsar itself.

Lastly, punitive measures, however severe, are not to be confused with “massacres” such as that of Glencoe, St. Bartholomew, and the massacre of the Innocents.

## OLD GOLD RECAST: CHINESE LOVE SONGS

TRANSLATED BY D A WILSON, I C S (RETD.)

*General Note*—If the Christian missions to China had produced nothing but James Legge's edition of the Chinese Classics, with its clear rendering of the meaning of each character in plain English prose, they would have been justified. Assuredly, if ten times the cost of them all had been spent by the governments of Europe on "academies" devoted to that single task, the result would have been inferior. His work is like Luther's version of the Hebrew Bible, and like it, may be a blessing to men beyond his utmost hopes, in ways he could not have conceived. For Legge continued a Christian, which explains occasional flaws in his commentaries remarked by the Chinese, but the best of them can wish for nothing better than to match the candour of that saintly scholar.

In particular notes his work is quoted as C C, and his metrical version of the odes or songs, "The She King," as S. Every musical rendering here is based on exact translations in prose, of course, and on the one "Out from the City's Eastern Gate," there hangs a tale worth telling. It is a great favourite in China, and about twenty years ago I selected it to start with when I decided to give Jerome K Jerome, who was editing the *Idler*, the refusal of the treasures I had found in the East. He cheerfully printed it at once, but altered "women" to "ladies," which made me feel, in a small degree, as Cæsar felt when he saw Brutus stabbing. If Jerome could spoil a song divine in that way, what might not others do? This sickened me of London editors for many years.

In 1910, the Editor of the *Nation*, London, was shown some MSS, and filled more than a page with half a dozen

songs (February 2, 1910, pp 848-9) Then Dr Pollen and Miss Scatcherd printed perfectly whatever I offered in that line. So now Miss Scatcherd gets the refusal of them all for the ASIATIC REVIEW

Disguise is out of place in a history, as in a law court, but in Art—and Poetry is the highest form of Art—it is best to forget the names of the artists Even in Science, as Rousseau remarked, the pleasure evaporates when any secondary motive makes one think of oneself instead of the realities one is observing Nothing worth doing in Science or Art was ever really done for fame or any kind of pay That is as sure as gravitation, and may be the truth which underlies the talk about Art for Art's sake Music and Poetry, Painting and Sculpture, equally with Science, are means to an end—to reveal the truth of things and the use, beauty, and music of this wonderful world It is, therefore, a pleasure to add that most of the songs Confucius edited are anon, and that I do not find the evidence convincing about even the few that are not so I do not believe the names are those of the real authors Even of the later poetry, much of the best remains happily anon

## I

## THE LONG RAMPART'S SHADOW

*Air "The Rose of Tralee" Also sung to "Erin Mavourneen," or the "Flower of Dunblane" The melody for the fifth verse is that of the second and fourth (The Shih, I, III 17, C C, IV 68-9, S, p 90)*

The long rampart's shadow grows longer and longer,  
'Twas here and 'twas now that she promised to be,  
I'm held here by love, that grows stronger and stronger,  
I'm restless, but patient—she's coming to me!

Behold ye the fire coloured stone on my finger?  
It warms and it comforts me, feeling like fire  
It came from the woman for whom here I linger—  
My darling, whose presence is all I desire!

Saw ye ever a flower like this rose so excelling?  
So fragrant, so dainty, so perfect of hue?  
There's something about it that's better worth telling—  
I got it from her, I am telling you true!

O dream not, my flower, for your own sake I crave you—  
The fairest of roses a rose can but be,  
But you come resplendent from her hand that gave you,  
And so seem the fairest of all things to me!

You'll see, when she comes, how complete is her beauty,  
For that's a detail that a stranger can see,  
But O! she's so good, and so perfect in duty!—  
I'm restless but patient—she's coming to me!

This is one of the most often sung love songs in the world, and naturally, the commentators differ about it a great deal. By the time they came to be commentators they were mostly too old to understand it easily. I have followed Tch'eng-ki-tong in accepting the opinion of the Imperial editors and the ancient scholar Maou, and in holding that the reference to the goodness of the woman beloved was seriously meant. The opposite theory is that these expressions were merely conventional, and the woman loose.

Nobody knows anything about either her or her sweetheart. Maybe, poor vanished ghost, she was no better than the learned Choo and Legge suppose, but surely her lover did not think so. The glamour of love might make even a sinner seem a saint, and a man expressing such feelings in a song is not likely to find conventional words too strong for him. On the contrary, the strongest of conventional expressions is apt to seem too weak.

It perhaps is expedient, in view of what a learned Sinologist has written to me about this translation, to anticipate criticism by avowing that, in this instance, I have used to its farthest limits the liberty allowed to translators of poets. To be explicit, the words "I'm restless, but patient" are a rendering of Chinese characters which Legge translates, "Loving and not seeing her, I scratch my head and am in perplexity." Further, not to mince matters, the "rose" was in Legge's prose "a shoot of the white grass, truly elegant and rare." I had to face a dilemma. I could be faithful to the sentiment *or* to the phrases in these two

instances, but not by any means to both, for the Chinese poet was in earnest, and the flowers of the white grass were the usual honourable emblem of beautiful women, like roses in Europe. Nobody familiar with the thoughts of the Chinese could see anything ridiculous in this song. So I used English words, not verbally identical, but with similar associations

Hitherto, translators have halted between an attempt at literal fidelity and vagueness. Tcheng-ki-tong uses the word "flower", and here is good old Legge's own poetical version

O sweet maiden, so fair and retiring,  
At the corner I'm waiting for you,  
And I'm scratching my head, and enquiring  
What on earth it were best I should do

Oh! the maiden, so handsome and coy,  
For a pledge gave a slim rosy reed  
Than the reed is she brighter, my joy,  
On her loveliness how my thoughts feed!

In the pastures a t'è blade she sought,  
And she gave it, so elegant, rare,  
Oh! the grass does not dwell in my thought,  
But the donor, more elegant, fair

By omitting reference to her goodness and the red jade she had given him, the poetry of Mr Legge seems to depart far from the original, but readers can take their choice, and in fairness to Legge remember two things—that these classics edited by Confucius are the Chinese Bible, so that Legge's model may have been unknown to himself, the Psalms of David in metre, and besides, but for his faithful prose, we would have been in the dark altogether

# KRILOV'S VIEWS ON UPBRINGING AND EDUCATION

## FROM THE RUSSIAN

(LINE FOR LINE TRANSLATION BY JOHN POLLEN, C I E)

### II

#### THE CUCKOO AND THE TURTLE-DOVE

A Cuckoo on a bough sat plaintively cuckoo-ing

"Why, gossip mine, are you so sad to-day?"

(A Turtle dove said—to her softly cooing )

"Is it because for us has passed away

The Spring so gay?

And with it Love? The sun has sunk down drearer,

And to the Winter we are getting nearer?"

"And if I grieve, poor me, why should they blame?"

(The Cuckoo said ) "You can yourself decide,

This Spring I loved, and was a happy bride,

And later on a Mother I became

But my own chicks won't know me, all the same

I little deemed such a return I'd get!

And is it not provoking when I see

The ducklings round the mother set,

And to the hen chicks hurrying from the wet,

While, like an orphan, all alone I be,

And of the charm of children nothing know?"

"Poor thing! my heart aches for you so!

My children's lack of love would me have killed!

(Tho' such a case is no uncommon thing)

But say! how managed you your children up to bring?

And when did you contrive a nest to build?

This I could never see,

For 'ever on the wing' you seemed to be!"

"What folly 'twere—such glorious sunny days

In sitting on a nest—away to fling!

That were, indeed, the silliest craze!

In other's nests my eggs I've always laid!"

"And hoped'st thou, then, for children's love and praise?"

(To her, thereon, the Turtle said.)

\* \* \* \* \*

Parents! To you this tale a lesson be!

I have not told it to excuse the child alone

For want of piety to parents shown—

For lack of love is sin eternally,

But if they are brought up apart from you—

And if to strangers' hands you pass them o'er,

Is it not you yourselves who have the fault to rue—

That in old age from them you draw not comfort more?

## III

## THE EDUCATION OF THE LION

To Lion, King of Woods and Forests all,  
 God gave a son Beasts' nature, 'tis well known,  
 Is not like ours ! With us a babe of one,  
 E'en though of royal blood he be, is witless, weak, and small  
 But Lion's whelp of one  
 His swathing-bands has long out run  
 So did the Lion Sire his thoughts together call,  
 How not to leave his son an ignoramus—  
 Or thro' him let the Kingdom's honour fall—  
 Lest when he came over his realm to rule,  
 "The Nation should," he said, "for our son blame us"  
 Then whom to ask, or hire, or cause to school  
 The Prince, and teach him well how Kings should rule  
 Entrust him to the Fox? The Fox is wise,  
 But then he's very fond of telling lies !  
 And with a liar there's moil in everything !  
 Such science, thought he, hardly suits a King !  
 Entrust him to the Mole? The rumour goes  
 That it in all things perfect order loves,  
 And always feels its way before it moves,  
 And every grain that for its table grows,  
 It cleans most carefully, and husking proves—  
 In short its fame has so increased,  
 "That in all little things the Mole's a mighty beast"

But here's the rub ! Though sharp beneath their nose,  
 Moles' eyes can nothing note afar—  
 They keep good order—but their sight's their bar—  
 And far beyond his den a Lion's kingdom goes  
 The Leopard why not choose ? The Leopard's strong and brave,  
 And above all a very tactful knave !  
 But naught knows he of politics,  
 And little understands he civil rights and tricks—  
 What kind of lessons "how to rule" would he give ?  
 A King both Minister and Judge as well as Chief should be—  
 The Leopard doth alone by fighting live—  
 So a King's sons to train scare fit is he  
 In short, the wild beasts *all* (the Elephant included,  
 Though in the Woods "the Wise" yclept—  
 As Plato was by Greeks deluded)—  
 Seemed to the Monarch most inept  
 And non adept !  
 But luckily or no (that soon we'll see)—  
 Learning about the King's perplexity—  
 Another King—the King of Birds—the Eagle proud,  
 Who long had vowed  
 For Lion King devoted love,  
 Resolved his friendship for his friend to prove,  
 And undertook himself in state,  
 The Lion's whelp to educate



The Lion felt a mountain-load from shoulders fall  
For could a luckier chance befall  
Than King as Teacher with a Prince to mate?  
They dressed the Lion's whelp, and so  
They let him go—  
To learn from Eagle how to play the King  
A year or two rolled by    Whoe'er enquired  
Heard nothing but the Prince's praises ring  
To spread his wonders in the woods the birds conspired  
But when the term of years had passed,  
The Lion-King sent for his son at last  
The son appeared, and then the King full fast,  
Summoned the Nation—great and small—  
Kissed and embraced his son before them all,  
And thus addressed him    "My beloved Son,  
My heir art thou—my only one,  
Into the grave glance I—into the World thou goest,  
To thee the Kingdom gladly hand I over  
Do thou, now here, to all of these discover,  
What thou hast learnt and what thou really knowest,  
To make the people well content—what hope thou showest "  
"Papa," the son replied, "I know full well,  
What not a single one 'nongst you can tell  
I know from Eagle to the Quail,  
What birds breed most and where  
What kind of food they share—  
What kind of eggs they lay and rear—  
Their needs to needle-point I can retail  
Here's my certificate '  
"Tis not in vain the birds of me do prate—  
That from the Heavens the stars I snatch—  
When you've resolved to me this realm to reach,  
I'll start forthwith all beasts at once to teach,  
How nests to thatch '"  
Deep-sighed the King—with him the Forest crowd—  
The Council their heads bowed  
Too late the Lion Sire to know was brought,  
His whelp the merest rubbish had been taught,  
And then he—not too nicely—says—  
"It s not much use for him to learn Birds' ways,  
Whom Nature has ordained o'er Beasts to reign,  
The most important science for a King  
Is knowledge of his peoples' ways to gain,  
And seek the welfare of his land in everything "

## THE GOD OF THE ROCK

BY CLAIRE SCOTT

(*Author of "Private Alexander Brown and other Stories"*)

THE hot April sunshine beat down upon the long, shadeless road As far as the eye could reach the parched, red desert stretched unbroken to the horizon excepting where, immediately to east, a rocky ridge ran parallel with the highway Its crest was sharp and jagged as the edge of a saw Nothing grew upon it The plain was hardly more productive Here and there a stunted palm sought to interpose its tufted green branches between the scorched earth and the pitiless blue sky For the rest, the terra-cotta wilderness was strewn with boulders, varied by an occasional cactus There was no shelter anywhere from the sun In one place the ridge of rock had been hewn into, and artificially levelled to form a projecting shelf On this ledge two large plaster horses, one white, the other black, stood stolidly side by side An attendant on foot grasped the bridle of each, under the watchful eye of a gaudily painted figure of Hanuman, the monkey god

The red road below was deserted save for the bent figure of a man He dragged himself along painfully with the help of a stick, a pitiful caricature of humanity His naked body was burnt black by exposure to the fierce sun, and thin to attenuation It was impossible to tell his age, so bowed was he and suffering For sole clothing he wore a dirty rag drawn tightly about his loins Another rag, of faded blue-and red cotton, was tied round his left cheek, which was swollen as though from toothache He pressed a claw-like hand to his face and struggled on The sun scorched his naked body, and the glare blinded his tired eyes, but these were mere minor discomforts compared with the raging pain in his face At last he could go no further He stopped and looked vaguely about him As he did so he caught sight of the plaster horses, and the gaudy figure of Hanuman They stood out boldly on the projecting ledge of rock high above his head

Instantly Munisawmi joined his hands and made a deep obeisance He would like to have climbed up to them, and have paid them still further honour had his strength but allowed He was innately reverent Before this mysterious malady had attacked his face he had been a hard worker Much of his earnings had always gone to the gods Never had he failed in pious offerings of cocoanuts, plantains, ghi and goor and betel He had burnt camphor at their shrines, and had sought to please and propitiate them to the utmost extent of his modest means As he glanced

regretfully up at the neglected duties he noticed a mysterious emblem carved upon the rock some three feet from the ground. He looked at it with curiosity. It consisted of two bars, one vertical, the other horizontal, in the form of a cross. Clearly the unfamiliar sign was that of some god too great and too awe-inspiring to be represented except by his symbol. It was ever thus with really powerful divinities. Mere man must beware of attempting to portray them.

Munisawmi was sorely in need of divine assistance. Humanly speaking his case was desperate. It was many hours since he had tasted food. He was still some thirty miles from the great city, and the hospital, which he was struggling to reach. He sank face downwards before the strange emblem, rested his poor tortured brow upon the red earth, and prayed. He told the God of the Rock his troubles, and asked for help. He did not specify the kind of help that he wanted. The God of the Rock would know what sort of assistance to give without being dictated to.

After a long time he raised his head. Lo and behold! a shadowy face, cloud like but beautiful and luminous, gazed at him from the emblem, the sacred emblem in the form of a cross. Only the eyes shone out clearly. They were fixed upon Munisawmi with a look of infinite compassion.

Far off, round a bend of the burning brick red road, a green motor sped swiftly towards the south and the ridge of rock. It contained three people and a large Airedale dog. A lady and gentleman sat in front. His khaki uniform was brightened by a line of many coloured medal ribbons. She was in white, excepting for a pale-pink veil tied over her sun helmet. Suddenly there was a loud report like that of a pistol. The car slowed down, then stopped. The officer turned to the lady.

"You had better walk on to where there is some shade, and wait," he said, "it will take time to change the tyre."

She hesitated. It seemed selfish to leave him there in the hot sunshine. By remaining she could do no good, moreover, her presence would distress him. The dog sprang out and followed her. Underfoot the ground was burning. She felt the heat through the soles of her white shoes. It scorched her feet. After what seemed a very long time she reached the welcome shade of an avenue of banyans. The great trees thrust out leafy branches, forming a sombre green archway overhead. The dim light was strangely refreshing after the glare of the dusty red road. She strolled on until she came to a large stone tank by the wayside. Broken steps lined the four sides, and tall pink lotus blooms floated upon the opaque bronze water. A great tree grew on the nearest bank. Its branches let down slender pendant stems heavily weighted with clusters of big crimson flowers. The spot was cool and beautiful. The lady stood still and waited for the car. The dog mounted guard beside her. His tongue was hanging out, and he panted badly. Presently she became conscious of a still, dark form stretched out on the ground close by. As though recalled to life by her gaze, the limbs stirred, and the skeleton like figure of a man struggled to stand up. He saluted the lady. His skin was black and gleaming, his back bowed, and a dirty blue and red rag was tied round his swollen left cheek. Holding one hand to his face, he

fumbled with the other in the narrow loin-cloth about his waist. All the while his eyes were fixed on the dog. The animal was evidently suffering from thirst, and Munisawmi's heart had ever been quick to pity. He extracted a primitive cup, fashioned from the half shell of a cocoanut. Slowly and laboriously he climbed down the ruined steps to the tank, filled the cup with water and held it for the dog to drink. The animal lapped eagerly. When it had slaked its thirst it turned and licked the man's leg. At this the man raised claw-like hands and unknotted the rag about his face. The lady uttered a little cry of pity. She had never seen so terrible a sight. A great sore had eaten away the left cheek. He had sought to close the dreadful gap by filling it with a lump of wax and surrounding it with clay. Above it the veins started out from the swollen temple. The lady's eyes filled with tears. He was watching her closely. He saw the tears, he saw, too, something that seemed a reflection of the divine light of compassion that had shone upon him from the eyes of the God of the Rock.

The dog barked loudly, angrily. A small wagon, drawn by an infinitesimal bullock, halted on the farther side of the wide road. A man got out of it, and a boy, the man was tall, and cleanly dressed in a long white shirt, dhoti, and closely fitting Muhammadan cap. So was the boy. The two sat down on the ground and stared across to where, exactly opposite, the lady and the beggar stood under the great green tree, which seemed to shower its crimson flowers down upon their heads. The man had a long white beard that lent him a venerable appearance, belied by the crafty expression of his narrow, glittering eyes. It was at him the dog barked furiously. The lady spoke to the dog, whereupon it ceased to bark and stood growling instead.

A little more and the green car came swiftly down the road. The lady hurried towards it. She said something quickly to the officer and stretched out eager hands. The purport of what she said was soon made clear. He took out his purse. Munisawmi watched his every movement. So did the man with the white beard, and so did the boy. The officer emptied the little grey suede bag of its contents until nothing remained. The lady took the heavy shining silver pieces and put them into Munisawmi's hand. For an instant her soft warm fingers touched his hard cold ones. There were four silver rupees and one eight anna bit. Munisawmi went round to the right side of the green chariot to where the lord sat grasping a chakra, or, as some would call it, a steering wheel. Munisawmi lay down in the road and bowed his forehead to the dust. This was no ordinary lord, no ordinary lady. They were divine emissaries expressly sent to his assistance by the God of the Rock, the all-powerful divinity who revealed himself to suffering humanity by his emblem, the cross.

The lord in the car pressed something that emitted a hooting sound. The lady got in beside him. A servant caught the dog by the collar and pulled it in behind, where it stood, with its feet resting on the door, glaring at the white-bearded man and barking furiously. Munisawmi saw all these things, and then a cloud of red dust swallowed up the green chariot. When it cleared away the road was empty.

Under cover of the protecting dust Munisawmi hid the silver in his loin-cloth. He was only just in time. Hardly had he done so than the white-bearded man called to him, ordering him to approach. Munisawmi dared not disobey. He was too feeble for flight, and there was none in sight on the great lonely road. Slowly, unwillingly, he drew near. The white-bearded man held a formidable stick in his hand.

"How much money did they give you?" he demanded in a loud, threatening voice.

Munisawmi glanced at the speaker fearfully. In the crafty eyes he read avarice, and something more cruel still.

"Eight annas," he faltered.

"Dog, you lie!" thundered the other. "Show the money!"

Munisawmi produced four rupees and the eight anna piece. The other struck the poor, thin hand a sharp blow with his stick. The money fell on to the road with a clinking sound. Then the man ordered the boy to pick up the rupees. He left Munisawmi the eight anna bit.

Sad at heart Munisawmi dragged on another four miles to a little roadside railway station. Here he took his seat in a crowded third-class carriage, and the train carried him towards the great city which held the hospital he had come so far, and at such infinite labour, to seek. There he would find doctors, and all those wonderful scientific devices for curing the sick, or, at least, relieving their pain.

It was midnight when he arrived, so he lay down on the ground and waited for dawn. Never had it seemed so long in coming. The burning pain in his face would not let him sleep. He must have died of it but for the hope in his heart.

As soon as it was day he rose. Leaning on his stick, and halting often by the way, he crawled to the big white hospital. It was like the palace of an emperor, with its lofty white pillars, its long verandahs, and the palm-trees in its great breeze-swept compound. Near the gate he paused. A messenger squatted beside it smoking. Munisawmi sniffed the grateful odour of tobacco. Time was when he had been a smoker. It had been the one luxury of his life. There were even those who pretended that it was responsible for his present distress. The messenger told him to go and state his case at a lesser building, where he would find a crowd collected on a verandah outside. It was as the man stated. Munisawmi found a crowd poor as he, and suffering in a degree only less than his own anguish. Munisawmi drew near. They were a silent crowd and patient.

At last a door opened. By some mysterious means Munisawmi had found his way to the front of the throng. He was in the privileged first row. He saw into an office. It contained a table and a couple of chairs. Two men were seated before a mass of papers and some piled up books. One had his sleek black head bare. The other wore a turban. Munisawmi made a profound salutation. Unknotting the blue rag he held his poor face towards them, showing the rodent ulcer. No light of pity dawned in their eyes. Clearly they were not agents selected to help him by the God of the Rock.

"An inoperable case," muttered the man with the turban.

The bare-headed man looked at Munisawmı

"We cannot take you in here," he said

Munisawmı tried to speak, to explain, to plead, but the bare-headed man ordered him rudely away

Munisawmı was bewildered. He did not understand. This was the hospital. He had come many weary miles from his far distant village to be cured and comforted, and relieved of this dreadful burning pain, and they drove him off with harsh words like a pariah dog from a food stall. Small wonder that he was dazed, that he failed to comprehend.

After a while something bade him not despair. He remembered the God of the Rock, and the eyes of infinite compassion. He thought of the lady, too, and the lord in the green chariot, and the dog who had licked his leg. No, surely the God would not abandon him.

He sought the messenger afresh. The messenger was naturally garrulous and willing to impart information. From him Munisawmı learnt that the two great lords of the hospital were European doctors. They wore resplendent military uniforms, and bore high-sounding military titles, and yet they were not of the profession of those who kill, but of those who cure. The hospital existed for them and because of them. Their will was law. None might question it. It was futile to speculate concerning the probable hour of their arrival, or yet of their departure. They would certainly not appear before eleven of the day. Much honour must be shown to them. No, Munisawmı must on no account venture to address them. Then the messenger rose. His stock of tobacco was exhausted, and he moved on.

Munisawmı waited. He had no money, and nowhere to go, but his faith was great. The God of the Rock had gazed on him with compassion, and he knew that help was near. So he pressed his hand to the burning agony of his face, and possessed his soul in patience with a courage that was heroic.

The sun stood high in mid heaven when a brown motor car drove in through the gate of the compound. So swiftly did it flash past that Munisawmı barely caught sight of it. Two medical officers, the great European doctors, sat in the back seat. The car came to a standstill in front of the hospital. Both got out and hurried inside. Munisawmı kept his eyes glued to the door watching for them to return. Before he realized what he intended to do they came out again. The car turned round. Wonder of wonders! On its brown side was painted, in brilliant red, the mystical emblem in the form of a cross. Munisawmı started forward. The car struck him. Another moment and the wheels had passed over the poor tortured body. There was healing in their touch, and infinite release. The God of the Rock had taken pity upon Munisawmı.

## THE POSITION AND NEEDS OF ARMENIA

BY E J ROBINSON

AFTER five centuries of oppression under a hostile Government, the Armenian Government has declared the independence of its State from a foreign yoke, which independence has been fully recognized by the Governments of the Allies and of the United States, by the Treaty of Sèvres signed by the Turks on August 10 of this year. Responsible leading statesmen of the Allied Powers had raised and encouraged by every means in their power the expectation that the day which brought victory to the Entente would also bring the dawn of justice, freedom, and prosperity to their distressful country. Were Armenians, then, to be blamed for joining in the general rejoicings on the occasion of the signing of peace, which they believed to be a token that at long last they were to come into their own? Their rejoicings were, alas! but shortlived, for Armenia, who, like Belgium, has lost everything in the war *save her honour*, is to-day in a more precarious position than she has ever been in the course of her most sad history.

Statesmen have ignored or forgotten their pledges to Armenia, and the peoples of the West are so occupied with pressing problems at home that the cause of our smallest and one of our most gallant allies is in grave danger of being overlooked. The following facts show in brief the position in Armenia.

(1) The food supply of the country presents a grave problem. Dr Ohandjanian, Prime Minister of Armenia, writes that sufficient corn has been sown to ensure flour from this year's harvest for eight months. As, unfortunately, many people will promptly secure for themselves a year's

supply, this means that very many who cannot afford to do the like will at once be left without any Flour for four months of the year has always had to be imported, while the presence of several hundred thousand refugees makes the need greater. It means, too, that Armenian relief workers, who have done such signal service, must reduce their number to a minimum, every extra mouth increasing the burden on the State Fuel is very scarce As every male of sixteen years and over is serving with the army, helping to protect the frontiers, there is no one to go to the forests to cut and carry timber This cannot be done by women

(2) As regards communication with the outside world, letters posted to or from Erivan stand a poor chance of reaching their destination It is waste of money to send telegrams neither these nor parcels get delivered Save when a traveller happens to be going direct who can be entrusted with a mail, the Armenian Government has to incur the heavy expense of a special courier to carry its despatches Is this treatment not mean in the extreme to a country whose sons staked their all in 1915 when they cast in their lot with the Entente ?

(3) Respecting the currency, immense quantities of bonds and rouble notes have been issued which are practically useless outside Armenia, the Government having no corresponding security to offer The salary of Armenia's chief Ministers, when they get it, is £6 per month On account of the exorbitant prices this is insufficient to provide daily bread for a family Transport becomes increasingly difficult, fuel being extremely scarce, while money lacks to buy sufficient to supply driving power for locomotives

(4) A system of barter might be arranged in order to provide necessities of life, were not Armenia practically in a state of blockade, for the country is rich in natural resources, while the inhabitants are industrious in the extreme and know how to make the most of these But Armenia is confronted by hostile Soviet forces in Azerbaïd-



jan, which close to her the port of Baku and also the oil supply, while the route to Persia is closed for the same reason Batoum, declared an "international port" by the Peace Treaty, has, since the departure of British troops, been monopolized by the Georgians, to whom a fearfully heavy subsidy has to be paid for the privilege of using it!

From the above it will be seen that no solution of this terrible problem will avail that does not assure to Armenia, besides fixed and secure boundaries, a seaport of her own for import and export purposes. Not one penny of compensation has been awarded to her for the million precious lives of breadwinners and others who have been massacred, for her fruitful lands laid utterly waste, or for goods and property stolen during the war. No time should be lost in providing for this reparation. As an immediate, though of course only a palliative, measure, the writer begs to urge the sending out of a relief ship with as much warm clothing and cooked food, such as ship biscuits, tinned milk, chocolate, etc., as possible, in accordance with a request made three months ago to the Imperial War Relief Fund. Winter begins in October in the Caucasus, so that time presses.

It is unnecessary to recapitulate the circumstances which make Great Britain's responsibilities for the safety and well-being of the Armenian people especially heavy. These date from the time of the Berlin Treaty and the Cyprus Convention in 1878. Had there been oil-wells in Armenia, probably her children would be well looked after. Is it not time that Britons took steps to refute by some disinterested action on their part Napoleon's assertion that Englishmen are a nation of shopkeepers? If the chivalry for which Britain, France, and Italy were formerly famed still exists, if the civilized nations of the twentieth century have any sense of justice left, if the former famous "Nonconformist conscience" is yet alive in England—unless the *heart of the world* is so numbed and cramped by selfish financial interests as to be dead to the claims and the pitiful plight of

our brave little ally in the East—then let the peoples of each country be roused from their lethargy and see to it that their Government, acting in unison, promptly and in generous measure, each supply a proper proportion of Armenia's needs until such time as either they can be repaid from the Turkish Treasury for help given, or until the Armenian people are able to recuperate their prices after the last years of horror and suffering and stand alone and safeguard their own interests, as they have recently, to the best of their ability also safeguarded the interests of the Entente

The object of this article is not to ask for charity for Armenia, but simply to point out her needs. Various priests and Levites among the nations have passed her by on the other side. Where is her Good Samaritan ?

# LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

## OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

### INDIA

INDIA AT THE DEATH OF AKBAR an Economic Study, by W H Moreland, C S I, C I E (*Macmillan*) 12s net

(*Reviewed by H E A COTTON*)

Mr Moreland observes, in the closing sentence of his preface, that the Indian Civil Service, of which he is a distinguished member, is sometimes said to have lost its interest in study and research. Whether this is the case or not, the reproach cannot be laid at his door. His economic study on India at the death of Akbar is valuable for many reasons. Not only is it brimful of instruction and suggestion, but it offers, almost for the first time, a coherent and consistent account of the condition of India at the period which may reasonably be taken to mark the beginning of the modern history of India. We possess material for the economic story of the succeeding three centuries, but no one before Mr Moreland has undertaken the very necessary work of preparing the groundwork.

The book is divided into eight chapters, each of which deals with a specific subject, and all of which are designed to show how the people in India at the close of Akbar's reign spent their incomes, and the sources from which those incomes were derived. As regards the extent of the population, Mr Moreland comes to the conclusion that there must have been at the least somewhere about 100 millions of people in the country in order to carry on the activities disclosed by contemporary authorities. Hindus formed, as now, the great majority, and the differences between castes and races were such that travellers are found speaking of Baniyas and Gujaratis as "nations" distinct from Brahmins or Rajputs. The Sikhs were at that time regarded merely as a sect of Hindus, and while Jews and Armenians were prominent in commercial life, the Parsis, with some notable exceptions, were apparently engaged in agriculture. Important elements were contributed by the Moslems and the Portuguese, both largely occupied on the coast in mercantile pursuits. Finally there were the slaves, who were of course obtained from various sources. The comparative insignificance of what is known as the middle class is very striking, and its representatives were practically confined to the families dependent on the numerous public offices.

The form of administration was of the centralized or unified type, which is still familiar in India. The Emperor's will was supreme, and there was no body of written law. In the cities the *Kotwal* dispensed justice, but

bribery was essential if immunity from annoyance was desired, and spies were abundant. Outside the cities order was fairly maintained it was possible to travel long distances without serious danger, but the risk of robbery was never absent, and caution was never superfluous. Customs were levied at the ports, and inland trade was subject to transit dues, which were frequently burdensome and invariably substantial. It was no doubt good to be rich, but it might be, and generally was, bad policy for a man to allow his wealth to be known.

The masters of the situation were those who held employment under the State. While comparatively few in numbers, they controlled the expenditure of a large proportion of the income of the country, but contributed nothing to the common stock beyond an imperfect and precarious measure of security. A considerable proportion of the income of the country was thus consumed on waste and superfluities, of which the cost fell in the long run upon the peasants, artisans, and merchants.

A very interesting chapter is devoted to the condition of the rural population. The system of agriculture appears to have undergone hardly any material change. There is evidence, on the other hand, to show that a servile labouring class existed up to the introduction of British rule. As for famine, the word did not denote, as now, a situation in which State intervention is required to relieve distress, but a period when men and women were driven by hunger to eat human flesh and to sell their children into slavery. Not only were no active measures taken to promote the prosperity of agriculture, but assessments for revenue were framed upon a basis far higher than any modern settlement officer would dream of accepting. In fact, with regard to this particular branch of the inquiry, Mr Moreland records the definite opinion that, while the average of agricultural population per head of the rural population, taking India as a whole, was probably not very different from what it is now, the share left to the peasant for disposal was on the average very much less. The Emperor, as universal landlord, claimed for rent about four times the amount demanded by the British Government.

To sum up. The main conclusions at which Mr Moreland has arrived are these. Firstly, the upper classes were able to live much more luxuriously in the time of Akbar than now. Secondly, the middle classes appear, so far as our scanty knowledge goes, to have occupied more or less the same economic position as at present, but their numbers were proportionately much smaller, and they formed an unimportant section of the population. Lastly, the lower classes, including very nearly all the productive element, lived even more hardly than they live now. The country labourer was ordinarily a serf, and the urban artisans were destitute of means to meet a period of stress. India, in a word, was almost certainly not richer than she is now, and was probably a little poorer.

The question inevitably arises, upon a consideration of these data, whether there is a sufficient taxable reserve in the India of to-day to meet the heavy increase in public expenditure which will be entailed by the new political institutions. It may be doubted whether Indians have as yet

addressed themselves with any seriousness to this aspect of the responsibilities which are to be entrusted to them, but the time is fast approaching when it will be brought home to them with the utmost vividness. For, whatever comparisons we may institute with the past, India, as we know it, is undeniably poor, and Mr Moreland does not stand alone in his view that the national income is insufficient to meet the reasonable needs of the nation as a whole

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THE OXFORD STUDENT'S HISTORY OF INDIA By Vincent A Smith  
(Oxford Clarendon Press) Eighth edition Recd 1919

(Reviewed by W H HUTTON, B D, Dean of Winchester)

This eighth edition bears the imprint of a year ago, but it was not published till after the author's death, and his preface, which must have been one of the last things he wrote, is dated August, 1919. May I say just one word of homage in his memory? He was incomparably our greatest student of Indian history. No one, I think, had done such thorough and sound original work, whether in regard to the earlier times, up to the Muhammadan Conquest, or in the spacious times of Akbar. Those two books of his, "The Early History of India" (third edition, 1914) and "Akbar, the Great Mogul" (1917), are really marvellous examples of industry, patience, insight, and detailed knowledge. And they have companions as strikingly original and impressive. But even more remarkable perhaps than this great achievement is the extraordinary skill with which so minute a scholar could write a brief and general survey of all Indian history. I do not know any history of any country on that scale which is superior to the "Oxford History of India" (1919). And now we have the eighth edition of the Student's History, a work as thorough, but still smaller and more compact. I believe it has entirely superseded the previous book of the kind, Sir William Hunter's "Brief History of the Indian People". That it has done so is due to the Indian passion for facts. Surely no book of its size ever had so many facts in it as this book. I am now reviewing. But Mr Vincent Smith (as everyone who knows his delightful power of conversation will understand) was able to tell all these facts without letting them be dull. I should myself like to keep Sir William Hunter's book still living, for the charm of its picturesqueness, but when I wanted to be sure of my facts I should go to Mr Vincent Smith.

About this edition it is only necessary to say that it has been thoroughly revised. And the fact that it has undergone alterations in twenty-five places (many of them so slight that nine writers out of every ten would not have had the honesty to make them, or the knowledge or the patience) shows how extraordinarily conscientious, minute, and continuous was Mr Vincent Smith's work to the very end of his singularly active and valuable life. "The book," he wrote, "is as accurate as I can make it with my present knowledge." That is a sentence which only a man who was as modest as he was learned could have written.

I have had the opportunity, during the last few years, of seeing how wide was Mr Vincent Smith's range, and at the same time how minute was

the care with which he studied the most modern authorities and the most recent discussions I do not think we have anyone like him now May his example encourage students to do work as good as his There is still a vast field.

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INDIA IN CONFLICT By P N F Young and Agnes Ferrers (London  
SPCK 1920)

(Reviewed by W H HUTTON, B D, Dean of Winchester)

This is one of the most fresh and interesting books on Indian problems from the point of view of Christians that has been published for a long time The writers have an intimate knowledge of India and a true love for Indians They are candid and clear-sighted They have European principles, but they do not seem to me to have any European prejudices They have written a small but a very thorough book

The book, says its preface, is on missionary work But let no one think that the phrase is used in any narrow or any racial sense The aim of the writers is to help India towards the fullest expression of human life and thought, the highest development of character I agree with them that this can only come through Christianity I believe that Christianity alone can unite India And I believe that the union will come through a united Indian Church It may be that India—though I do not think it—will show Europe the way to union At any rate she has made a great beginning, through the action of the ancient "Syrian" Church of the South All this is of supreme interest from the religious point of view, and all problems are ultimately religious But there are many points seriously considered in this book which those who take little interest in religion may study with profit

What is the future of industry in India? We are in danger in the East of seeing the worst sort of commercial lines developed on an enormous scale, with the vast population of India the victims of seeing the East become a world slave If we would avoid this—and our moral responsibility to India demands that we make every effort to avoid it—then we must make every effort to make India strong in herself, able to stand on her own feet, and, as far as possible, fight her own battles This involves, at least, an enormous extension of popular education

Much that Mr Young says of Indian nationalism is of great interest He evidently approves, on the whole, of the Montagu-Chelmsford constitution But he does not, I think, see in it any cure for race bitterness, which he believes to be of modern growth and one due to "competing interests" Very strangely he thinks that there was no race bitterness in the Middle Ages and no "social inhibitions" between Christian and Saracen If I understand what he means (of which I am doubtful) I think he is obviously wrong there, and that a study of mediæval chroniclers would soon show him his error No doubt he is right in finding modern nationalism a barrier to old-fashioned missionary methods to true Christianity it certainly need not be And the further one reads in his book the further one gets from the narrow view, the more clearly one sees the possibilities, not far

away, of an Indian Church which shall differ as much from the English as does the Eastern Orthodox or the Roman. Indian nationalism itself, and still more Indian intellectual development, owes an enormous debt to Christian thought. There are very striking instances of that, many of them already familiar, in this book. It is thus that "religion is being steadily moralized," and that means—just as the moralizing of Judaism did—Christianity. Already "in the new syncretism of India the teaching of Jesus about the Father bids fair to be the dominant element." But before the victory will be won, a radical reform in Indian education is necessary. The majority of the students must no longer pass out of college without having learnt to think seriously for themselves.

The fact is stupendous, and it seems eternal. But anyone who shrinks from it need only remember the positively enormous change that has happened in the position of education, and of Christianity, in India in the last hundred years. What has come to pass there since 1820—one feels tempted to say—would have taken two centuries in the West. The next step in advance, from the Christian point of view, is to place a very great deal more power, and ultimately the supreme power, in the hands of Indian Christians. We must get rid of what Mr Young well calls "our constitutional dislike of allowing other people to make mistakes." The fossilized English gentlemen, and ladies, who control too many English missions must take this to heart. They should all read Mr Young's chapters, and they will learn a very great deal too from the second part of the book, the work of a lady. It is more brightly written than the first. There are no dull pages in it. Its illustrative stories are extraordinarily pointed and fresh. When, for example, will English people learn the need of ceremonial worship if Indian children are to find in our churches anything to compete with the attractions of Hindu temples? I intended to write much more about the second than the first part of this book, but I have overrun my space. I will only say that everyone who wants to learn more about India to-day should read it.

#### AN INDIAN PIONEER OF SCIENCE

THE LIFE AND WORK OF SIR JAGADIS C BOSE. By Patrick Geddes.  
Pp xii, 259 (London *Longmans, Green and Co*) 1920

(Reviewed by LEWIS MUMFORD, *Acting Editor of the Sociological Review*)

During the last twenty years the work of Sir J. C. Bose has become gradually known to his colleagues in the physical and biological sciences, and within more recent years incidental and largely anecdotal accounts of this work have filtered through to a wider public. Professor Geddes' description and appraisal of the man and his work and his milieu is one of the most happy essays in biography that have appeared for many a year, and at the same time it is an exceedingly capable illumination of a field of scientific thought which has undergone a revolution comparable only to that which has taken place in mathematics and astronomy through the researches of Einstein. Professor Geddes' book is at once an attempt to estimate a man of genius, to "see what may be the conditions favour-

able to life and conducive to full mental stature and productivity," and to serve as "incentive to the encouragement and emancipation of the student, of science in general, and in India in particular"

It is impossible in a short review to recapitulate the main influences in the life of the child who was born in 1858 in a little village in Eastern Bengal, and was educated at Cambridge, and who, after a long and difficult career devoted to research in physics and physiology, was at last acknowledged, at the founding of the Bose Institute in Calcutta, as not merely the dean of Indian scientists, but as one of the foremost scientists of the world. With a fine insight into psychic and social realities Professor Geddes has traced this development in a manner which is literally inimitable. The results of Sir J. C. Bose's life may, however, be briefly summed up. On the scientific side his chief contribution has been the elaboration of an experimental technique, associated with the most finely calibrated measuring devices known in the history of science, the result of which has been to narrow the gap that has heretofore seemed so wide between the life of plants and animals on one hand, and between life and matter on the other. The remarkable sensitivity of plants, and the even more surprising reactivity of "inert" metals, has been effectually demonstrated by Bose, so that what was merely a daring guess in the minds of Western philosophers like von Hartmann and Samuel Butler (the last), and what was only a mystic gleam in the vision of the great Indian philosophers, becomes a reality that is susceptible of verification of the most hard-headed kind. The great missing link in cosmic evolution—the point at which the elements of the primeval sea integrated into organisms capable of assimilating other matter, and growing, and reproducing their kind—no longer presupposes a jump which staggers the imagination, but rather seems to imply a long series of transitions from matter that was less alive to matter that had become more alive. The underlying unity of all things, the central tradition of Indian philosophy, is thus on the way to being incorporated as one of the postulates of Western science. The service of these investigations to his country brings us to the social contribution of Bose's life. The assumed incapacity of Oriental peoples for Western methods of thought and scientific investigation has been relegated by Bose's remarkable researches into the limbo of spurious dogmas, and the youth of India, or such as have no inclination toward the staid officialism that has seemed hitherto the mainstay of a respectable life, on the Oxford level, are now in a position to apply their energies to scientific thought without being stigmatized on *a priori* grounds as incompetent, or second rate, or what not. Thus Bose's demonstration of the unity of life and matter are, on their social side, a proof of the possibility of a working and effective kinship between East and West, and with a realization of that unity there is promise of a new synergy in scientific thought and social action. Indeed, the sympathetic meeting of two such distinguished men as Bose and Geddes may turn out to be symbolic of a much wider movement, and the picture that Wells gives of Indian science and Indian civilization in the "World Set Free" may at no distant date be realized.



AN OUTLINE OF THE RELIGIOUS LITERATURE OF INDIA. By J. N. Farquhar, M.A., D.LITT (Oxford University Press) 18s net.

(Reviewed by T. W. ARNOLD, C.I.E.)

There has been a lamentable decay of Sanskrit studies during recent years in this country, and only a faint echo remains of the enthusiasm aroused in the latter half of the nineteenth century. It is significant that, though so many new professorships have been instituted during the last few years, no steps have been taken to found a professorship of Sanskrit in the University of London, and the capital of the British Empire—though so closely concerned with India—still lacks a chair of the classical language of that country. What is true of Sanskrit is still more unhappily the case with Hindi and the history of Indian culture generally. The publication of the series—"The Religious Quest of India"—of which the work under review forms a part, may (it may well be hoped) lead to a revived interest in Indology in its various aspects. Of these aspects, Dr. Farquhar selects one—religion—and sketches the historical development of Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism, from the earliest period down to the end of the eighteenth century. In order to bring the enormous range of so vast a subject-matter within a manageable compass, Dr. Farquhar has undertaken to write neither a history of the religions themselves nor of Indian literature generally, but has limited himself to the religious literature. Such an attempt has not been made before, and Dr. Farquhar has achieved a remarkable success. Every student of Indian religions will be grateful for such a clearly written handbook to a literature that is bewildering in its multiplicity and is not always readily accessible through being buried in learned journals or obscure monographs. Apart from the actual information that it gives as to the present stage to which the investigations of scholars has brought the study of the religious literature of India, this book will be of value to the student as indicating the directions in which research still remains to be pursued—e.g., in regard to some Hindu sects, as the only source to which Dr. Farquhar refers is Wilson's "Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus," which was published sixty years ago.

Dr. Farquhar's work is a model of clearness and well-ordered arrangement, and will win for him the gratitude of every student of Indian religious literature.

#### REPORT ON THE POLICE ADMINISTRATION OF BURMA FOR THE YEAR 1918

By LIEUTENANT-COLONEL H. DES VŒUX

"The police officer had with him some newly enlisted Burmese police—'Never There's,' as they were called, who were of no use at all." Thus Mr. Fielding Hall on the frontier at Wuntho in the year 1887. Over thirty years have elapsed since then—and it is now a different Burma, and quite a different Burma Police. Yet, as Sir Charles Crosthwaite points out in his book, "The Pacification of Burma," within two years this police had already taken over 136 posts from the Military forces. At that date the

strength of the Military Police was 18,000, and we find that in the year 1918 it was 15,996, or 413 below sanctioned strength. The explanation is, however, not far to seek. The fact is that no sooner had the interior of the province been reduced to order than fresh territory began to come under administration. Vast tracts of country on the east, on the north, and on the west, which were left to themselves in 1890, are now held by the Military Police. From the frontier of French Indo-China on the east to the Bengal boundary on the west, and northwards in the direction of China, the Military Police keep the marches of Burma.

Although we deal in these remarks with the Military Police, it should be remembered that the Inspector-General is at the same time Chief of the Civil Police, of which the actual strength is 1,376 officers and 12,696 men. The Civil Police is manned almost entirely by Burmans, whereas the Military section is largely recruited in India. It is thus a task of some considerable magnitude—the task of the Burma Police.

Lieut.-Colonel Herbert Des Vœux, who retired from the position of Inspector of Police in the course of last year, had held that position since December, 1913. It goes without saying that his was a period different beyond comparison from those of his predecessors. And we believe that the above report should prove of general interest to our readers as showing how far a country, as remote from the various theatres of war as Burma, was affected by the greatest struggle in history. On the whole there were four main tasks which Mr. Inspector-General had to accomplish: (1) The suppression of crime; (2) The combating of rebellions; (3) The enlistment of recruits; (4) The supply of drafts to the M. E. F.

The first of these is very fully explored in this report, and Colonel Des Vœux has published extracts from the reports of District Magistrates which throw a light on the characteristics of some of the Burmans.

Thus Lieut.-Colonel Bigg-Wither writes:

“I believe the main causes of crime are (a) gambling, (b) drink and opium, (c) pwes, (d) evil society, (e) hasty temper, (f) poverty, (g) facilities afforded for crime.”

It is interesting to note that among the causes of unhealthy environment cited by Mr. Brander, a District Magistrate, are Motor-cars, cinematographs, etc. Practically all reports agree in attributing crimes to moral weakness and lack of discipline. The spread of education will, however, it is hoped, serve to allay these evils. During the year under review the frontier operations were pushed forward with vigour. The result of the season's operations in the Chin Hills was the complete surrender of all the rebel villages except Lawhtu and Ngapai groups, and included the capture of 527 guns. Operations against the Kukis of Upper Chidwin were also undertaken with a force of military police, of which the Burma section supplied eight British officers and 2,131 men. With reference to these operations, Sir Reginald Craddock at the Rangoon Durbar spoke as follows:

“I gladly take this opportunity to testify to the services of the Burma Police, from the Inspector-General downwards. The fitness and efficiency

of this force, the readiness with which they have come forward for enrolment in the regular forces, have been an asset to the Empire, and a credit, both to the men themselves, and to the officers who have trained them "

Colonel Des Vœux, in continuing his report, shows how he tackled his third task the enlistment of recruits That this was a thorny problem in the old days is shown by Sir Charles Crosthwaite in his interesting book

"One of the hardest tasks connected with the administration of a country by foreign rulers is the creation of a good police force. When the people from whom the force has to be recruited have lived for years under a despotic and altogether corrupt Government, the task becomes doubly hard the task would have made Hercules drown himself in the nearest ditch "

The author of the present Report did not find the difficulties so insuperable He writes

"The elders of the Karen community in the Thaton and Moulmein displayed great enterprise and enthusiasm in recruiting men of their own race, and in looking after them when they became trained military police

This territorial association spirit shown by this community is most desirable and to be encouraged "

In another district, however, a recruiting party headed by a band seems to have had the unforeseen result of making the young men run away into the jungle

The fact is that a large proportion of the military police will have to be recruited in India for some time to come

But while having all these onerous duties, the Inspector-General was also asked to supply drafts for Mesopotamia from the small force at his disposal In all, 11,683 were sent out in this way from the Military Police, but besides this, they fought not only in the Middle East but also in France, Egypt, and Gallipoli, and suffered 1,776 casualties, the total number of distinctions won proved to be 56 Moreover, General Sir P M Sykes wired thus in a dispatch to Simla, with regard to the Burma Mounted Rifles, which was the name under which they fought on their Burman ponies

"Should be grateful if you convey to the Inspector-General, Burma Military Police, my high appreciation of the discipline, gallantry, and soldierly spirit of all ranks of the Burma Mounted Rifles This unit has been uniformly successful in every action in which it has taken part in Persia during the past year "

There were two complete units the Burma Mounted Rifles employed in Persia, and the 85th Burma Rifles in Mesopotamia The remainder were sent on draft to various Indian units—the first of these, sent in the first months of the war, consisted of about 700 Gurkhas

The excellent work of the Burma Military Police in the past has been fully described in Lieutenant-Colonel Peile's work (Rangoon, 1906), but, as the date shows, there is now a great need for a new volume bringing the history up to the end of the great war We can think of nobody better equipped for this task than either Lieutenant-Colonel Des Vœux or

Lieutenant-Colonel French-Mullen who, as the Inspector-General points out in his report, first joined the Military Police in 1891, and commanded our escort to the Burma-China Boundary Commission, and later the important Frontier Battalion at Myitkyina

## FAR EAST

"RUSSIA, MONGOLIA, AND CHINA" 2 Vols By J F Baddeley  
(London *Macmillan and Co*, 1920) £12 12s

(Reviewed by W E D ALLEN)

Undoubtedly the most momentous epoch between the collapse of the Roman Empire and the French Revolution was the century and a half in the first years of which Constantinople fell to the Turks. That epoch saw in the fall of Byzantium the disappearance of the last political remnant of the older civilization, it saw a cultural and political renaissance in reaction against the Nomads of the East, who from the third century A D had alternately threatened and overwhelmed Western Europe, it saw the crystalization of a new political system, and it saw the discovery of two continents. One very immediate result followed upon—in fact was almost synchronous with—the organization of stable political communities in Western Europe, the resurrection of the Russian State, and the establishment in south-eastern of the potent military machine known as the Ottoman Empire. The military parasites of Europe found that the scope of their activities was limited. The Prussian military orders and the Polish barons could no longer raid or settle Western and Southern Russia at will, the Germans, the French, the English, the Hungarians, the Normans, and the Italians could no longer crusade across the Balkans and Byzantine Asia, the Ottoman Sultan barred the way. Similarly he was gradually closing all the Levant ports against the commercial adventurers of Southern Europe. But, on the other hand, the cities of Western Europe, who had tasted and adorned themselves in the rich spoils of the Crusades, still cried out for the goods and merchandise of the Nearer East, and for all the amenities of silk and pearl and spices which had filtered through from the Farther East. Europe had beaten the Tartar, but the Turk held the key to the treasure houses she wanted. Furthermore, Europe, recovered from the Black Death, and with the barons disappearing, was rapidly increasing in population. Adventurers out of work, luxury-hunger and population-pressure were serious questions. Hence arose searchings after routes to Cathay and North-East passages. Until Columbus—merchant, amateur scientist, visionary—most opportunely found the door to the West, and nearly one hundred years later, Yermak—illiterate, outlawed marauder—opened the door of the East. But while the effect of the discovery of America was dramatic and immediate, modifying as it did the entire course of the political and economic development of Western Europe, the discovery of Siberia was casual and passed almost unnoticed by the contemporary world. Worthless adventurers, penniless younger sons, expropriated bourgeois sectarians, and oppressed peasants flowed in an unceasing

current out to the Americas, while the loot of the Aztec and Inca Empires flowed into the coffers of the Spanish kings, to be squandered in a bid for European Empire. After the kings of a generation had gutted themselves on the accumulated treasures of a civilization, ruined in a few years, the real riches of this new earth began to pour into Europe—the wheat, the timber, the wool, the cotton, and the hides. In the course of three hundred years new races had grown up, a new civilization, new political and social standards, a veritable new world. But for two hundred years at least the discoverers of Siberia looked on their new territories merely as a hunting ground for the animals whose fur was in demand in the courts and wealthy cities of Western Europe—the fox, the martin, the elk, and, above all, “the full marvellous and prolific sable.” Obviously one of the main causes of the slower development of the Siberian New Land compared with that of the American New Land, was the fact that in Eastern Europe there was not that acute land-hunger and population pressure, which were urgent motives to emigration from Western Europe. The Russian peasant families dislodged from their homes could settle in the nearer and more hospitable Black Land but recently recovered from the Tartars, and in the Volga and Kuban Steppes, where Tartars and Cherkess were being subjugated. Thus the process of populating Siberia has been infinitely slower and more gradual than the same process in America. Further, during the last century there has not been in Siberia that insidious inducement of enhanced political liberty, which has caused so many hundreds of thousands to migrate to America. For while an independent democracy has grown up in America, Siberia has constituted merely a political lumber-room for obnoxious Russian liberals. It remains to be seen whether the new régime “of the proletariat” in Russia and Siberia will so recommend itself to the prospective migrants from other lands, as eventually to divert in any large degree that perennial flow of humanity from the New World to the farther parts of the old. In this connection, the recent proposals of isolated groups of Swedish and French workers to emigrate to Russia are of interest.

In a remarkably original chapter Mr Baddeley analyses the human elements which constituted the settlers of Siberia, and one cannot fail to note their essential resemblance in type to the settlers of America. First came the gold-hunters and the fur-hunters, exterminating the aborigines, then outlawed Cossack bands, subjugated Tartar tribes, prisoners of war, Poles, Swedes, and Germans, political exiles, and lastly, discontented peasants, who first began to drift across the Urals, in the years following Tzar Boris's reactionary enactment abolishing the serfs' right “to change masters yearly on the Feast of St George.” “The emigrants who poured into Siberia included some of the worst elements, if also some of the best.” “All exiles and murderers, thieves and traitors [Mr Baddeley quotes Isaac Massa], the scum of humanity, who had merited death, were banished thither,” so that by the middle of the seventeenth century “the population of Siberia had become the most debauched that anyone could possibly imagine”—a sentence which must recall the waves of crime and bestiality which at first swept the towns of Spanish America, and later, in

a lesser degree, the Middle West of America, the gold-fields of Australia, Alaska, and South Africa. Lastly we read of the extreme reaction from the social conditions of "the thieves towns"—in the advent of the "old believers," a type also reminiscent of an element in the growth of America—who came into Siberia in the eighteenth century.

In two volumes, which are a monument to his industry and genius as also to the printers' art, Mr Baddeley has given us the record—for the most part unfamiliar to the English scholar—of the travels of the early discoverers of Siberia and the first voyagers and missions across that land to China and Mongolia. The volumes are further enriched by a collection of valuable maps.

Mr Baddeley devotes the first volume to a geographical introduction, descriptive of his maps, and to an historical introduction, with chapters discussing the history of Russia to the emancipation from the Mongols, the racial differences and history of the Mongols and Kalmuks, and the rise of Lamaism. Most interesting, perhaps, is his essay on the "State of Affairs in Northern Asia, A D 1600," in which he poses the original hypothesis that "the decades on either side of the date A D 1600" were fraught with events which have had and will have a "vital influence" on the history of Northern Asia and of the world. The Russians were flooding Siberia from the west, had already reached the Yenisei, and were approaching the treeless plains to the south, where the Kalmuks and the Mongol Altun Khan were struggling for the hegemony of Mongolia. At the same time, beyond the territory of the Altun Khan and the various Khalkha Khans, the Manchus, desert-soldiers, were preparing to swoop down upon the decaying China of the Mings and resuscitate a civilization already threatened by Jesuit, Portuguese, and Hollander with the coming fate of India, if not with that of Peru and Mexico. "No greater mercy," says Mr Baddeley, "ever happened to China in all her long history than the Manchu conquest." Through all the travels, of which Mr Baddeley gives us the records, we see that hunger of the Northern races for the wealth of China—a hunger which brought the Russians four thousand miles across the Pacific, which brought English sailors to their death in "the remote regions of the North," and which occasioned the discovery of America. Especially in the account of Spathary, the Wallachian Greek, who, in 1675, set out from Moscow in charge of an embassy to China, is it possible to discern in the enthusiasm of the explorer and the interested curiosity of the voyager in a strange country that instinct—in the pages of Spathary quite latent and almost imperceptible—of the conquerer, the plunderer. And in the cautious attitude of the Chinese officials, and in their subsequent obstructionism, we can see their conservatism rising hostile against the intruder from the North. They were well content that hundreds of miles of treeless plain and stony desert should separate them from the nearest Cossack outposts. And they had good reason to suspect the good intentions of the Russian emissary with his "specialist in precious stones."

CHINA OF THE CHINESE By E T C Werner (*Putman and Sons*)  
1919

(*Reviewed by* LIONEL GILES)

In these days of dear printing, the slipshod, discursive book of the globe trotter is likely to fall into disfavour with publishers, and the demand will be for the greatest amount of informative matter compressed into the smallest possible compass. Mr Werner's book certainly answers to these stern requirements, for within 300 small octavo pages it deals with almost every aspect of Chinese civilization. Orderly arrangement is essential to such an undertaking, and here Mr Werner is in his natural element. His aim has been to make us understand each class of phenomena in the Chinese social structure as it has taken root and evolved, tracing it from its earliest beginnings to its latest developments. Separate chapters are devoted to particular institutions, domestic, political, and so on, and each is subdivided into Feudal Period (down to the First Emperor), Monarchical Period (to the end of the Manchu dynasty), and Republican Period (the present day). Other chapters are entitled "Sentiments," "Ideas," etc., but the same plan is adhered to throughout. Here is a solid phalanx of facts such as would have rejoiced the heart of Herbert Spencer, but, like all concentrated food, "China of the Chinese" can only be taken with advantage in small tabloids, or mental indigestion will ensue. Invaluable as a work of reference, it cannot be classed under the head of light literature.

Mr Werner has spent thirty years in different parts of China, and his long experience of the country and the people, as well as his training in scientific method, has equipped him admirably for his task. The field, however, that he attempts to cover is so vast that occasional mistakes and one-sided views are inevitable. Though the author claims to be "wholly unbiassed except in favour of the truth and nothing but the truth," he does seem to err on the side of harshness in his general estimate of the Chinese character, with apparent gusto he reels off a formidable list of national vices heavily outweighing the national virtues. After being told that he is "cowardly, revengeful, very cruel, unsympathetic, mendacious, thievish, and libidinous," the unfortunate Chinaman will hardly derive much comfort from the assurance that he is also "mild, frugal, sober, gregarious, industrious, of remarkable endurance." Such sweeping judgments are really of very little value, they certainly conflict with the testimony of many others who have lived in China even longer than Mr Werner.

In several other points he is curiously at variance with accepted authorities. Thus, when he informs us that the weight of the Chinese brain is "considerably below the average," he directly contradicts the evidence of the eminent surgeon Sir James Cantlie. We also want proof of the assertion that the drama proper, with well organized stage plays, came into vogue during the T'ang dynasty. The allusion appears to be to the famous "Pear-tree Garden" of the Emperor Ming Huang, but the little we know about these performances points to their having consisted merely of song and dance. There is no other allusion to the drama until

the Mongol dynasty, more than 500 years later, and the earliest written plays that date from that period. Other instances of reckless statement unsupported by evidence are that Taoism and Buddhism are both "derivatives" of ancestor-worship, that "Confucianism must be regarded as characterized by utilitarianism and selfishness, founded on fear of the spirits of the dead," that of the working-classes only three agriculturists and one artisan have ever been known to reach official rank, and that Lao Tzū taught the attainment of immortality by means of self-discipline. The sayings of Lao Tzū may be searched in vain for a doctrine, even Lieh Tzū, who represents a much later stage of Taoism, says that "he who hopes to perpetrate his life or to shut out death is deceived in his calculations." And what are we to think of Mr. Werner's sense of humour when we read that the giving of presents "originates in mutilations—i.e., at first, part of the body is presented and, in later times, a substitute, with the object of propitiating the receiver?" An absurdity of this sort is repugnant to common sense, and constitutes a grave blemish in a book which claims to be nothing if not scientific.

The translation from the Chinese is sometimes very faulty. Take this from Sun Tzū: "Allure the enemy by giving him a small advantage. Confuse and capture him. If there be defects give an appearance of perfection, and awe the enemy. Pretend to be strong and so cause the enemy to avoid you." The meaning really is: "Hold out baits to entice the enemy. Feign disorder and crush him. If he is secure at all points be prepared for him. If he is in superior strength, evade him." Again, among the faults against which generals are warned, there is little or no meaning in "quick temper, which brings insult. A too rigid propriety, which invites disgrace." The correct translation should run: "A hasty temper, which can be provoked by affronts (on the part of the enemy), a delicacy of honour which is sensitive to slander."

It would be wrong to conclude a review of this book on a note of hostile criticism. Let readers, therefore, be assured that the isolated lapses noted above do not seriously impair the value of the work as a whole, which is indeed full of genuine observation and careful research. The book is illustrated and provided with a good index.

PRE WAR DIPLOMACY THE RUSSO-JAPANESE PROBLEM By J. J. KOROSTOVETZ, late Russian Minister in China and Persia, and Secretary to Count Witte at the Portsmouth Peace Conference. (*British Periodicals Limited*.)

(Reviewed by F. P. MARCHANT)

This interesting diary has already appeared in the Russian magazine, *Byloye* (the Past), and was kept by the author at the request of Count Witte on the eve of their departure for America for the Portsmouth Peace Conference. Witte intended to write his own account of the mission, but, as Prime Minister, had no leisure for doing so, or for revising these notes.



The late Tsar was reluctant to appoint Witte for the post, probably on personal grounds, but Messrs Nelidov and Muraviev declined. Witte, who had no regular diplomatic training, determined to be guided by circumstances and common sense in dealing with the Japanese, and shocked the acute Professor Martens by expressing contempt for antiquated diplomatic methods. Baron Rosen, Russian Ambassador to the U S A, was of material assistance, also Dr E J Dillon, professor and journalist, as Witte did not know English. He succeeded in enlisting American public opinion on the Russian side, and was considered a democratic leader rather than a representative of autocracy. Learning that he was descended from Dutch emigrants in Peter the Great's time, Bishop Potter of New York observed "A Russian would probably not have managed to do what you have done for the good of your country." Not a flattering compliment for Russian feeling, says the diarist.

From a conversation not long before the Russo-Japanese War it is clear that Witte was against the enterprise, but could not influence the course of events, which were controlled by the Forestry Company on the Yalu. Count Lamsdorff attached great importance to Witte's advice, but was incapable of making headway against the policy of the Viceroy Alexeiev and Besobrasov, who had acquired overwhelming influence at court. The conduct of the naval and military operations was severely criticized by Witte, who said that if Russia had been defeated it was by her own disorder only. He appreciated President Roosevelt's mediation, but contrived to make it clear that Russia was not beaten. Baron Rosen was glad that Witte was the chosen envoy, as he would not sacrifice the interests of Russia out of deference to St Petersburg, where he was not popular. An important result was the change of American opinion from pro-Japanese to pro-Russian sympathy, and Witte succeeded in showing that Japan remained in the war for considerations of profit. Witte was informed that, had he been an American citizen, he would have been elected President. The peace was not unanimously welcomed in Russia, as the military party counted on prolongation of hostilities, and reactionaries hoped for a new war so as to divert the country from revolution. On a visit to President Loubet after the conclusion of the treaty, Witte emphasized the fact that Russia was able to continue the conflict, as had been pointed out to President Roosevelt, and that the condition of this possibility was Witte's introduction of a gold standard. He was proudest of this achievement, carried in spite of the innate conservatism of the Russian people. He foresaw a troublous future, and did not disguise his opinions of the tendencies, complaining that his warnings were unheeded. Witte showed sympathy with poor Jewish emigrants to America from impossible conditions in Russia, but advised influential Jewish bankers to leave internal reforms to the Government, as interference would lead to pogroms.

The diary is pleasantly written, and Mr Korostovetz must be complimented on successfully continuing his interesting account under the heavy strain through which the mission headed by Witte passed in the negotiations with Baron Komura. The result is an interesting character-study of an exceptional Russian statesman, whose rise and success were

due to his personal abilities. He produced a favourable impression, was generally accessible and urbane even to those who, like a certain American lady journalist, wanted to know too much, and did not spare private personal questions. His subordinates found him kind but exacting. There are several portraits of Witte and his colleagues, a map of the war zone, and an appendix giving the treaty text. The work is a valuable contribution to the history of an important settlement, with incidental light on general Russian problems.

F P M

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### ORIENTALIA

AMIDA-DIARBEKR (Bâle, 1920) (London *Luzac and Co*) 17s 6d

(Reviewed by T W ARNOLD, C I E)

In the vast literature devoted to Muhammadan art and antiquities, which is growing every year, little space is given to Arabic epigraphy, though to the Muhammadans themselves calligraphy, whether in manuscripts, separate specimens of elegant writing, or monumental inscriptions, has always occupied one of the highest places among the fine arts, and the calligraphist has generally enjoyed more honour than the painter or any other artist. This aspect of Muhammadan artistic activity, however, makes but slight appeal to the appreciation of the Western world—and for a very obvious reason. Unless the observer possesses a knowledge of Arabic, any specimen of fine writing must necessarily lose a part of its original attractiveness, and since the monumental inscriptions are either made up of quotations from the Qur'ân or record the achievements of some sultan or other potentate, they presuppose knowledge of, and interest in, either the Muslim religion or Muslim history. The study of Arabic epigraphy must therefore necessarily be confined to a somewhat limited group of students in the West, but among these, for English students in particular, recent political events have opened up unusual opportunities, and abundant material in Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, and the adjoining countries is awaiting investigation. But the beginner can find but little assistance in interpreting the complicated and contorted forms that many Arabic characters assume in monumental inscriptions. Hitherto, in the field of Muhammadan epigraphy, the best work has been done by Swiss scholars, among whom Professor Max Van Berchem is *facile princeps*, his numerous articles, and, above all, his masterly and comprehensive study of the inscriptions of Egypt, which he modestly entitles "*Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*," have placed the study of Arabic epigraphy on a firm, scientific basis, but his writings are not readily accessible to the average English student, in particular the last-mentioned work, which forms part of the stately memoirs published by the French Archæological Mission in Cairo, and they are written chiefly for the advanced student. The beginner who is familiar only with the Arabic characters in which his text-books are printed requires some introduction to the study of the unusual forms that Arabic letters assume when they are employed for ornamental purposes and calligraphy becomes a fine art.

Such an introduction has now been provided by another Swiss scholar in the work under review, in which Dr S Flury has made a careful and detailed study of the Arabic inscriptions in the city of Amida, the capital of the province of Diyarbakr, on the upper course of the Tigris. He has selected these inscriptions as representing the culminating point in the development of the Kufic character as employed in the surface decoration of architectural monuments, and has traced out the various modifications that this form of the Arabic script underwent there in the course of somewhat less than a century. There is an obvious advantage in the selection of one particular art-centre for a study of this kind, though Dr Flury wisely does not confine himself entirely to Amida, but has given examples also from buildings in other cities. The student is made to understand the difference between the three main types of ornamental Kufic writing, by means of a careful analysis of the peculiarities of each, and the variations in the form of the separate Arabic letters are shown in tables, in which as many as twelve distinct variants are sometimes given for some of the letters. Such carefully elaborated tables have never before been worked out, and they will prove of great use to students of Arabic epigraphy. The plates and illustrations, unlike many photographic reproductions of Arabic inscriptions, are admirable, and remarkably clear.

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MOSLEM SCHISMS AND SECTS, TRANSLATED FROM THE ARABIC OF 'ABD AL-QAHIR BAGHDADI (d 1097 A D) By Kate Chambers Seelye, PH D Part I (New York, Columbia University Press) 1920 8s 6d net

(Reviewed by PROFESSOR D S MARGOLIOUTH, D LITT)

Heresiology forms a well-represented branch of Arabic literature, of which till recently the only accessible treatise was that of Shahrastani, printed by Cureton in 1842, and translated into German by Haarbrucker in 1850. The treatise called *al-Farq bain al-Firaq* of 'Abd al-Qahir Baghdadi, which is about a century earlier, was published by an Egyptian scholar, Muhammad Badr, who describes himself as a Member of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, from a Berlin MS in 1910, and this publication has proved indispensable to students of Islamic history, Dr Seelye has therefore done good service by translating this work into English. Her translation appears to be scholarly in the sense of being both faithful and idiomatic, and she has elucidated obscurities in the text without overloading it with comment.

Mohammedan writers on this subject usually are guided by a tradition that the Prophet foretold the splitting of Islam into 73 sects, of which only one would escape hell-fire. Dr Seelye collects some suggestions that have been made to account for this curious number, which perhaps is not really very difficult, as the same tradition asserts that there were 71 Jewish and 72 Christian sects. The use of the number 70 as a symbol for a multitude is familiar, in another tradition the number of communities which had preceded Islam is stated to be 70. The number of branches which spring from faith is 70 and more. Since Islam is contrasted in this

matter with Judaism and Christianity, it must outdo them, hence it has either 72 or 73 sects, according as we include, or exclude, orthodoxy. Whoever invented this tradition—and it is not well attested—must have lived at a time when Islam had already developed numerous sects, and it is not probable that he took the trouble to make an exact computation. But since the centuries of Islam were fertile in the production of new sects, without any corresponding extinction of the older ones, this number gave great trouble to those who endeavoured to deal with the subject. There were never as many as 73 great divisions, ordinarily there were far more than 73 discordant groups.

The Islamic writers on sects take little trouble in most cases to determine their geographical or even chronological limits, and a European writer who dealt with the subject would have to supplement their work from books of history, travel, and miscellanies, and in some cases from the literature of the sects themselves. On the whole, it appears that most of those which are enumerated played important parts in Islamic history, and some have displayed extraordinary vitality, such as the Zaidis, the Ibadis (or Abadis), and the Isma'ilis, whom the endless vicissitudes which have befallen Arabia, North Africa, and Syria, have not extinguished. It seems impossible to furnish any plausible reasons why some have perished and others survived. In the eighth century, A.D., the Sufri sect of Khawārij appears to have had as great a following as the Ibadis, in our time the Ibadis still exist and possess a copious literature, but we do not seem to hear of the Sufris. The Mu'tazilis, at several periods of the Abbasid Caliphate, were in a position to persecute those who disagreed with them—these "free-thinkers of Islam" being as tolerant as other freethinkers—such of them as remain are amalgamated with other communities. Buckle's most interesting generalization, according to which Mu'tazilism is the religion of the rich, and Ash'arism that of the poor, perhaps accounts to some extent for this fact. But it might require a genius greater even than that of Buckle to account for the survival—among the Nusairis—of the belief, current even in the first century of Islam, in the divinity of 'Alī, son of Abu Talib.

Mrs Seelye's work will be most useful in enabling the English-reading public to get a clear idea of the doctrines maintained by the Islamic sects, and she is to be congratulated on the admirable way in which she has executed it.

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## FICTION

### NOVELS WITH A TROPICAL SETTING

THE ARGUS PHEASANT By J. C. Beecham (*Methuen*) 7s net  
SESTRINA By A. Saffron-Middleton (*Methuen*) 7s net

(Reviewed by F. JOSEPH CONWAY)

These two stories have their settings in the tropics. They differ considerably and are not of equal merit, though both illustrate the danger of the tropics for authors who too readily become tropical in careless writing and imaginative flights.

In the case of Mr Beecham the setting is merely an accretion or picturesque dressing, yet it sanctions, by reason of its tremendously high lights, a very improbable, we almost said impossible, story. Mr Beecham, we suspect, is writing for boys, whose interests are enlisted in the most breathless unrealities of life, and so, provided the action carries all before it in a big sweep, it matters little whether it carries men or marionettes. The "Argus Pheasant" deals with marionettes, and very old-fashioned ones. However, the author revels in action, and is as untiring as the cinematograph.

The character of Koyala, the half-breed woman, who leads the natives of Bulungan to rise against the white domination, is presented with such emphasis and neglect of psychological issues, that she is, in spite of her activity, a mere lay figure. Mr Beecham misses his chance. The conception is original and potentially interesting. For the rest, Peter Gross, the hero, is an aggravating Dutch-American, a compound of presumption and righteousness, whom we have met elsewhere as the strong silent man, so beloved of certain effusive young ladies. The Chinamen have the requisite amount of malignity, and the Dutchmen (the action takes place in Java and Borneo) frequently utter *donder es bliksem*, which proves that Mr Beecham could swear in Dutch, did the occasion demand it—not that he can create Dutchmen. None of the paraphernalia of melodrama is missing.

Mr Safroni-Middleton has written a far better, though more ambitious story. He is interested in his characters. The least important, Royal Clensy, the callous and somewhat egregious hero, disappears halfway through the story, to reappear in the epilogue as a respectably married man—which was his only possible ending.

Sestrina, the daughter of the President of Haiti, the bloodthirsty "Vaudoux" worshipper, makes a charming heroine. Every romantic will fall in love with her. Her vicissitudes are the subject-matter of the novel. They are well told, though, we venture to think, rather too manipulated. The real justification for Sestrina's pathetic end is a desire on the part of the author to stimulate our tears.

The story, which is loosely constructed, is divided into two parts. The second part, dealing with Sestrina's sojourn in the company of lepers, in the deserted Pacific island, is the better. The character of Hawahee, stricken so that he dare not love, has a certain grandeur, and the narration of his pagan influence over the girl is impressive. The writing, however, is unrestrained. Mr Safroni-Middleton lays on his impasto too thick, which is a bad concession to the tropics. There is too much "writing." The author wallows in the most blazen descriptions, and they are long and repeated in thin disguises.

We can, however, confidently recommend "Sestrina," and more confidently await Mr Safroni-Middleton's next romance, when he will have learnt to curb himself somewhat. Brevity is not only the soul of wit.

## "OUR MODERN YOUTH"

PRELUDE (a Public School Novel) By Beverley Nichols (*Chatto and Windus*) 7s net

(Reviewed by F R SCATCHERD)

"The young are the *elder generation* They are heirs to an ampler past, they have a clearer, indeed nearer view of the future than we can hope for They are, in fact, the future"—E B OSBORN

Dedicated to his mother, "Prelude" was written shortly after leaving "Martinsell," when the author was eighteen As a mere story it is a great success The reviewer read it through at a sitting—the father of two boys could not go to sleep till he had finished it It is a book for parents, guardians, and educationalists, rather than for other young people This is true of the works of Youth in general just as in the main Maturity and Age are the best writers for Childhood and Youth, for the thoughts of Youth may be "long, long thoughts," but its actions can be fraught with fatal consequences, owing to shortsighted impetuosity and lack of experience

Mr Beverley Nichols, recently elected President of the Oxford Union Society, contributed one of the most striking rejoinders to the "Be wildered Parent" of the *Morning Post*, who fails to understand "our modern youth"

One of the marks of youth is cruelty—due to thoughtlessness, of course, but none the less cruel, and this cruelty—absent from "Prelude," is somewhat marked in Mr Nichols's brilliant letter to the *Morning Post* He writes

"Throughout history Youth has been exploited—Youth has been the motive power of the world It has hewn the wood, drawn the water, fought the battles Elderly poets wrote sonnets about the happy warrior! Aged rhapsodists informed each other that to be young was very heaven!

"They have had their day, and a long day and a bloody one it has been If you wish to see what young men think of war to-day you will find it in the verse of Siegfried Sassoon It is white-hot bitterness It is a challenge flung with passionate hatred into the face of Age Look at the poems of the Sitwells and all the young poets who are associated with them, and then go home and ask yourself 'Who is the happy warrior, who is he?'"

At "Martinsell," the gibe at the universal stupidity of the public school boy would have fallen flat Its little body of intellectuals discussed among other things the Marxian theory of value, French symbolists, and proportional representation!

Mr Nichols criticizes aptly the stories of recent date, depicting the public school as "a mixture of vicious young barbarians," through which crowd of undesirables "the pale intellectual escorts his soul with difficulty, being lucky if he gets through it with a soul at all" This, says Mr Nichols, is a false conception For the first term games at "Martinsell" were held to be the touchstone of intelligence, but in the long run a boy gets from a

public school what he brings to it—if he has a brain it will be cultivated, if not he may become captain of the eleven

The loom of youth he points out is not the “loom of life” From the “dizzy heights of twenty-one when tasting life for the first time,” a man will think of his life at school as if he always had the great brain power which he now thinks he possesses, and forgets he started as an “angelic child who sang a shrill treble,” and in many cases could not spell One enters the school gates

“alone, shy, empty-handed, and afraid, and one comes out laughing, shouting, and with glad eyes, the centre of a group of friends, with one’s arms full of the flowers of five great years”

And here is an excellent justification for the much-abused school sports

“An awful lot of rot is talked about games at a public school My pater seemed to think that it was the tradition of games that made me a dunce He didn’t see that it is because there are so many dunces like me that the games sprang up at all if I didn’t play games I should do absolutely nothing”

“How wonderful life was!” thought Paul, the hero of “Prelude” Then he reflected that the sentiment was a mere platitude, but comforted himself with the idea that after all one goes through life learning platitudes,

“for it is a great day when one suddenly sees that the grass is green with an amazing greenness that one has never suspected before, and that the moon is more moony than any of the pale ghosts that night by night one has watched across the skies”

Admirers of “Prelude” will look forward to further works from Mr Nichols They will watch for his awakening, like his hero, to the discovery of many a platitude “blazing like a star” Overcoming his terror of old age, he may one day exclaim

“Grow old along with me,  
The best is yet to be!  
The last of life, for which the first was made”

He may even come to realize that youth and wisdom are not always synonymous, and then what a noble crescendo may be expected to follow his promising prelude!

F R S

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## GENERAL

JOHN BULL AND HIS LAWYER (*Kegan Paul*) is 6d

Yet another book attacking the English legal system! Vindex’s “John Bull and his Lawyer” is a terse summary of deficiencies and objections to the expense, technicalities, and cantankerous legal sacerdotalism with which our system is so heavily impregnated This little eighteen-penny book is amusing and epigrammatic—perhaps a trifle too much so The plain man has to pause to think over the meaning of these scintillating jewels of thought The style is too apocalyptic The author insists that

judges should be trained as assistant magistrates, and chosen from young men who betray judicial capacity and not legal finesse

He gives us much food for thought His solution for our political diseases is to stop sending lawyers to Parliament The book has an amusing note The author is a sort of Bacchante full of the ecstasy of legal battle. It will vastly amuse the cultured few, but we cannot see the masses buying it

H W M

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### ARTICLES TO NOTE

*Imperial Commerce and Affairs* (September) "How India is Governed" (II), by D T Chadwick

*Nineteenth Century* (September) "The Frosty Caucasus," by Sir J D Rees, M P

*Fortnightly Review* (September) "The Palestinian Problem," by H B Samuel

*The Round Table* (September) "The Changing East"

*Review of Reviews* (September) "The Stead Memorial"

*The National Geography Magazine* (August) "Antioch the Glorious," by W H Hall

*Japan Magazine* (July) "The Yamato Society"

*Journal of the United Service Institution of India* (July) "The Post bellum Indian Army"

*The Dutch East India Archipelago* (July) "Tariff Hints for the Dutch East Indies"

*L'Asie Française* (August) "Les troubles du Pendjab," by Paul Martin

*Indian Industries and Power* (July) "The Port of Karachi"

*The Modern Review* (August) "The Ideals and Methods of Indian Civics," by Radhakamal Mookerji

*Indian Review* (July) "The Dyer Case and After"

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We have received from Mr Shah Munir Alam a copy of his edition (with translation and introduction) of "Ma Moqiman, or Dwellers in the Lane of the Beloved," by Sheikh Wisali of Khurasan This poem is a widely read compendium of Sufi doctrine, and appears in an English translation for the first time It will appeal especially to those interested in the mystical literature of Islam, and will be helpful also to students of the Persian language and literature It is published by The Noor Library, 10, Serang Lane, Calcutta, at the price of one rupee



## THE CENTRAL ASIAN TANGLE

BY SIRDAR IKBAL ALI SHAH, M R A S , F R G S

THE region lying to the north-east of Persia and Afghanistan has scarcely received that attention from the British public which its importance demands. The people of this country and the Anglo-Indian authorities were formerly rather inclined to think that Central Asia was beyond the sphere of British interests and might be left to the safe keeping of Russia. But the land of the Uzbeks, however distant from India in a geographical sense, has many closer relations to it politically. Formerly it was regarded as a region affording opportunities for a Russian advance upon India—a place whence numerous invasions and much unrest constantly emanated, and it may now be stated without reserve that Czarist Russia found in it an ideal centre for the dissemination of anti-British propaganda. Nor are the Bolsheviks the less conspicuous in that regard to-day.

For reasons of policy, as well as contiguity, the British and the Afghans cannot stand completely aside whilst the future of Central Asia is in the making. We must safeguard any fear of invasion from the north-west if peace is to be maintained in Afghanistan and India alike. The question also possesses a significance as regards British interests in Mesopotamia and Persia. It must always be remembered that, as in the past so in the future, conditions in Afghanistan will greatly modify British policy in the Middle East, and it is in Afghanistan and the Khanates that one finds the pressure of Bolshevik intrusion.

Recently the Western world thought itself on the verge of a war in Poland, and the gravity of the case was carried to great intensity, yet it was contended all along by com-

petent observers of Eastern politics that the Polish problem was infinitesimal in magnitude to that created by the Red forces in Persia and Turkestan. And that situation in the Middle East portends no assurance for Indian safety. The writer has no intentions of being an alarmist, but in justification of the case, attention must be drawn to the fact that the greatest of all dangers to which India is exposed is that menaced by the Bolshevik advance and propaganda in Central Asia. History bears witness that in all the overtures undertaken by Russia in Central Asia the acquisition of India was always in view. The annexation of the Uzbek States were always the means to that end. That may have been during Czarist times—with which we associate an Imperialist tendency—but in Bolshevik times do we see any change in that essential aim? The temperament and the desires of a people do not alter with a change in the form of their government. If there is anything in common between the Czarist and the Bolshevik programmes, it is decidedly in the Indian question. From Kaufmann and Skobeloff to M. Krassin we find the same chord vibrating.

Bolshevism must not be allowed to pass the limits of Soviet Russia and overflow the Middle East. That is the main point to remember in any dealings we may have with the Government of Lenin. It is significant that when M. Krassin came to London to open up trade negotiations with the Government, the soil of Persia, then under the protection of British troops, was invaded by Bolshevik forces. It was, of course, obvious that such a movement was intended to intimidate the British Government into a ready acceptance of Soviet terms. But the Soviet were informed that until their forces were withdrawn from Persia negotiations could not be entered upon. M. Krassin promised to have the Red forces checked, but the promise was not adhered to. It is now evident that the Bolsheviks, in their seizure of Persian soil, were animated by the same policy of land-grabbing for which they condemned Czarist Russia.

Good evidence of the dishonesty of aims and purposes behind the Soviet action is displayed by the fact that the Red forces remained in Persia, contrary to the pledges of their envoy, in a serious conflict with the forces of the Shah. I have it on good authority, too, that the independence which Lenin accorded to the Uzbeks in 1918 may be withdrawn very shortly. Turkestan is now made to feel that the Soviet promises were of a temporary nature only, and it is obvious that the Khanates will be made subject to the same tyranny under which they had groaned for years under Imperial Russia. The third factor is that the Afghans, who helped to release the Bolshevik forces from the Trans-Caspian region, and for services in other regions, have now been given to understand that the Merv region which they were permitted to occupy as a reward for that assistance is no longer to belong to Afghanistan, and that nothing can be granted to the Amir by the Soviet Government but empty promises of Lenin's friendship.

These encroachments and delusions are operating very strongly in the Middle East to-day and is it not strange, in face of this smouldering discontent with the Bolshevik policy, that the British people should entirely ignore the fact that the inhabitants of the Middle East have all along looked to this country to recognize their legitimate aspirations? It was hoped in the East, before the British people recognized the Soviets, that they would make sure that their friends in Central Asia would at least retain their independence. Afghanistan and Persia are now on friendly terms with this Government, and the situation in Central Asia must reflect upon their ability to retain that friendship—an ability which is jeopardized by the whole policy of Russian intervention.

By evincing an interest in Central Asian politics, this country will destroy the apprehension of Bolshevik aggression which agitates its various nationalities. It is, therefore, of pressing importance that those responsible for affairs should once more be directed to the Middle East. Has

this country not greater stake in Persia, Afghanistan, and Central Asia in her interests of India and Mesopotamia, than she has, for example, in Poland? If so, then why do its representatives not make the independence of those regions a first principle in their dealings with the Soviet Government.

Protests have been made regarding the Soviet advances in Poland, but those regarding Persia seem to have fallen on deaf ears. Meanwhile the armies of Bolshevism press onward in every direction, causing the greatest misgivings as to the final result of their approach. Does the British nation hope to check their progress by a new parley? The peoples of the Middle East observe these vacillations and refer them to pusillanimity or powerlessness to check Bolshevik aggression. If Great Britain is to retain her reputation in the East, she must act with energy and dispatch. Never before has her credit sunk so low in Asia, and if she wishes to maintain her position in that continent, she must make it plain that she will not tolerate any interventions in spheres where her influence is both desired and appreciated, so that the forces of disintegration and unrest may benefit by her supineness.

Finally, it may be indicated that there are many excellent reasons why the "Communist" doctrines of Bolshevism will not prove acceptable to the peoples of the Middle East.

It is said that if Lenin's doctrines are not crushed, his "movement will prepare for humanity the spectacle of a singular democracy—a democracy which will not be made up of gradual conquests, but which will build itself up from the very stuff of the people. It will differ from the present democracies in not coming from the plutocratic bourgeoisie, the mystical aspirations of the people will evolve it." But such a democracy will never evolve itself in the Middle East. We have a certain standard of culture of our own, which is vastly different to that preached at Moscow. Nor would our "mystical aspirations" evolve into anything even remotely resembling Slavonic political empiricism.

## THE ARAB REVOLT \*

BY D G HOGARTH, C M G , M A , D L I T T

WHEN Turkey chose to go to war with us in 1914, we were bound to support the independence of the Arabs, but our original plan, unfortunately, miscarried. Suffice it to say that in the end we had to leave Syria alone and begin from the Hejaz, where Sherif Husein of Mecca declared, in 1915, his desire to revolt. Now, Hejaz is a lean land, so that we expected more moral than material advantage from the rebellion. After some hesitation we agreed to support the Sherif and his four sons with munitions, money, and supplies. However, months of inaction followed, and when in 1916 he suddenly sent word that he must raise his flag at once on account of reinforcements that had been sent to the Turks in Medina, neither he nor we were ready. The beginning, however, proved easy, owing to the poor equipment of the Turks in Jiddah, Mecca, and Taif, and their great distance from their base at Medina. But the Arabs failed before the latter town, and were driven towards the coast at Yambo and Rabegh. We secured both these places with naval guardships, but could not help the Arabs inland, having no liaison with them.

It was at this critical moment that T E Lawrence, who, as a subaltern in the Military Intelligence at Cairo, was able to exert much influence on our Arab policy, came down to Hejaz to find a leader for the Arabs, and to establish liaison between him and ourselves. He obtained the Sherif's permission to go inland from Rabegh, being the first of our officers to do so, and reaching Faisal, the third of the Sherif's sons, in the hills behind Yambo, found

\* Abstract of a lecture delivered at Oxford, and given by the author to the ASIATIC REVIEW for publication

the leader he sought, and gained his confidence. Through Lawrence, Yambo was established as a new base for the Revolt, and after the Turkish offensive-defensive, operated from Medina, had died away, he induced Faisal to enlist a large tribal force and march northwards to Wejh in January, 1917. From there the railway communications of Medina could be attacked, and the stouter northern tribes be enlisted for the Revolt. Simultaneously, Abdullah, the second brother, was brought to Wadi-Ais, north-west of Medina, and Ali, the eldest brother, to a point on the south-west. The railway was constantly raided and destroyed, but could not be decisively broken, nor could the Arabs hold the stations. Lawrence determined that the area of rebellion must be enlarged to counteract Turkish concentration. To that end it was necessary to capture Akaba, the northernmost port on the Red Sea, as a base from which to raise the northern Arabs. With Faisal's concurrence he rode off from Wejh with Sherif Nasir of Medina, Andah abu Tayi, chief of the Huweitat, and about fifty men far into the interior. They roused the Huweitat clans on the border of Syria, descended on the railway, and cut it north and south of Maan, annihilated a battalion of Turks, took all the posts between Maan and Akaba, and finally the latter place itself in July, 1917—an extraordinary series of successes, in which Lawrence was the guiding spirit and the only European participant.

Akaba now became the chief base of operations, and the Arabs, amongst whom there was now an element of "regulars," could get more assistance from us than before in the way of aeroplanes, armoured cars, machine-gun detachments, and so forth. The immediate objective was to isolate Maan, which was the Turkish headquarters of the lines of communication with Medina, and to that end Lawrence devoted all his energy in wrecking trains, and thus making the line useless. Nevertheless, though Maan was kept in a stage of siege, the railway line was not

## *The Arab Revolt*

finally rendered useless to the Turks until August, 1918, when a detachment of Imperial Camel Corps rushed and wrecked the main water-supply at the station of Mudowarra.

Meanwhile, Faisal's force had gradually become a flying right wing of our own Palestine Expeditionary Force, and the British officers with him, Colonels Joyce, Dawnay, Lawrence, and others, encouraged by General Allenby, and acting on another idea of Lawrence's, established a new base in the Hauran in the summer of 1918, without waiting for the fall of Maan. They were able to draw in the great Rowalla tribe, and to make all the arrangements necessary in order to be able to co-operate with Allenby's advance in September. How eventually the Arabs were able to cut up the retreating Turks and to capture Damascus is well known. Medina still held out, cut off from the world, its commander (Fakhri) refusing to recognize the Sherifian "rebels" as armies of the Entente till long after the Armistice. At last his officers mutinied, seized him (perhaps not unwillingly), and handed him over to the Sherifs on January 11, 1919.

## BALKAN NOTES

BY F R SCATCHERD

### I ATTEMPT ON THE LIFE OF M VENIZELOS

THE emotions evoked by the attempted assassination of the Greek Premier (for the second time within a year) recalled to mind the wave of horror and suspense that swept over the whole world when the loss of the *Titanic* was flashed to the ends of the earth, and myriads held their breath, hoping against hope that Mr W T Stead might yet be among those rescued

I was at the Greek War Office in Athens just after the tidings were received and shall ever remember how Mr Venizelos stopped his work to point out the hope that was implied by the alleged safety of the first-class passengers

"And can anyone who knows Mr Stead imagine him being anywhere but at the point of greatest danger and where help was most needed?" I exclaimed "I have not the honour of knowing Mr Stead personally I have always looked forward to meeting him when I come to England, and can realize the certainty of what you say," was the grave reply, "but it is still a duty to hope for the best till one knows the worst"

Of the joy and thankfulness for the escape of M Venizelos manifested in the thousands of congratulatory telegrams and messages received from all parts of the world, Sir Arthur Crosfield tells us elsewhere in this issue For such is the magic power of personality that hundreds of thousands who had never met the great English journalist or the Greek statesman face to face felt the death of the one and the danger of the other as a personal calamity Says the *Observer*

"Our congratulations to Venizelos, to Greece, and to the world on the failure of the would-be assassins Venizelos is indispensable In a bad and muddled world such as we see to-day good men like Venizelos are our only hope. His work is not finished as he bravely said it was, making light of the crime committed against him We need him, not less, but more than ever May his recovery be quick and complete, not leaving any ill effects behind"

### II WHAT IS BIONOMY?

From Salonica and elsewhere comes the inquiry, "What is Bionomy? You frequently use the term in your letters Please explain next time you write," and so on I will therefore quote from notes made at the time of our first visit to Salonica, in 1910, when we were guests of the small bionomical centre in that city

These notes were hurriedly scribbled on the eve of departure for Constantinople and record impressions gleaned from discussions between the formulator and his disciples, followed by a conversation with himself

The word "bionomy" is new to science in the sense in which it is applied by M Drakoules It was used many years ago, in a very limited sense, I believe, by the great Englishman Charles Darwin, to designate the life principles relating to certain lowly organisms, but the word never passed into current usage



*Bionomy is a new science and deals with the laws of life* These laws of life may be considered under three heads

- (a) The laws pertaining to psychology, using the word in its widest sense—the term mychiology is better
- (b) The laws pertaining to humanitarianism
- (c) The laws pertaining to sociology

### III (a) MYCHIOLOGY OR PSYCHOLOGY

Modern psychological research has revealed truths that go far to prove that, in addition to the material and visible world, there exists an immense sphere which escapes the observation of the physical senses. Those who have penetrated this sphere insist that it offers as legitimate an object for scientific study as does the physical universe. Hence we have phenomena of the physical order and phenomena of the non-physical order. The bionomist regards both worlds, physical and non-physical, as his province, and thus corrects the false impression, hitherto prevailing, that only material phenomena admit of demonstration.

The bionomist, then, takes cognizance of realities unknown, unimaginable even, to those who restrict their attention to the material verities, believed by them to be the sole existent realities. Hence for the bionomist such elements as will, imagination, thought, desire, etc., are actually substances or forces amenable to definite perception and control.

### IV (b) ETHICOLOGY OR HUMANITARIANISM

The bionomist starts from the conviction, arising from actual observation, that the instinct of humanity is an actual fundamental law of life. We cannot be satisfied with half-and-half sentiments towards our fellow-beings, nor can we return to our primitive, savage indifference towards them. We must perform advance in our evolution until we have a complete and consistent standard of sentiment with regard to the well-being of others, human and non-human.

Bionomy emphasizes the all-importance of the fundamental conception of the solidarity of all living beings. Biology has already prepared the way for the bionomical conception of the unity of all life.

Bionomy, then, supported by the deductions of biology, maintains and inculcates truths inferred from these deductions—e.g., that true fraternity is impossible unless it be extended to the sub-human races, since, as Buchner pointed out, the difference between the human and sub-human races is one of degree and not of kind. Thus it will be seen that the concerted activities of bionomy will furnish mankind with safe guiding principles in all ethical relations.

### V (c) SOCIOLOGY

One of the most recent sciences, it is yet a great mistake to regard sociology as a science that comprises all the others. It is but the sum-total of the laws applied to social data, but social data do not make up the whole that we term human life. Hence it follows that sociology is a branch of bionomy. All bionomists must be sociologists, but few sociologists are bionomists.

The bionomist, therefore, considers all social phenomena in relation to the cardinal laws of life, and when he is confronted with social problems his judgment is balanced by reference to psychical and ethical laws.

The bionomist studies sociological phenomena, then, not from the narrow standpoint of mere social expediency, but rather does he view all problems in the white light accruing from his knowledge of laws of life pertaining to the eternal. Thus, for example, he has found out that

## *Balkan Notes*

justice is a law of life, an *absolute principle*, not a relative conception engendered by social life

The bionomist, therefore, equipped with this discovery, will require that all solutions of social problems should be based on the firm foundations of true justice

The bionomist's code in social matters may be thus summed up

Individual happiness is best secured by the pursuit of collective well-being, and true individual happiness cannot be secured at the expense of collective well-being In the words of the Christ "Seek ye first the Kingdom of Heaven (righteousness), and all these things shall be added unto you" (Matt vi 33)

And, again, the same truth is taught in that other deep saying of His "He that loveth his life shall lose it, but he that loseth his life for My sake (i.e., for Humanity's sake) the same shall find it" (Luke ix 14)

Those are belated thinkers who imagine that science has put religion out of court, that science and religion are incompatible The words of Herbert Spencer on the religious character of science may have some weight with such He wrote

"So far from science being irreligious, as so many think it to be, it is the neglect of science that is irreligious—it is the refusal to study surrounding creation that is irreligious Devotion to science is a tacit worship—a recognition of worth in the things studied, and, by implication, in their *cause* It is not a mere lip-homage, but a homage expressed in actions—not a mere professed respect, but a respect proved by the sacrifice of time, thought, and labour"

## VI BIONOMY AS A SCIENCE

To sum up Bionomy as a science offers a wider field of research than any other science yet extant. It demonstrates the existence of a vast field of knowledge hitherto overlooked. It facilitates the cultivation and the development of the practically unlimited potentialities of human life.

It reveals man as the possessor of creative powers needing only concerted bionomical action to apply this knowledge to the experiences of daily life in order to bring about actualities of vital importance, undreamed of within the limited area of the psychological knowledge of the past

## DRAMATIC NOTES

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### "THE UNKNOWN" (*Aldwych Theatre*)

BY THE REV PAUL NICHOLS, St Peter's, Eaton Square

*Autres temps, autres mœurs*

Men and women are thinking about God

So sensational a statement could never pass unchallenged, yet one proof at any rate is to be found within the walls of the Aldwych Theatre. Here, night after night, tensely held audiences listen with avidity to arguments about subjects which six years ago could only have been greeted with total indifference.

Here a dramatist has been permitted to represent an Anglican clergyman as other than a congenital idiot, and even to put into his mouth the better part of the argument. True, from time to time he verges on platitude, but the audience at once sets him right by groaning or muttering its disapproval. This only goes to prove that they are thinking about God, while at the same time registering their abhorrence of the conventional representation of His being and His laws.

What Mr Somerset Maugham was trying to do when he wrote this play I have no idea. He cannot be a party propagandist at heart, for it would be far easier to centre the opinions and sentiments expressed upon the Mass of the Church of Rome, while no Evangelical could possibly accept at his value the doctrine of the Real Presence as he puts it upon Anglican lips.

Perhaps all Mr Maugham desired was to rouse our curiosity, not about new things, but in the direction of the oldest things of all. Here at least he has succeeded. Life and pain, and love and death—and from their meeting the cry of the bereaved mother. "Who is going to forgive God?"

From the older generation there must be here a shudder of horror at seeming blasphemy. To the younger generation any question that makes for clearness and the emergence of truth is welcome and proper. We who are younger are learning less and less to fear and respect the conventional, believing as we do that of all ages of thought the Victorian has been the most productive of cant and artificiality.

Wherefore the mother's cry, even while we cannot answer or even fully understand it, finds, in our hearts at least, sympathy. The older generation will explain to you in detail all the aspects of the question and answer, providing for you a map of Heaven and a time-table for the route thither. The younger, thinking it better to confess ignorance than to believe the untrue, can but bow its head with the old words, sincerely uttered, "Lord, I believe, help Thou mine unbelief."

Deep in his heart nearly every man bears a fear of what is actually God's greatest mercy—Death. And in the play's character of the man overtaken by the prophecy of very early death we see the old instinct coming to the

fore How little time ago he said Death would find him fearless, who deeply in his heart moved at Death's approach "I do not want to die"

Here for a moment is elemental ~~fear~~—fear of the unknown And yet we are allowed to see it overcome

The Saxons had a picture of the life of man being like the coming of a bird on a winter's night to the great rush-strewn hall Here for a while it flutters round the log-fire, beating uncertainly from wall to unfamiliar wall, then out again into the darkness

But surely the picture is incomplete unless we stress the manner of its going It goes into the dark, but it travels still alive, and still able to sing If God is a spirit, so is man He lives on So with the faith of the dying man For years he has called upon his God and trusted in Him, then, for a while, he shrinks and is afraid, but the old allegiance reasserts itself, and he passes into the Unknown serene and confident

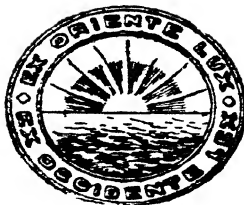
This is a play that every man and woman of our generation should go and see not to honour the supreme artistry of Lady Tree, Miss Haidee Wright, and Mr Charles France, but to be made to think

I put it in my mind on a level with Mr Studdert-Kennedy's book, "The Hardest Part," where the question is not so much "Who shall forgive God?" as "Who shall grant Him the aid of which even He stands in need?" But it is not a play for the narrow minded They will not begin to understand it They will not be able to conceive a wider religion than that of 1885 For such as these Heaven must ever be a piece of white cloud entirely surrounded by hassocks, and populated by well-fed angels by Raphael Tuck

To them there is no Unknown, and to profess ignorance is to deny the truth Yet the world has come to a point where the thinking men and women must decide for themselves whether truth is to be found, final and total, in a glass case at the foot of the Albert Memorial, or whether it is somewhere far off, invisible, but ultimately accessible for those who will confess their present almost blindness

### "THE GARDEN OF ALLAH" (*Drury Lane*)

The presentation of Mr Robert Hichens's novel at Drury Lane is a *tour de force*. In our opinion there is not sufficient plot to fill up three hours of an evening at Drury Lane, and therefore the greater is the praise due to the hand that dramatized it, and to those who staged it and interpreted it in so successful a manner Even so the action moves terribly slow, and nothing of note happens in the first act of several scenes At any rate, the producers saw aright when they took refuge in elaborate scenery and wonderful stage effects And therein lies the undoubted success of this "Drury Lane Spectacle" Miss Madge Titheradge is once more in the environment of her former triumphs, particularly the "Tiger's Cub," and is rapidly becoming our foremost tragedian Mr Godfrey Tearle and Mr Basil Gill share with her the honours of the evening



## WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

A RECORD OF IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE DAY, AT HOME  
BEARING ON ASIATIC QUESTIONS

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CONTENTS *The East India Association—The British Association at Cardiff—The Royal Asiatic Society—The Central Asian Society—The Anglo-Russian Literary Society—The School of Oriental Studies—The National Indian Association—The China Society*

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The Proceedings of the East India Association will be found on pp 585-638, and include the annual report, the annual meeting, the Lecture by P J Hartog, C I E, on the "Work of the Calcutta University Commission," and the Lecture by W H Moreland, C S I, C I E, on the "Study of Indian Poverty"

The first Lecture of the autumn season will be on October 25, when the Rev T Van der Schueren will read a paper on "The Education of Indian Boys belonging to the Better or Upper Class Families" The lecturer has been connected with St Xavier's College, Calcutta, for a period of thirty two years Lord Carmichael has been invited to preside

A paper by Professor Vogel on "The Preservation of Ancient Monuments in India" will be read in November Professor Vogel was Archaeological Surveyor of the Punjab and United Provinces, and in 1910 held the position of Superintendent of the Northern Circle

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## A CELESTIAL "CANON BARNES"

THE CHINESE BACKGROUND OF MODERN WESTERN  
THOUGHT

BY PROFESSOR E H PARKER

THE Chinese may be said to have had their Canon Barnes some 700 years ago, just as (it is usually, but not quite correctly supposed) they had the mariner's compass, the taximeter, the explosives of gunpowder type, and what not long before that The Chinese Canon Barnes was Chu Hi (twelfth century A D), whose name has been given to a group of philosophical reformers or Confucian Protestants, and just as the courageous sermon preached by the well-meaning Canon at Cardiff\* on August 29

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\* The British Association for the Advancement of Science

"might have led him to the stake not so many generations ago" (to use the words of *The Times* leading article), so the work of Chu Hi might have been damned 200 years ago had not the ablest Manchu Emperor, K'ang-hi, given it the stamp of his approval. Canon Barnes said, in the course of his sermon "It now seemed highly probable that from some fundamental stuff in the universe the electrons arose. From them came matter, from matter life enlarged, from life came mind, from mind spiritual consciousness was developing. There was a time when matter, life, mind, the soul of man were not, but now they were. Each had arisen as part of a vast scheme planned by God—thus science described the process by which man had come into being, and religion offered him guidance towards his spiritual destiny."

The learned Jesuit Henri Doré, who in 1894 gave us a very good account of Chu Hi's doctrine, last year published an admirable summary of Chinese Confucianism as modified by Chu Hi, he calls it "Tchou chisme"—i.e., Chu Hi-ism. "L'origine première de l'univers n'est pas le néant, mais une matière première douée de mouvement ou forme. Cette matière d'abord aëroforme vaporeuse, évolua en deux modes. Les atomes plus subtils, entraînés par le mouvement giratoire, montèrent et formèrent le ciel, les atomes plus grossiers se déposèrent pour former le noyau terrestre. Le dogme fondamental du système est l'éternité de la matière. Au commencement il n'y eut pas de néant absolu de non-être précédant l'être. Les atomes de la matière universelle étaient encore à l'état vaporeux, de même que la vapeur d'eau avant sa condensation. Ces atomes non condensés, extrêmement tenus, étaient dispersés dans l'espace et imperceptibles aux sens."

Thus Canon Barnes's fundamental stuff is Chu Hi's "matière première," and the Canon's arising of electrons is Chu Hi's "mouvement giratoire." Chu Hi goes on to say that "la matière se déforme et se reforme éternellement. La force latente lui imprima un mouvement giratoire, d'où jaillirent la lumière et la chaleur"—manifestly the successive matter, life, and mind of Canon Barnes, from which last "spiritual consciousness developed," which seems alternatively to mean "the soul." But some may think that the whole question seems to be begged by the words "a vast scheme planned by God", for, first of all, we must get some definition of God and some conception as to the objectivity or subjectivity of God in relation to the fundamental stuff earlier or later.

Chu Hi diverges from the Canon at this point. "La matière celeste évolua en courant positif, la matière terrestre évolua en courant négatif, la terre restant immobile au centre du mouvement giratoire. Par nature, le ciel et la terre ont une propension à engendrer les êtres. Dans la suite les individus d'une même espèce se reproduisent par rapports sexuels." There is, however, from our point of view, an "aliquid amari" in Chu Hi's scheme of "planning," for "c'est ainsi que naît la vermine sur le corps de l'homme, sous l'action de la chaleur."

Canon Barnes's "spiritual consciousness" is well matched by Chu Hi's "degrés dans l'échelle des êtres," the development of the sage, the saint, the common or garden man (l'homme vulgaire), and so on. Philosopher

after philosopher during the "Fighting States Period" (480-220 B.C.) developed these ideas in various earlier forms, some thinkers were grave, others gay, some were indignant, others flippant, but the "First Emperor" made short work of the whole of this contentious literature and its authors, by "sacking the lot" in a wholesale destruction. It was for Chu Hi and his colleagues to resurrect the whole series of questions again after a breathing space of about 1,500 years or so, and, as just mentioned, a shrewd Tartar Emperor about 150 years ago, finding it to the steady advantage of a "capitalist" and "bourgeois" dynasty to encourage these fundamental speculations, gave Chu Hi his Imperial imprimatur, whilst in 1894 the last adult Manchu Emperor ended by anathematizing the works of Chu Hi's great opponent, Mao Si-ho, whose works were put on the Index Expurgatorius

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Miss Ella C. Sykes has now taken over the Secretaryship of the Royal Asiatic Society. The lecturer for November will be the Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah, and his subject, 'The Vindication of Aurangzeb'

The first lecture of the autumn season at the Royal Asiatic Society will be given on Tuesday, October 12, at 4 p.m., when Dr. Patrick Buxton will read a paper on "The Marsh Arabs of Lower Mesopotamia." Dr. Buxton will illustrate his lecture with slides

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The Central Asian Society will give a dinner—the first since the war—on October 12, at Oddenino's (7.30 p.m.). Earl Curzon (Hon. President) has been invited to take the chair, and the guest of the evening will be Lord Meston, who, it will be remembered, presided at the last meeting of the East India Association

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The Anglo-Russian Literary Society have arranged their meetings for the autumn season, and lectures will be given on the first Tuesday in the month as follows: October 5, "The Republics of Old Russia," by W. Barnes Steveni; November 2, "Translations of Russian Poetry," by Madam N. Jarintzov; December 7, "The Hymns of the Russian (Greek) Church," by Rev. John Brownlie, D.D.

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At the School of Oriental Studies a special course of six lectures will be delivered by Professor C. G. Seligman, M.D., F.R.S., Professor of Ethnology in the University of London, on "The Peoples of the Nile Valley," at 5 p.m., on Wednesdays, October 6, 13, 20, and 27, and November 3 and 10. These lectures are open to the public.

A course of lectures under the Furlong Bequest Fund will be given in the second term by Mr. E. B. Havell, on "Indian Art."

The curriculum for the forthcoming session has been extended to include Panjabi, Kashmiri, Luchuan, Nepali, Shina, and Buddhist Chinese. Special courses in phonetics and linguistics will again be given. It is found that an increasing number of students are anxious to take these subjects as well as instruction in particular languages

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The National Indian Association gave a farewell party to Lord Sinha on September 6. By previous arrangement no speeches were made, but several musical items were given by Mrs. M. Devy on the vina. In spite of the time of the year, there was a distinguished gathering.

Students are arriving from India in great numbers, and the accommodation at the hostel is being severely taxed. The work at the Local Advisor's Office is becoming greatly intensified, as admissions to Oxford and Cambridge are practically impossible at present owing to overcrowding. Students have to be placed as far as possible in other universities, which in turn are becoming filled. Nevertheless every effort is being made to satisfy all individual cases. As regards the choice of subjects, predilection is still being shown for engineering and medicine, while law attracts many adherents. But agriculture is rapidly being taken up as a subject by the new arrivals from India. Another interesting feature is the increasing number of applications being received for placing Indian boys in public schools.

A new hostel, entitled "The Indian Ladies' Residential Club," has been opened at 116, Grosvenor Road, Highbury, and is proving very popular.

At the China Society, School of Oriental Studies, Sir John Jordan has promised to give an address which should prove of exceptional interest, in view of his recent return from Peking. The date will be announced later, but it will be delivered in October.

At King's College, London, the autumn lecture list contains the following items, which should prove of interest to readers of the ASIATIC REVIEW.

A Shakespeare survey (two lectures arranged by the Shakespeare Association, and to be delivered at King's College at 5.30 p.m.) November 8, "Shakespeare in Hebrew," by Dr. Israel Abrahams, Reader in Talmudic and Rabbinic Literature in the University of Cambridge. This lecture, being the Simeon Singer Memorial Lecture, is being arranged by the Shakespeare Association and the Simeon Singer Memorial Trustees. December 3, "Shakespeare in Russia," by Paul Mihjukov, LL.D. These lectures are open to members of the College without tickets; others interested should apply to the Hon. Secretary of the Shakespeare Association, King's College.

A public lecture to be delivered on Friday, December 3, at 5.30 p.m.: "Greece after the Peace Settlement," by Arnold J. Toynbee, B.A., Koraeas Professor of Modern Greek and Byzantine Language, Literature, and History.

A course of four public lectures on Fridays at 5.30 p.m., beginning November 5: "Western Travellers in Greece between the Fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the Greek Revolution of 1821," by Lysimachos Oeconomos, Docteur de l'Université de Paris.





